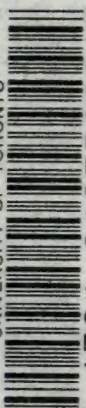


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DEMOSTHENES  
ON THE CROWN

**London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
AVE MARIA LANE.**

**Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.**



**Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.**

**New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.**

**Bombay: E. SEYMOUR HALE.**



( ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ )

DEMOSTHENES. *De coron*  
ON THE CROWN

*WITH CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES  
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH  
AND ESSAYS*

BY

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN

HON. LL.D. AND D.C.L.

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

CAMBRIDGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1901

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**Cambridge:**

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.



TO  
HENRY JACKSON  
IN TOKEN OF  
A FRIENDSHIP OF MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS





## PREFACE.

IN this edition of Demosthenes on the Crown I have attempted to supply students with what I deem most essential to a thorough understanding of this masterpiece of oratory. No mere commentary, however learned and lucid, can make a speech like this intelligible to those who have not a full and accurate knowledge of the events which are discussed, and of their relation to other events. No adequate treatment of historical points is possible in scattered notes, and references to a general history (even to Grote or Curtius) are not sufficient. The student of Demosthenes needs a connected narrative, in which he will find a detailed account of the events which especially concern him, with copious references to the authorities, without being distracted by other details in which he has no immediate interest. To meet this want, I have given a large space to an "Historical Sketch" of the period from the accession of Philip to the battle of Chaeronea, in which I have enlarged disproportionately on the events and questions discussed in the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown and on the Embassy, and have alluded slightly (or perhaps not at all) to many important matters which are not essential to the study of these speeches. This would be unpardonable in a history: but this sketch assumes a general knowledge of the history of the period which it covers, and makes no pretence to being such a history in itself. With this view, I have given what may seem undue prominence to the negotiations which led to the Peace of Philocrates: for a minute knowledge of these is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of the brief

but cogent argument of Demosthenes in Cor. §§ 17—52, and to a fair judgment of the whole political course of both Demosthenes and Aeschines at this decisive crisis in the history of Athens. Much new light has been thrown upon the whole period which I have treated from inscriptions recently discovered by the French explorers at Delphi and from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. In preparing this sketch I have made constant use of Grote and of Schaefer's *Demosthenes und Seine Zeit*, as my references will show.

In revising the text I have in most cases followed the authority of the Codex  $\Sigma$ , especially when it is supported by its companion L<sup>1</sup>. See Essay VII. In preparing the commentary I have been constantly aided by the long line of editors, whose names are too familiar to need mention. I must, however, express my great obligation to Westermann and Blass, especially for references to parallel passages and to other illustrations. I have found it impossible to give credit for every remark and reference which may be borrowed from these or other recent editors: many of these are found in the notes of Dissen and the older editors, and many have long been in my own collection of notes. Nothing is harder to trace than old references, and most of those relating to Demosthenes on the Crown may now be assumed to be common property.

I take great pleasure in expressing (not for the first time) my deep indebtedness to Dr Henry Jackson of Trinity College, Cambridge. He has done me the inestimable service of reading and revising my proofs and giving me the benefit of his wide experience. There are few pages in this book which have not had the benefit of his criticism.

Notwithstanding the size of this volume, I have omitted the discussion of many interesting questions, especially some which belong to the whole subject of Attic oratory rather than to the study of a single oration. One of these relates to the rhythmical character of the language of Demosthenes, which could not be treated briefly or incidentally. I must refer those who are interested in this to Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III. 1, pp. 105—141, with the Anhang.

I have avoided many discussions of grammatical points in

the notes by references to my *Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses* (M. T.), and I have occasionally referred to my *Greek Grammar* (G.). The references to Grote IX.—XII. are made to the first edition; those to earlier volumes to the second edition. Those to Schaefer's *Demosthenes* are to the second edition; and those to Boeckh's *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* to the third edition by Fränkel (1886).

I have made no attempt to be neutral on the question of the patriotism and the statesmanship of Demosthenes in his policy of uncompromising resistance to Philip. It seems to me that the time for such neutrality is past. I cannot conceive how any one who knows and respects the traditions of Athens, and all that she represents in the long contest of free institutions against tyranny, can read the final attack of Aeschines and the reply of Demosthenes without feeling that Demosthenes always stands forth as a true patriot and statesman, who has the best interests of his country at heart and upholds her noblest traditions, while Aeschines appears first as a trimmer and later as an intentional (if not a corrupt) ally of Philip in his contest with Athens. That the policy of resistance to Philip's aggressions failed at last is no discredit to the patriotism or the statesmanship of Demosthenes. Can any one, even at this day, read the pathetic and eloquent appeal of Demosthenes to posterity in Cor. §§ 109—208, and not feel that Athens would have been unworthy of her glorious past if she had submitted to Philip without a struggle for liberty, even if Chaeronea and all its consequences had been seen by her in advance? Her course was plain: that of Demosthenes was even plainer.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
November 15, 1900.





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ERRATA.

Page 148, Notes, col. 1, l. 2, *read* Vesp. 957.

„ 150, „ „ l. 11, „ Philoch.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ



## ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

ΤΕΙΧΟΣ μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προὔβάλετο τῶν συνή-  
 θων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τὴν τε  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαν καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν  
 “οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠχύρωσα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις  
 δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινι συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τῇ δὲ ἐκ  
 θαλάττης.” οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ  
 221 μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. πεπονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη  
 τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτὸ, ἠρέθησαν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἐκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέ-  
 λειαν παρέχεσθαι ψιλῆν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. εἷς τοίνυν 2  
 τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιμέ-  
 λειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρεία, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως  
 ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει. ἐπήνεσεν  
 αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐνοίαν ταύτην ἢ βουλή, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο  
 στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ  
 ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι 3  
 τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διοιυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ  
 Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὓς ἢ παινή-  
 γυρις συνήγαγε· καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνείπειν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι  
 στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιαιμέα ἢ πόλις ἀρετῆς  
 συμπάσης ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν  
 ἢ τιμῇ θαυμαστή. διὸ καὶ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἦψατο, καὶ τοῦ ψηφί- 4  
 σματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή. Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν  
 τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων  
 ἄρχοντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγου ὑπεύθυνον  
 εἶναι, νόμοι δὲ κελεύειν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, καὶ πάλιν



νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν κελεύοντα, εἰ μὲν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
 στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἡ  
 5 βουλῇ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. φησὶ δὲ καὶ 222  
 τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ  
 πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ  
 πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει. καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατη-  
 γορίας Δίσχίνης κέχρηται, πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων  
 νόμου καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς  
 πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιή-  
 6 σασθαι. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο  
 καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ  
 γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα·  
 μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευ-  
 θύνων ἀντιτίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον  
 ἕτερον ἦτοι νόμου μέρος, ὡς φησιν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν εἰ μὴ ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο  
 ψηφίσῃται.

### ΕΤΕΡΑ ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐν Χαι-  
 ρωνείᾳ, πόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἠττήθησαν. ἐπικρατήσας οὖν ὁ  
 Μακεδῶν φρουρὰν μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνεβαλε, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα  
 δουλεύουσιν. ἐλπίσαντες οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσον  
 οὐδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν ἦξειν προσδοκῶντες τὸν τύραννον, ἐσκέψαντο 223  
 τὰ πεπονηκότα μέρη τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπανορθώσασθαι, καὶ  
 δὴ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς τειχοποιοὶ προεβλήθησαν. τοιούδε καὶ ἡ  
 Πανδιονὶς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἴλετο πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τὸν ῥήτορα. τῆς τοίνυν  
 ἐργασίας ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσδεθεῖς ἔτι χρημάτων μετὰ τὰ δεδο-  
 μένα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπάνησε, καὶ οὐκ  
 2 ἐλογίσατο αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ κατεχαρίσατο<sup>1</sup>. ταύτην ἀφορμὴν ὁ  
 Κτησιφῶν, εἰς τῶν πολιτευομένων, δεξάμενος εἰσήνεγκε γνώμην ἐν τῇ  
 βουλῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην, “ ἐπειδὴ διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημο-  
 σθένους παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον εὐνοίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ  
 νῦν δὲ τειχοποιοὺς ὦν καὶ προσδεθεῖς χρημάτων οἴκοθεν παρέσχε  
 καὶ ἐχαρίσατο, διὰ τοῦτο δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανού-  
 σθαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγωδιῶν ἀγομένων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ ἐχαρίσατο. “Malim κατεχαρίσατο.” G. H. Schaefer.

καινῶν," ἴσως ὅτε πλήθη συντρέχει ἐπιθυμούντα καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν. εἰσαγομένου τοίνυν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ προβουλευ- 3  
ματος, ἐφίσταται τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατήγορος Αἰσχίνης, ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπάρχων ἐχθρὸς, παράνομον εἶναι φάσκων πρὸς τρεῖς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμα, ἓνα μὲν τὸν κελεύοντα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι πρὶν ἂν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνas· οὐπω δὲ ταύτας, φησὶν, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐδεδώκει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ διοικῶν καὶ τειχοποιῶν, καὶ ἔδει ἀναμεῖναι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ γέρας ἕως ἂν ὀφθῆ καθαρὸς ἐξε- 4  
τασθεῖς. δεύτερον δὲ ἀναγινώσκει νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐν Πυκνὶ 4  
στεφανοῦσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διαβάλλον τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς  
224 δεξαμένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορευθῆναι τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸν στέφανον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος νόμος εἰς τὴν ὅλην ὄρᾳ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέτασιν· κελεύει γὰρ μηδέποτε ψευδῆ γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μητρῶον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὅλα τὰ δημόσια γράμματα. ἐψεύ-  
σατο δὲ, φησὶν, εὐνοίαν καὶ σπουδὴν μαρτυρήσας τῷ Δημοσθένει· κακόνους γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ πολέμιος εὐρίσκεται τῇ πατρίδι. τούτου 5  
τοῦ νόμου χρησίμου τυγχάνοντος, τοῦ τρίτου, ἀντιλαβόμενος ὡσπερ τινὸς ἀγκύρας ὁ ῥήτωρ κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἀντίδικον, μεθόδῳ δεινο-  
τάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου χρησάμενος· ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἔσχε λαβὴν ἐλεῖν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι τὸν πολέμιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τὸν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέριψε, στρατηγικῶς  
"κακοὺς ἐς μέσσον ἐλάσσας<sup>1</sup>," τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς. ἔοικε δὲ 6  
καὶ διοικεῖν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος. δοκῶν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ὑπερβαίνειν τὸ νόμιμον, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τῷ νομίμῳ προσκέχρηται· καὶ γὰρ νόμον ἀνέγνω Αἰσχίνης τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων<sup>2</sup> ψευδῆ, πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀποκρινόμενος εὔρε καιρὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πολιτεύ-  
ματα, ὡς νομίμῳ μαχόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη, κεφάλαιον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὲν Αἰσχίνῃ τὸ νόμιμον, τῷ δὲ ῥήτορι τὸ δίκαιον, κοινὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ συμφέρον, οὐκ ἔχον  
225 φανεράν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἡ στίσις ἔγγραφος πραγματικῆ· περὶ ῥητοῦ γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα.

Τῆς δὲ γραφῆς ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀποτεθείσης, ἐπὶ Ἄλε- 7  
ξάνδρου διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κρίσις. ὡς γὰρ ἀπέθανε Φίλιππος καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τεθαρσηκότες

<sup>1</sup> II. IV. 299. See G. H. Schaefer's note.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. στεφάνων. Weil ἐπιφερόντων. Blass γραφόντων.

ἐξέβαλον, ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καταφρονηθεὶς τὰς Θήβας κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα μεταγνοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ἐξεχώρησε τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν κρίσει παραδοῦναι τοὺς προδότας τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀδίκησαντας, καὶ οὕτω συνεκροτήθη τὸ δικαστήριον.

# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι  
πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε

CRITICAL NOTES. Title: Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ Στεφάνου Σ; but at the end of the oration ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου.

Text. § 1. Line 2. διατελῶ om. V6. τε above line L.

PROOEMIUM: §§ 1—8. The solemn earnestness with which Demosthenes undertook this vindication of his whole political life is shown by the unusual and impressive prayer with which he begins, and still more by its repetition. He shows the same spirit in the appeal to the Gods in § 141, with which he introduces his account of the fatal events which led to Chaeronea, and in his peroration (§ 324). His earnest appeal to the judges to grant him an impartial hearing, which struck Cicero by its humility (*summissius a primo*, Orat. 26) and Quintilian by its timidity (*timido summissoque principio*, xi. 3), was no mere rhetorical device or *captatio benevolentiae*, but chiefly an honest recognition of his position as an advocate, who was no party to the suit, and so in many respects at the mercy of the court. This prooemium was frequently quoted with laudation by the ancient rhetoricians. Dionysius dwells on the rhythm of the periods; and he thus divides the first clause, *πρῶτον μὲν...πά-*

*σαι*, into feet: ἀρχεὶ βακχείος ῥυθμὸς, ἐπειθ' ἔπεται σπονδαῖος, εἶτα ἀνάπαιστος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἕτερος σπονδαῖος, εἰθ' ἐξῆς κρητικοὶ τρεῖς, σπονδαῖος δὲ ὁ τελευταῖος. This is — — — | — — | — — — | — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — —; and he compares the last four feet with the verse Κρησίοις ἐν ῥυθμοῖς παῖδα μέλψωμεν.

§ 1. 1. τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, *to all the Gods and Goddesses*. Θεοῖς Goddess as well as God, θεά being poetic; thus ἡ θεός is the common title of Athena. A slight extension of the solemn formula πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις becomes absurdly comic in Ar. Av. 866 εὐχεσθε ὄρνισιν Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίησι πᾶσι καὶ πάσῃσιν. Cf. Thesm. 331—334. The scholiast on Ar. Eq. 765 thinks that Demosthenes was helped here by the mock invocation of Cleon in Eq. 763—768!

2. ἔχων διατελῶ: ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ ἔχω, Ἀττικῶς. Schol. (See M.T. 879.) The words ἔχων διατελεῖ with εὐνοία probably occurred in Ctesiphon's decree: in the spurious document in § 118 we have ἡς



πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς  
τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ  
5 τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι  
τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι  
περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη  
2 τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι  
τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν  
ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνω-  
κέναι μηδὲν οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
5 καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογία, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται  
τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἔᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

- § 2. 3. ἀκροάσασθαι Σ, Β; ἀκροᾶσθαι L, vulg.; ἀκροάσεσθαι Spengel, Bl.  
4. ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; ἀμφοτ. om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>. ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ  
Σ, L, A<sub>2</sub>; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ vulg. 5. καὶ τὸ τῇ ἀπολογία Υ; καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπολ. A<sub>2</sub>.  
6. χρῆσθαι A<sub>1</sub>, above χρῆσασθαι L (γρ).

ἔχων διατελεῖ. Aeschines (III. 49) quotes from the decree ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων: see the spurious indictment (below) § 54<sup>9</sup>, and § 57<sup>1,2</sup>. For εὐνοία see §§ 110, 321, 322.

3. ὑπάρξαι μοι, *be granted me (be made available to me)*. The fundamental idea of ὑπάρχω in this sense is best seen in τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *the resources or the existing conditions*, i.e. *what is available, what one has to depend on*: see note on ὑπάρχειν § 95<sup>4</sup>, and βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει, IX. 5.

4. ἀγῶνα: see note on ἀγωνίζομαι, § 3<sup>3</sup>.—ἔπειθ', *secondly*: simple ἔπειτα (without δέ) is the regular rhetorical formula after πρῶτον μὲν (see §§ 8, 18, 177, 235, 248; cf. 267). Thucydides generally has this, but often ἔπειτα δέ.—ὅπερ ἐστὶ: εὔχομαι, δηλονότι (Schol.), referring to the whole sentence ὅπερ...ἀκροάσασθαι. The relation of ὅπερ to τοῦτο here is clearly that of ὅτι (§ 8<sup>6</sup>) to the following τοῦτο; otherwise we might be inclined to take ὅπερ here as=*id quod*, explained by τοῦτο...ἀκροάσασθαι.—ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, *concerns you especially* (more than myself).

5. εὐσεβείας: referring to the oath (§ 2). Greek εὐσέβεια reached a lower level than our *piety*, including negative

abstinence from impiety, so that one who does not break his oath is so far εὐσεβής. —τοῦτο παραστήσαι ὑμῖν, *may put this into your hearts*: τοῦτο refers back emphatically to the omitted antecedent of ὅπερ, as οὕτως (§ 2<sup>6</sup>) to that of ὡς, and is explained by μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον κ.τ.λ.

7. πῶς...δεῖ: explained by τὸ καὶ...χρήσασθαι (end of § 2): cf. περι...ἐργάσεται, Hdt. VIII. 79, and περι τοῦ ὄντινα τρόπον χρῆσθαι, Plat. Rep. 352 D.

§ 2. 1. τὸν ὄρκον: the Heliastic oath, which each judge had sworn. The document in XXIV. 149—151 purporting to be this famous oath (hardly authentic) has this clause: καὶ ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν. For the connection of the laws with the oath, see note on § 6<sup>5</sup>.

2. δικαίοις, *just provisions*, perhaps *provisions of law*. West. cites for the latter meaning XX. 94, τοσοῦτων ὄντων δικαίων; but two lines above δίκαια has clearly its ordinary force of *just*, applied to provisions of law.

3. ἀκροάσασθαι: this or ἀκροᾶσθαι is far preferable to the emendation ἀκροάσεσθαι. The infin. with τὸ here denotes simply *the provision for hearing both sides impartially*. This infin. is



Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα **3**  
 Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν  
 ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον ἵνυ  
 ἔμοι τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτω μὴ ἐλεῖν  
 τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἔμοι μὲν—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν **5**  
 οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου

§ 3. 2. ὧ om. L. 4. εὐνοίας διαπεσεῖν V6. μὴλεῖν (w. ε over η) Σ;  
 λαβεῖν (over ἐλεῖν) B. 5. ἐγὼ (for ἔμοι) B (γρ), Y (γρ). οὐ βούλομαι δὲ  
 L, vulg.; δὲ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, above line Σ<sup>2</sup>, B (γρ). δυσχερὲς οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν L, A1, V6.

commonly a verbal noun *without tempo-  
 ral force*, and is generally present or  
 aorist (M.T. 96). The perfect is some-  
 times needed to express completion (as  
 προκατεγνωκέαι, below) and the future  
 may emphasize futurity, as without the  
 article. The infin. with τό is occasion-  
 ally found in *or. obl.*, with its tense fully  
 preserved, or with ἄν. (See Birklein,  
 Substant. Infin., p. 94; and M.T. 109,  
 113, 212, 794.)—τό μὴ προκατεγνωκέαι:  
*not having decided against* (κατά) *either*  
*party in advance*: τό μὴ προκατεγνωῖναι  
 would be timeless, like τό ἀκροάσασθαι  
 (above) and τό ἀποδοῦναι and τό ἐᾶσαι  
 (below).

4. οὐδὲ (sc. μόνον), *nor only* (cf.  
 § 93<sup>1, 2</sup>).

5. καὶ τῇ τάξει...χρησασθαι, i.e. *to*  
*adopt not only* (καὶ) *that order of argument*  
*but also* (καὶ) *that general plan of defence*  
*which* etc.—ὡς...ἕκαστος: for the rhetor-  
 ical amplification see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.  
 ἕκαστος is made subject of the relative  
 clause, as this precedes; we reverse the  
 order, and translate it with χρῆσασθαι.—  
 ἀπολογία refers strictly to the defence,  
 which alone remained.

6. τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος (not  
 ἐκάτερος), acc. to Weil, is "tout homme  
 qui plaide sa cause," a general expres-  
 sion. He remarks that ἀγωνίζομαι ap-  
 plies especially to the defendant, citing  
 XIX. 214 (end), XXI. 7, 90, XXIII. 100,  
 XXIV. 28, 131, [XXVI.] 20.

This is a dignified appeal against the  
 offensive demand of Aeschines (III. 202),  
 that the court should either refuse to hear  
 Demosthenes or (at least) compel him to

follow his adversary's order of argument.  
 Spengel (see Dindorf's note) calls this argu-  
 ment "sophistical," since granting free-  
 dom of arrangement is not fairly included  
 in τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. But  
 both parties could not be heard impar-  
 tially if one were compelled *by the court*  
*itself* to present his case in the most  
 damaging order at his opponent's dic-  
 tation.

§ 3. 1. πολλά: sc. ἐλαττώματα.

3. ἀγωνίζομαι, like ἀγών, used of  
 contests of all kinds, here of a lawsuit.  
 See the pun on the two meanings of  
 ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου in IV. 47.

4. διαμαρτεῖν, *to forfeit*: cf. ἀποστε-  
 ρεῖσθαι, § 5<sup>4</sup>, and the following words.—  
 μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφὴν, *not to gain his case*:  
 cf. Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν, Thuc. I. 126; ψήφισμα  
 νικᾶ, Aesch. III. 68; πολλάς...γραφὰς  
 διώξας οὐδεμίαν εἶλεν, Ant. 2, A<sup>a</sup>, 5. ἐλεῖν  
 γραφὴν (or δίκην) may also have a direct  
 accusative, as δίκας εἶλεν Εὐπολιῶν δύο,  
 Isae. VII. 10: these expressions are used  
 only of the plaintiff; a victorious defend-  
 ant is said γραφὴν (δίκην) ἀποφυγεῖν, a  
 defeated defendant γραφὴν (δίκην) ὀφλεῖν.

5. ἀλλ' ἔμοι μὲν: a familiar ἀποσιώ-  
 πησις, often quoted by the rhetoricians.  
 What is plainly meant would sound un-  
 pleasant (δυσχερὲς) and suggest disaster  
 in the opening of his speech. Aquila  
 Rom. (de fig. 5) translates: sed mihi qui-  
 dem—nolo quicquam initio dicendi omi-  
 nosius proloqui. See Quint. IX. 2, 54,  
 who quotes "quos ego—sed motos prae-  
 stat componere fluctus," Aen. I. 135.  
 Cf. εἴτ' ὦ—, § 22<sup>5</sup>; τότε δ'—, § 195<sup>10</sup>.

6. ἐκ περιουσίας, *at an advantage*, lit.

κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἠδέως, τοῖς 4 ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἠδονὴν τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κὰν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατη- 5 γορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν 227

8. τῶν (before κατ.) om. O. ἀκούειν above line Σ, L<sup>2</sup>, om. L<sup>1</sup>. 9. δεάντους Σ; δ' αὐτοὺς L, vulg.; τοῖς δ' ἐπαιν. ἑαυτοῦς O (corr. from δ' αὐτοὺς).  
 § 4. 4. κατηγορούμενα O. 5. ἐὰν Σ, L, A<sub>2</sub>, V<sub>6</sub>; ἂν vulg. 6. δ' om. Φ.

from an abundance, like a rich man who stakes little compared with his wealth. In Luke xxi. 4, the rich cast into the treasury "of their abundance" or "superfluity," ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς. See Dem. XLV. 67, where οἱ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί is equivalent to οἱ μετ' εὐπορίας πονηροί and opposed to οἱ μετ' ἐνδελίας (πονηροί); Plat. Theaet. 154 D, ἐκ περιουσίας ἀλλήλων ἀποπειρώμενοι, trying one another (with arguments) wantonly or for mere pastime (see Campbell's note); Thuc. V. 103, τοὺς ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ (ἐλπίδι), those who indulge hope when they have abundant resources, and VI. 55, πολλῶ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε. Harpocration (under ἐκ περιουσίας) thus explains our passage: ἐγὼ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδυνεύω, οὗτος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος μου κατηγορεῖ.

7. ἕτερον δ' (sc. ἐλάττωμα) corresponds to ἐν μὲν in 2, and keeps up the construction of πολλὰ ἐλαττοῦμαι in 1. West. makes ἕτερον nom. (sc. ἐστίν).—ὃ...ὑπάρχει, which is a natural disposition of the whole human race: πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις suggests the subject of ἀκούειν and ἄχθεσθαι, which are in apposition to ἕτερον (M. T. 745).

§ 4. 1. ἐστὶ πρὸς ἠδονὴν, makes for pleasure (ἐστὶν ἠδύ, Schol.): cf. Aeschyl. Pr. 494, ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἠδονὴν.

2. ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (M. T. 777) modifies πᾶσιν. Aeschines (III. 241) had warned the court against the self-glorification of Demosthenes.

4. ἀπολύσασθαι: see § 50<sup>5</sup> and note.

6. καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι: a familiar form of rhetorical amplification (opposed to modern ideas of style), for which ordinary speech would use πεπολίτευμαι alone. Other instances are βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται (§ 2<sup>5</sup>), πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων and κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες (§ 11<sup>2,5</sup>), ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει (§ 13<sup>6</sup>), διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει (§ 14<sup>1</sup>), ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες (§ 22<sup>9</sup>), πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι (§ 31<sup>4</sup>). In these cases one verb is generic and the other specific; but sometimes two verbs of nearly or quite the same meaning are used together for a similar rhetorical effect, as πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν (§ 62), ζώντων καὶ ὄντων (§ 72).—βαδίζω, proceed, more formal than come or go. τινὲς ἐμέμψαντο ὡς τροπικὴν ἐν προομιῶσι οὐ καλῶς κειμένην τὴν λέξιν. Schol. The Scholia to Aesch. III. 1 censure "metaphor in the prooemium," calling παράταξιν 'τραγικωτέραν', but σπουδῆ καὶ παραγγελία in Dem. XIX. 1 'πολιτικώτερον'. Blass says of βαδίζω: "doch ist βαδίζω nicht gleich ἔω, sondern bedeutet 'geradeswegs (frisch, ohne Bedenken) eingehen auf,'" and he refers to



ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν ὁμολο- 5 γῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶν' ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας 5 καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳπερ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ 6 δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν,

8. τοῦτο εἰπεῖν A2.

§ 5. 1. Ἀθην., ἂν ὁμολ. Σ, L; πάντας ἂν ὁμολ. vulg. Ἀθηναῖοι Σ, L, O; δικάσαι vulg.; ὧ Ἀθην. A1; West. om. ὧ ἄνδ. Ἀθην. 2. ἐμοὶ Σ<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>; ἐμοὶ τε Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. 3. μὲν om. V6. 4. ἀποστερεῖσθαι Σ (γρ), L, vulg.; ἀπορεῖσθαι Σ; ἀποστερήσθαι O. 5. τούτῳ O<sup>1</sup>. συμβαίῃ A1, V6. εὐνοίας τε καὶ φιλ. A1, V6, Y.

§ 6. 1. περὶ πάντων V6. ὄντως O<sup>1</sup>. 2. κατηγορουμένων V6, O.

βαδιοῦμαι in the same sense in §§ 58, 263. See other examples in the Index Demosth. of Preuss.

8. ὡς μετριώτατα: cf. the full form ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα, § 256<sup>9</sup>.—ὅ τι... ἀναγκάζῃ, whatever the case itself may require of me (lit. compel me): with ἀναγκάζω without an infin. cf. Quint. XI. 1, 22, qui hoc se coegisset.

9. δίκαιος ἔχειν: the common personal construction (M. T. 762). The apodosis is future in sense, after the future ὅ τι ἂν ἀναγκάζῃ.

10. τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα, a suit of this kind, i.e. in which Ctesiphon is indicted and Demosthenes accused: cf. §§ 12—16.

§ 5. 1. ἂν ὁμολογήσαι: West. omits ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, probably to avoid ἂν after a comma, as Σ and L give it. But this position, though unusual, is not objectionable when words belonging to the clause with ἂν (as here ὑμᾶς πάντας) precede the inserted clause. (M. T. 222.) See Ar. Pac. 137, ἀλλ', ὧ μέλ', ἂν μοι σιτίων διπλῶν ἔδει, and Aeschyl. Ag. 251, τὸ μέλλον, ἐπεὶ γένοιτ', ἂν κλύοις (or with-

out commas). On the contrary, τί οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι, Dem. I. 19, and a few similar expressions, in which probably little or no pause was felt, are irregular. In I. 14 we must read τις ἂν εἴποι with Σ.

3. οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος, quite as great.—πάντων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, to be deprived of anything: cf. πανταχοῦ, anywhere, § 81<sup>5</sup>.

6. ὅσῳπερ, (by so much) as: the implied τοσοῦτῳ is felt as limiting μάλιστα (sc. λυπηρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν).—καὶ before τὸ τυχεῖν expresses the parallelism (so to speak) between losing and gaining the privileges: see ἂ καὶ διεκωλύθη, § 60<sup>4</sup>, and note. Such a καὶ can seldom be expressed in English, except by emphasis.

§ 6. 1. ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι: see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

3. δικαίως belongs to ἀκοῦσαι, from which it is separated partly for emphasis, and partly to bring it directly before ὥσπερ. It cannot be taken with ἀπολογουμένου, as the laws referred to have no reference to ἀπολογία, but require the judges to hear both sides impartially (§ 2<sup>2</sup>).

οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὧν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικὸς, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾗτο δεῖν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ  
 7 τοὺς δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέσαι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐνὶ τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικάζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς  
 5 τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαι' εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.

6. δικάζοντας Σ, L, A2, B, F; δικ. ὑμᾶς vulg.

§ 7. 1. ὑμῶν O<sup>1</sup>. ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ Σ, L, F, Φ, Υ, O; ὡς γέ μοι vulg. 3. πρότερον A1<sup>1</sup>, V6. 5. φυλάττων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; διαφυλ. vulg. ὑστέρου Σ<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>2</sup>, A1, V6, Υ; ὑστερον Σ<sup>2</sup>, L<sup>1</sup>, B, vulg. 7. πεποιήται A2. 8. ἀπάντων Σ, L, A1. 2, V6; πάντων vulg.

4. ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, i.e. *the original maker*: ὁ νόμον τιθεὶς is used like νομοθέτης, for the *lawgiver*, whose title is perpetual. In ὁ νόμον θεὶς the participial force appears with its designation of time. In XXIII. 25 we have ὁ θεὶς τὸν νόμον, and in 27 ὁ τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς, both referring to the same lawgiver and the same law (from different points of view).—**δημοτικός**, a friend of the people or of popular government: see Ar. Nub. 1187, ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν. Aeschines (III. 168—170) gives five marks of a δημοτικός, which Demosthenes ridicules in § 122. Aesch. opposes the ὀλιγαρχικός to the δημοτικός.

5. οὐ μόνον...ὁμωμοκέσαι: i.e. Solon thought that these provisions for an impartial hearing should have not merely the ordinary sanction which all laws have by enactment (τῷ γράψαι), but the further security which they gained by the judges swearing to uphold them. This double sanction was secured by enacting that these provisions should be a part of the Heliastic oath. We do not know whether they were also enacted in a distinct law, apart from the oath. γράφω, besides meaning to propose a law or decree, often refers to the enactment as a whole, as here.

§ 7. 2. τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, here used like λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία in XXII. 21, 22. There αἰτία is thus defined, as opposed to ἔλεγχος: αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δὲ ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἴπη τις καὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ δεῖξῃ. Commonly, αἰτία refers to an accusation, whether true or false: cf. § 12<sup>b</sup> (εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς).

3. τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν: in public suits (γραφαί) in the Heliastic courts, each side spoke once (though the time might be divided among several speakers), the plaintiff first; in private suits, and in the Areopagus, each side was allowed a second argument.

4. παρελθεῖν, to escape (get by): ὡς ἐπὶ δρομέων. Schol.

5. τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου, the second (later) speaker, i.e. the defendant (τοῦ φεύγοντος): see Ar. Vesp. 15, σὺ λέξον πρότερος, Hyper. Eux. § 15, ὁ πρότερος ἐμοῦ λέγων. Cf. Dem. I. 16, τοὺς ὑστάτους...εἰπόντας. (West.)

6. δίκαι', pleadings, the statement of his rights: cf. § 9<sup>7</sup> (see West.).—προσδέξεται, shall receive kindly, take under his protection.

7. οὕτω repeats with emphasis the idea of παρασχὼν...ἀκροατὴν.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον 8  
 δίδοναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι  
 πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι  
 πρῶτον μὲν, ὄσπην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ πόλει καὶ  
 228 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, 5  
 ἔπειθ' ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ  
 πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστήσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ  
 ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γυνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν Αἰσχίνης, 9  
 κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ  
 πλείστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον  
 ἅμα βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, 5

§ 8. 1. βίου om. A1<sup>1</sup>, O. 2. βούλομαι καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ vulg., om. V6; καθ.  
 ἐν ἀρχῇ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2. 3. ἐναντίων O. 4. ἐγὼ om. Y. τῇ πόλει Σ<sup>1</sup>, L;  
 τῇ τε πόλει vulg. 5. μοι Σ<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; μοι παρ' ὑμῶν vulg. 6. μέλλοι V6, O  
 (corr.). 7. παραστήσαι MSS.; παραστήναι Bk., Bl. τοὺς θεοὺς (after παραστήσαι)  
 vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2.

§ 9. 3. λόγων O<sup>1</sup>. ἀνάλωκε B<sup>2</sup>. 4. πλείω A2. 5. εἰπεῖν πρῶ-  
 τον Σ<sup>1</sup>, L, A2; πρῶτον εἰπεῖν Σ (corr.), vulg.

§ 8. 1. λόγον δίδοναι, to render an  
 account, used often of the formal accounts  
 which all officers of state rendered at the  
 εἶθυναί: see Aesch. III. 11, 12, and cf.  
 § 62<sup>4</sup> (below), λόγον...λαβεῖν.

6. ὃ τι...ἐκάστῳ: see note on ὅπερ...  
 δόξης, § 1<sup>4</sup>.

7. παραστήσαι: sc. τοὺς θεοὺς (subj.),  
 as in § 1<sup>5</sup>.—τούτο γυνῶναι, to give that  
 judgment.

In §§ 9—52 the orator replies to  
 charges which are foreign to the indict-  
 ment (ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς). We have (1) an  
 introduction in § 9; then (2) he speaks of  
 his private life in §§ 10, 11; then (3) of  
 his public policy in §§ 12—52.

Under (3) we have an introduction  
 (§§ 12—16), and the defence of his policy  
 concerning the Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17  
 —52). The last contains an introduction  
 (§ 17), the narration (§§ 18—49), and the  
 conclusion (§§ 50—52).

§ 9. 1. εἰ...κατηγορήσεν, i.e. if he  
 had confined his accusation (in his speech)  
 to the charges in his indictment (γραφῆ):  
 see the same distinction between κατη-  
 γορεῖ and κρινεῖ in § 15<sup>4</sup>.

2. προβουλεύματος: the strict name  
 of a bill which had passed only the  
 Senate, though the less exact ψήφισμα was  
 often applied to it: see § 56<sup>1</sup>.—εὐθὺς ἂν  
 ἀπελογούμην, I should at once proceed (lit.  
 be now proceeding) to my defence, etc. Cf.  
 § 34<sup>4</sup>.

3. οὐκ ἐλάττω, quite as much (as in  
 his proper accusation).—τᾶλλα διεξιὼν  
 belongs to both ἀνήλωκε and κατεψεύσατο.  
 —τὰ πλείστα: the antithesis to the comp.  
 οὐκ ἐλάττω seems to show that the superl.  
 is to be taken literally. The statements  
 repudiated by Demosthenes about his  
 private life and the Peace of Philocrates  
 can well be said to outnumber all the  
 others.



ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικάιων ἀκούῃ μου.

10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἶον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ  
5 κοινὰ ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν  
10 μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παρά-

6. τοῖς ἔξω Υ.

§ 10. 1. δὴ om. Φ. 3. αὐτὸς O. 4. καὶ μηδὲ A2. φωνὴν μου L (γρ). πάντα κοιν' O<sup>1</sup>. 5. ὑπερέυ Σ. καταψηφίσασθαι Σ, O<sup>1</sup>. 7. καὶ om. V6. 8. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ Υ. 11. τῶν πρότερον Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2, V6; τῶν πρότ. γεγενημένων A1 (mg.). 2 (mg.), B, vulg.

6. ἀλλοτριώτερον, *less kindly* (*with greater alienation*).

7. τῶν...δικαίων: like δίκαια, § 7<sup>6</sup>. Two genitives with ἀκούω are rare, though either alone is common.—ὑπὲρ: in the same sense as περί, as often in the orators, who, however, often observe the common distinction. Cf. § 1<sup>4</sup> and § 11<sup>2 & 5</sup>, and XXIII. 19, τοὺς περὶ τῶν νόμων λόγους ἀκούσῃ μου.

The reply in §§ 10, 11 to the charges against his private life and character amounts merely to a scornful refusal to discuss them, and an appeal to the judges to decide the case at once against him if they believe them.

§ 10. 1. περὶ τῶν ἰδίων: with ὅσα βεβλασφήμηκε (not with λέγω), the omitted antec. of the cognate ὅσα being understood as limiting θεάσασθε...λέγω, as regards all the calumnies which he has abusively uttered about my private life. The whole sentence περὶ μὲν...λέγω is parallel to ὑπὲρ μὲν...ἔξετάσω in § 11<sup>5</sup>. (West., Bl.)—λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε: for the relation of λοιδορία and βλασφημία to κατηγορία see § 123<sup>2</sup>. Cf. Cic. Cael. 3, 6: *accusatio crimen de-*

siderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi praeter contumeliam. βλαφημία is *slander*, a special form of λοιδορία, *abuse* in general. Our word *blasphemy* (like many others) never goes beyond the special meaning which it derives from the ecclesiastical Greek: cf. *angel, apostle, hypocrite, liturgy*, etc.

3. τοιοῦτον: sc. ὄντα (M. T. 911). So χείρονα (l. 7).

4. μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε = μηδὲ φθεγγόμενόν με ἀνάσχησθε, i.e. *stop my speech at once*.—πάντα τὰ κοινὰ: i.e. they may settle the case without reference to his public acts.

6. βελτίω καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, *better and better born*, a common expression: cf. XXII. 63, 68; and τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων, § 126<sup>5</sup> (below). See Terent. Ph. i. 2, 65, *bonam bonis prognatam*.

7. μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων χείρονα, i.e. *quite as good as any of our respectable citizens*: this moderate expression is made more effective by ἵνα...λέγω: see § 126<sup>7</sup>.

11. ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων: see §§ 249,

σχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Λισχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες 11  
 ᾧήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων  
 λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψε-  
 229 σθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἀ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες 5  
 ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης  
 ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

§ 11. 2. τοὺς (corr. fr. του) Σ. 3. τρέψασθαι ΑΙ. 5. διέβαλλες Υ, V6.  
 6. ἐξετάσω Σ, L, B, F, Φ, Υ, V6; αὐτίκα ἕξ. vulg. ἀνέδην L, Α2, V6; ἀνάιδην  
 (ε over αι) Σ; ἀναίδην ΑΙ, B, vulg., Prisc. II. 181. οὕτως γεγενημένης vulg.;  
 οὕτως om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. 2, V6. 7. βουλομένοις ἀκούειν Σ, L, B (mg.), ΑΙ. 2, V6;  
 βουλ. τούτοις ἀκούειν vulg.; ἀκούειν om. B, F, Υ, ΒΙ. τουτοισί Σ, L (γρ), ΑΙ, B,  
 F, Φ, Υ, V6; τούτοις ΑΙ, F (mg.), vulg.; ταυτησί L.

250, where he speaks of being brought to trial "daily" after the battle of Chaeronea.

§ 11. 1. κακοήθης...εὔηθες ᾧήθης: an untranslatable παρονομασία, the sarcastic effect of which, as pronounced by Demosthenes, can easily be imagined. κακοήθης, *ill-natured, malicious*, is in antithesis to εὔηθες, *good-natured* (in the double sense of our *simple*). The idea (imperfectly expressed) is: *malicious (ill-natured) fellow though you are, you conceived this perfectly simple (silly) notion*. Demosthenes seldom uses this figure; but in XXI. 207 we have a play on the name of Eubulus: ἀλλ' εἰ κακῶς ἐμὲ βούλει ποιεῖν, Εὐβουλε.

2. πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων: see note on § 4<sup>b</sup>. These words are repeated in sense in πεπολιτευμένων (5), but the same figure immediately follows in κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες.

4. τετύφωμαι: cf. τετυφῶσθαι, IX. 20. See Harpocr.: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἕξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα, ἥτοι ἀπὸ τῆς βροντῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν τυφῶνα ἀναφερομένων σκηπτῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τυφωνικῶν καλουμένων πνευμάτων, ἃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξίστησι ἀθρόως καταραγέτα. Ἄλκαϊος, "πάμπαν δὲ τυφῶς ἐκ σ' ἔλετο φρένας." Δημοσθ. ὑπὲρ Κτησ. If τυφῶ is thus connected with τυφῶν or τυφῶς, τετύφωμαι must mean *I am distracted or crazed*, like ἐμβρόντητος (§ 243<sup>7</sup>). If it is

derived from τῦφος, *mist or smoke* (see Lidd. & Sc.), τετύφωμαι means *I am stupefied, befogged or wrapt in smoke*.

6. πομπείας, *ribaldry (procession-talk)*. See Harpocr.: πομπείας καὶ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ λοιδορίας καὶ λοιδορεῖν. μεταφέρει δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς πομπαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν λοιδορουμένων ἀλλήλοισ. Μένανδρος Περικθία, "ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν εἰσι πομπεῖαι τινες σφόδρα λοιδοροί." The Scholia have: πομπείας, λοιδορίας, ὕβρεως· ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς προσωπεῖα τινες φοροῦντες ἀπέσκωπτον τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς ἐν ἑορτῇ παίζοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν φερόμενοι. See ἐξ ἀμάξης, § 122<sup>b</sup>, and Suidas quoted in note; and πομπεύειν, § 124<sup>2</sup>. The chorus of mystae in the Frogs ((416—430) gives a vile specimen, which probably exaggerates the genuine πομπεία. —ἀνέδην, *loosely, without care*: cf. ἀνήμι and ἀνεσις. The Scholia recognize the false reading ἀναίδην (διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου) as equivalent to ἀναισχύντως.

7. ἂν...τουτοισί: *if these (judges) shall wish to hear it*. See Thuc. VI. 46, τῷ Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν, and other examples in M. T. 900. Whiston compares Liv. XXI. 50, quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.

§§ 12—16. After thus dismissing the private charges as unworthy of a reply, he comes to the charges against his conduct with regard to the Peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C. In this introduction

- 12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων  
 μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδῶσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ  
 δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἢ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν  
 ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 5 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν  
 τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην  
 13 ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ προσελ-

§ 12. 1. πολλὰ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2, V6; πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ vulg. 2. διδῶσι Σ, L, A2, Φ (γρ), Β (γρ); τάττουσι L (γρ), vulg. 3. αὕτη (thus) Σ; αὕτη Φ; αὐτή· L; αὐτῇ A1, V6, B, Y. ἐπήρειαν Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; προαίρεσιν Σ; ἐπροαιρεσιν L<sup>1</sup>. 4. ὁμοῦ Σ (not ἑμοῦ as stated), L, vulg. 5. ἐνι Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, A1; ἐστὶ and ἐνὶ A1 (corr.); ἔχει Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; ἐπὶ L (corr.), Y, V6.

§ 13. 1. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι Σ (with later δεῖ crowded into the line); ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ vulg.

he dwells on the outrage of bringing such grave charges against a statesman in a way which neither allows the accused a fair opportunity to defend himself, nor gives the state any adequate remedy against him if he is guilty, while it may entail grave consequences on an innocent person.

§ 12. 1. περὶ ὧν ἐνίων, *about which in some cases*: ἐνίων qualifies ὧν (West.). Cf. III. II, τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατ. ἐνίους, and XXVII. 23, καὶ ὅσα ἔνια; also Thuc. I. 6, ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς.

3. ἢ προαίρεσις αὕτη· (so Σ): αὕτη· is much more expressive than αὐτή (with no stop), pointing vividly to the following statement of the true purpose of Aeschines. It also gives τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν κ.τ.λ. (5) its proper relation to ἐχθροῦ μὲν. The Schol. charges this passage with ἀσάφεια πολλή. The thought is as follows:—The charges include some of the gravest known to the law, which provides the severest penalties for the offences; but this suit was never brought to punish anybody for these. I will tell you what its object is (αὕτη): it is to give a personal enemy an opportunity to vent his spite and malice, while it gives the state no means of properly punishing my crimes if I am guilty. The first clause, τὰ μὲν...τιμωρίας (1, 2), states the gravity of the actual charges, and is opposed to the following τοῦ δὲ...

αὕτη. The latter introduces the double construction, (a) ἐχθροῦ μὲν...τοιαῦτα and (b) τῶν μέντοι...οὐδ' ἐγγύς, in which the motive of Aeschines and the inadequacy of this suit to deal with the alleged crimes are declared. The last two clauses are confirmed, (a) by οὐ γὰρ...δίκαιόν ἐστιν (§ 13<sup>1-4</sup>), (b) by ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς...γραφόμενον (§ 13<sup>4-10</sup>). Finally, οὐ γὰρ δῆπου...εἰγράψατο (§ 13<sup>10-12</sup>) shows that Aeschines, by his present action, virtually admits that the course just pointed out (ἐφ' οἷς...γραφόμενον) is the only consistent one.—ἐπήρειαν, *malice* (cf. § 13<sup>2</sup>): see ἐπηρέαζω, *maliciously insult*, §§ 138<sup>4</sup>, 320<sup>b</sup>.

4. ἔχει, *involves, contains*.—ὁμοῦ: this (not ἑμοῦ) is the only reading of Σ.

6. εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, *si verae erant* (not *essent*), a simple supposition, with nothing implied as to its truth: there is no need of reading οὐκ ἐνῆν in the apodosis.—οὐκ ἔνι, *it is not possible*, i.e. by this suit. οὐκ ἔχει (Σ, L<sup>1</sup>) would be in strong antithesis to ἔχει (4) with the same subject, ὁ παρῶν ἀγών: West. translates this *bietet sie nicht die Möglichkeit*. But is ὁ ἀγών οὐκ ἔχει τῇ πόλει δίκην λαβεῖν a possible construction in this sense?

7. οὐδ' ἐγγύς (sc. ἀξίαν), *nor anything like it*.

§ 13. Here the orator gives the most striking proof of his adversary's malicious



θεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν—οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν—οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά μ' ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα 5 νῦν ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττονθ' ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθι-

7. χρῆσασθαι L, vulg. πράττοντα Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; πράττοντά με vulg.

purpose (ἐχθροῦ ἐπήρειαν), viz. his bringing a form of suit by which he hoped to deprive Demosth. of the power to defend himself (λόγου τυχεῖν). It must be remembered that Aesch. had not merely prosecuted Ctesiphon instead of Demosth., but had also (200—202) besought the judges most earnestly to refuse Demosth. permission to speak as Ctesiphon's advocate.

1. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ. : if we omit δέι after ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (see crit. note), ἀφαιρεῖσθαι and τοῦτο ποιεῖν with their adjuncts are subjects of οὔτε...ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, the negation of οὐ and οὐδ' being thrice repeated in οὔτε. As we naturally omit οὐ in translation (that we may translate οὔτε), we can give the emphatic οὐδ' (2) the force of *still more* (*idazui*, Bl.), and translate, *for to try to take away my right to come before the people and be heard—still more to do this by way of malice and spite—is neither right nor patriotic* (see note on 4) *nor just*. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι is conative (cf. § 207<sup>4</sup>). For ἀφαιρεῖσθαι as subject (where we might expect τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, were it not for the following τὸ προσελεθῆν), see Thuc. III. 38, ἀμύνασθαι δὲ, τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτῳ κείμενον, ἀντίπαλον ὃν μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει, and II. 87, περιγίγνεται...νανμαχεῖν.—τὸ προσελεθῆν...τυχεῖν here is the right of every accused citizen to be heard before the popular court, which is here called δῆμος, as when it is addressed ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

2. ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει, *by way of* (venting) *malice*: cf. § 63<sup>2</sup>, ἐν τῇ...τάξει, and XX. 81, ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει. Similar is III. 31,

ἐν ὑπηρετου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει.

3. οὔτε...οὔτε...οὔτε after οὐ : see Eur. frag. 322 (N.), οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή.—ὀρθῶς ἔχον: stronger than ὀρθόν.

4. πολιτικὸν, properly *belonging to the state* (see § 246<sup>b</sup>), here *due to the state* from a citizen: cf. X. 74, οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς. Such conduct, it is meant, is *not fair to the state*. In IX. 48, πολιτικῶς refers to the simple old-fashioned Spartan style of warfare.—ἐφ' οἷς...ἑώρα: the condensed form for ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἃ ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα: cf. § 14<sup>1</sup>.

5. οὐσι τηλικούτοις (=εἰ ἦν τηλικαῦτα), *supposing them to have been so great*.

6. ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει (see note on § 4<sup>b</sup>), *set forth in his tragic style* (i.e. *prompously*), referring to the theatrical days of Aeschines, like ὑποκρίνεται, § 15<sup>1</sup>. Cf. XIX. 189, ταῦτα τραγῶδει.—παρ', *at the time of*.

7. χρῆσθαι (sc. δίκαιον ἦν, supplied from δίκαιόν ἐστιν in l. 4), *he ought to have employed*.

8. εἰσαγγέλλοντα and γραφόμενον (10) express the manner of χρῆσθαι, and with it make the apodotes to the conditions εἰ...ἑώρα and εἰ...παράνομα (sc. ἑώρα): cf. ἐφ' οἷς ἑώρα (4). εἰσαγγέλλω is *to indict by εἰσαγγελία*, as γράφομαι is (properly) *to indict by ordinary γραφή*. Notice the distinction between γράφοντα παράνομα, *proposing ill-legal measures*, and παρανόμων γραφόμενον, *in indicting for ill-legal proposals*. For the double meaning of the passive of γράφω see note on § 56<sup>1</sup>.



στάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων  
 10 γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν  
 δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν  
 14 ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ  
 διεξήει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι  
 περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι, καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ  
 μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασιν χρῆσθαι·  
 5 καὶ ὀπηνίκ' ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεπονηκῶς καὶ τούτου τὸν τρόπον 230  
 κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με, ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς  
 15 ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ  
 φυγῶν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσοῦτοις

11. ἐξελέγξειν ΑΙ, V6; ἐξελέγχειν L, vulg., Σ<sup>1</sup> (ξ over χ).

§ 14. 3. καὶ τιμωρίαι after κρίσεις ΑΙ, V6. 3, 4. πικρὰ...ἐπιτίμια vulg., Σ (only mg. w. Ω). 4. ἔχουσαι vulg.; ἔχοντες Σ (mg.), L<sup>1</sup>, Φ (γρ). ἐξῆν αὐτῶ πασι ΑΙ, V6. χρῆσθαι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, B, F, Υ, Φ, O; χρῆσθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ ΑΙ, V6. 6. πρὸς με Σ; πρὸς ἐμέ L, vulg.

§ 15. 2. τὰ om. O<sup>1</sup>, with ἐλέγχους...σκόμματα.

10. οὐ γὰρ...ἐγράψατο: οὐ γὰρ δήπου belongs to both clauses Κτησ. μὲν and ἐμέ δ' κ.τ.λ.: for it surely cannot be that he is prosecuting Ctesiphon on my account, and yet would not have indicted me if etc. Without words like μὲν and δέ to mark the two antithetical clauses, which are negatived jointly, but not severally, this common rhetorical figure would be impossible. The Latin uses *quidem* and *sed* in such expressions for μὲν and δέ, but with less effect: see note on § 179<sup>3</sup>.

11. δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ': emphatic repetition.

§ 14. 1. εἴ τι...ἑώρα: if he ever saw me etc., a simple supposition, to which εἰσὶ νόμοι and ἐξῆν are a natural apodosis; ἐξῆν, he might, implies no unreal condition. Cf. ἐφ' οἷς ἑώρα, § 13<sup>4</sup>.—ὧν...διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, i.e. which he slanderously related: cf. § 13<sup>6</sup>.

2—4. νόμοι...τὰπιτίμια: there is no tautology here. He first mentions *laws* and their prescribed *penalties* (τιμωρίαι), which would be used in ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι; then *processes* and (special) *suits*, in which heavy penalties could be inflicted by vote of the court (ἀγῶνες τιμητοί). ἐπιτίμια, like τιμήματα, are especially penalties

which the judges assess (τιμῶσι). (See Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc., pp. 208—211, 956.)

5. ὀπηνίκ' ἐφαίνετο is so nearly equivalent to εἰ ποτε ἐφαίνετο (M. T. 528), that if he had ever been seen best translates it. It is often impossible to express an unreal condition in English by a relative sentence: here *whenever he had been seen* would not be clear.

6. κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με, to have dealt with me (managed his relations to me): den Streit gegen mich so geführt (Bl.). West. strangely renders τοῖς πρὸς με die auf mich anwendbaren Rechtsmittel, referring to νόμοι, ἀγῶνες, etc. (so Weil).—ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν, would have been consistent, the impf. referring to the various occasions of κεχρημένος. If he had brought the proper suits (ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις) against me personally at the time of each offence, his style of accusation (κατηγορία) before the court would have been consistent with his conduct; whereas now κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτουί (§ 15<sup>4</sup>), the latter being his present ἔργον.

§ 15. 2. τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις: the Peace of Philocrates (of which he is

ὑστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτουῖ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἔμ' ἔχθραν 5 προϊίσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηνητηκῶς ἐμοὶ, τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς 16 ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπέιν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς 5 ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημέν' ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἂν 17

3, 4. συναγαγῶν over συμφορήσας L.

§ 16. 2. ἅπασιν...ἔχοι Σ, L, A2; τοῖς ἄλλοις δίκαιοις Σ (γρ), B, vulg.; δίκαιοις over οἷς L<sup>2</sup>; ἅπασιν τ. ἄλλ., ὧ ἂν. Ἀθ., οἷς ἂν τις εἰπέιν...ἔχοι δίκαιοις ΑΙ, V6. 3. τοῦτό γ' ἐμοὶ ΑΙ, V6. δοκοῖ B. καὶ μάλιστα (end) Φ. 5. αὐτῶν V6. ἐξετασμὸν (ε over η) Σ. 6. παραλείπειν (ι over Ιστ ει) Σ; παραλείπειν (γρ. ιπ over ειπ) L; παραλιπέιν Α2, Φ.

§ 17. 1. τὰ om. L<sup>1</sup>.

especially speaking) was ten years old when Aesch. first brought his suit (336 B.C.).

4. ὑποκρίνεται, *he plays his part*: cf. ἐτραγῶδει in § 13<sup>b</sup>. The word implies not only pomposity but dissimulation, though far less of this than our *hypocrisy* and *hypocrite*. (See note on 10<sup>1</sup>.)—κατηγορεῖ...κρίνει: see note on § 14<sup>b</sup>.

5. τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅλου προϊίσταται, *he puts foremost in (at the head of) his whole suit*.

6. οὐδαμοῦ, *nowhere*, i.e. *never*: cf. οὐδ in § 125<sup>1</sup> with following ἐνταῦθα.—ἐπὶ ταύτην, *upon this ground* (that of our enmity), keeping the figure of ἀπηνητηκῶς ἐμοί,—or *with a view to this*, i.e. *to fight it out* (West., Weil, Bl.): cf. ἐνταῦθ' ἀπήνητηκας, § 125<sup>b</sup>.

7. ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι, i.e. to inflict ἀτιμία, which Ctesiphon would incur as a public debtor if he were unable to pay his fine if convicted. The spurious indictment in § 55 sets this at fifty talents (see note on Hist. § 8).

§ 16. 3. δοκεῖ, personal, sc. *τις* (from

2): we translate *it seems that one might say*, because we must use a finite verb to express ἂν λέγειν (M. T. 754).

5. δίκαιον ἦν, *we ought* (M. T. 416): here of present time.—τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, *to settle up*. “ἐξετασμός in der klass. Literatur nur hier: sonst ἐξετασις.” Bl. Bekk. Anecd. 93, 20, says of its use here, οὐ φασι δόκιμον εἶναι οὕτω τιθέμενον. Cf. ἐξετασιῶν ποιήσεων, § 226<sup>b</sup>.

6. ἑτέρῳ ὅτῳ...ζητεῖν, *to seek what other man we can harm*, ἑτέρῳ standing emphatically before the indirect interrog. ὅτῳ: the direct question would be ἑτέρῳ τίνι...δώσομεν; Weil, who makes ὅτῳ a common relative, with ἑτέρῳ assimilated, quotes Aen. I. 573, urbem quam statuo vestra est. But we hardly expect this “inverted assimilation” (G. 1035) in the language of this speech.

For the argument of §§ 17—52 on the Peace of Philocrates, with its three divisions, see note before § 9.

§ 17. 1. ὁμοίως with πάντα, *all alike*.

τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα·  
 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ'  
 ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου,  
 5 τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐαυτῶ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθείς ἐμοί. ἔστι  
 δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς  
 κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματ' ἀναμνήσαι,  
 ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ (οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέ-  
 κεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ 231  
 δίκαια ποιούντας ὀρώντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι

3. καὶ (bef. καθ') om. V6. καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον vulg.; καθ' ἐν ἑκαστ' Σ; καθ' ἑκαστον Α1, V6; καθ' ἑκαστ' Β1. 4. ὅσα γε Ο. 6. ὦ om. Φ. 7. ἀναμνήσαι Σ, L, Α2; ἀναμνήσαι ἡμᾶς Ο; ἀναμ. ὑμᾶς vulg. 8. θεωρεῖτε (ἦ over ει) V6.  
 § 18. 1. πολέμου συστάντος Α1. οὐ γὰρ Σ, L, Α1, 2, V6; οὐ γὰρ δὲ Β, vulg. 2. ποτε (from τότε) Σ (γρ), Β1, F, Φ, Ο1. 3. ἐβούλεσθε Υ. 4. ὅτιοῦν ἐάν V6.

2. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς, *with no regard to truth*.—εἰρημένα: *or. obl.* with ἴδοι ἄν. Bl. puts a comma after ἴδοι.

3. καθ' ἐν, *singly*: θαρροῦντός ἐστιν ἄγαν τὸ βούλεσθαι καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐξετάζειν τὰ πράγματα. Schol.—ἑκαστον: *obj.* of ἐξετάσαι (West.): cf. καθ' ἕνα ἑκαστον ἡμῶν ἀποστερεῖν, XXI. 142. Bl. omits ἐν and reads ἑκαστ' (Σ). But it may be right to read καθ' ἐν ἑκαστ' αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι: cf. χωρὶς ἕκαστα σκοποῦντες, XXIII. 21.

4. ὑπὲρ (like περι): see note on § 97.

5. ἀνατιθείς ἐμοί, *putting upon me*. Originally Aeschines prided himself on his close connection with Philocrates in making the peace: see I. 174, τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην. (See Hist. § 31.)

6. καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, *and becoming as well* (as necessary): ἴσως, ὁμοίως (Schol.).

7. ἀναμνήσαι: *sc.* ὑμᾶς, which is added in most MSS. Cf. XX. 76, ταῦθ' ὑπομνήσαι πειράσομαι.

8. πρὸς...καιρὸν, *with reference to its special occasion* (that which belonged to it).

§ 18. 1. Φωκικοῦ πολέμου: the Sacred or Phocian War began in 356—355 and ended in 346 B.C. Demosthenes

made his first speech in the Assembly (on the Symmories) in 354 B.C. (See Hist. §§ 4, 11.)

2. οὕτω διέκεισθε: when we compare this judicious account of the feelings of the Athenians towards the Phocians and Thebans in 346 B.C. and earlier with the impassioned language of the speech on the Embassy and of the Second and Third Philippics, we see the sobering effect of time and of recent events. When the Thebans were exulting in the devastation of Phocis by Philip, and the political interests of Athens demanded that the Phocians should be protected as allies, Demosthenes seemed to overlook their sacrilegious plundering of Delphi, which he now acknowledges. Again, the intimate alliance of Thebes and Athens in 339 B.C., and still more the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335, had changed the Athenians' bitter hatred to the deepest sympathy. Still the orator cannot deny the old hostility against Thebes, nor the chief ground for it.

4. (ὥστε) ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν: see M. T. 592 and 211. It is often hard to express in English the fundamental distinction between the infin.



παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς 5  
 γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ'  
 ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες  
 Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὐθ' οἱ  
 πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά  
 τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν 10  
 ἔρις καὶ παραχῆ. ταῦτα δ' ὀρώων ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν 19  
 ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων

6. εὐτετυχήκεσαν V6. 10. παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Σ, L, A1. 2, V6; παρὰ om. B, vulg. ἅπασιν Σ<sup>1</sup> ("Ελληνισμ above), B; ἅπασιν"Ελληνισμ L, A1, V 6, F (γρ), Φ (γρ), O.

and the finite moods with ὥστε, and often impossible when the infin. has ἄν and must therefore be translated by a finite verb. We should generally translate here, *you were so disposed that you wished...and would have been pleased etc.*, as if we had ὥστε ἐβούλεσθε...ἐφήσθητε ἄν, whereas the thought is, *you were (so) disposed (as) to wish...and to feel that you would be pleased etc.*, which is not the same (M. T. 584). See Gildersleeve in Amer. Jour. of Philol. VII. 161—175. ἐφήσθηται ἄν with its protasis παθοῦσιν, in its general sense, represents ἐφήσθειμεν ἄν εἰ πάθοιεν. The position of Φωκέας μὲν and Θηβαίους δ' shows their strong antithesis.

5, 6. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, *their successes*: sc. τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι (obj. of ἐκέχρηντο). Cf. περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν, § 94<sup>2</sup>.—ἐν Λεύκτροις: for the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. see Grote x. Ch. 78. Bl. quotes Isoc. Phil. 53 on the effect of Leuctra upon the arrogance of Thebes. See XX. 109, showing the bitter feeling of Demosth. himself in 355 B.C.: μείζον Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. Cf. Diod. XVI. 58, τὰ Λευκτρικὰ φρονήματα (*Leuctric insolence*) συστεῖλαι τῶν Βοιωτῶν. See note on § 98<sup>5</sup>.

6. ἔπειθ', after πρῶτον μὲν: see note on § 1<sup>4</sup>.

7. διειστήκει, *was in dissension (distracted)*.—οἱ μισοῦντες: these were especially the Messenians and Arcadians, with

their new cities Messene and Megalopolis, established by Epaminondas, and the Argives. See V. 18: εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ταῦτα τούτοις φρονοῦσιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυκείαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι, κ.τ.λ.; and Xen. Hellen. III. 5, 11: τίς γὰρ ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς (Λακ.) εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν;

8. οἱ πρότερον ἄρχοντες are not the ἀρμοσταὶ and δεκαρχαί of Lysander (§ 96<sup>2</sup>), but oligarchies which were maintained by Sparta in Peloponnesus before Leuctra and were overthrown by the later revolutions. For example, Phlius was captured by Agesilaus in 380 B.C., and a council of One Hundred was established there in the Spartan interest: in 366 Phlius and Corinth made a treaty with Thebes which recognized their independence. (See Xen. Hellen. V. 3, 25; VII. 4, 10.) Mantinea was captured by Agesipolis in 385, and divided into five villages; in 371 the city was reestablished and was independent of Sparta (ibid. V. 2, 1—7; VI. 5, 3—5). For the revolt of Tegea from Sparta see ibid. VII. 5, 6—9.

10. ἄκριτος ἔρις καὶ παραχῆ, *hopeless strife and confusion*. ἄκριτος is *not admitting of settlement (κρίσις)*. See Hellen. VII. 5, 27: ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ παραχῆ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην (of Mantinea) ἐγένετο ἢ πρῶθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. (Bl.)

§ 19. 2. προδόταις: for the names



πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς  
 ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο  
 5 καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει  
 τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι  
 φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ'  
 ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ  
 πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο.  
 20 τί οὖν συνηγωνίσασατ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς  
 ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρῆ  
 κακίαν εἶτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ  
 πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμοῦντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον  
 5 ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε

- § 19. 3. πάντα A1, V6. αὐτοὺς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ἀλλήλους L<sup>2</sup>, A1, V6; ἑαυτοὺς  
 vulg. 4. ἄλλοι Σ (— above), L, A2; οἱ ἄλλοι vulg. 6. νυνὶ δ' A1; νυνὶ  
 V6. 8. Φίλιππος Σ<sup>1</sup> (ὁ corr.), ὁ Φίλ. L, vulg. γένοιτο Σ (corr.?), L, vulg.;  
 γένηται A1, V6, B (οἱ ο above); γένητο O. 9. ἡμῖν V6.  
 § 20. 2. ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς A1, V6: see Vömel's note. 5. τῶν πᾶσι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2;  
 τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι vulg.

of some of these see § 48; a long black list is given in § 295: cf. XIX. 259, νόσημα δεινὸν ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κ.τ.λ.

3. συνέκρουε, brought into collision (knocked together): cf. συνέκρουον, 163<sup>5</sup>, and ξυγκρούειν, Thuc. I. 44.—ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι, in others' blunders, cf. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, § 18<sup>5</sup>. ἐν οἷς here is often taken as = ἐν οἷς χρόνοις, while; but cf. ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε in § 100<sup>5</sup>, ἐν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν in § 250<sup>1</sup>, ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι in § 258<sup>3</sup>, ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν in § 286<sup>5</sup>, ἐν οἷς εὐτύχησεν in § 323<sup>8</sup>, ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται in IX. 63.

5. κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο, he was growling above all their heads, i.e. so as to threaten them all.—τῷ μήκει: cf. δεκέτης γεγωνώς, Aesch. III. 148.

6. βαρεῖς, overbearing, offensive.—νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς: after 335 B.C. See Schol., and notes on §§ 18<sup>3</sup> and 35<sup>9</sup>.

7. ἀναγκασθησόμενοι: in *or. obl.* with the personal φανεροὶ ἦσαν (M. T. 907).—καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς: no such possibility is suggested by the language of

Demosthenes at the time of the peace; but times had changed.

§ 20. 1. ὀλίγου δεῖν, full form of ὀλίγου (M. T. 779), qualifies ἐκόντας ἐξαπατ., almost willing dupes: cf. μικροῦ, § 151<sup>3</sup>.

2. ἢ...Ἑλλήνων: the actual subject appears in the alternative εἴτε...εἴτε. See § 270<sup>6</sup>, and XXIII. 156: ἡ ὑμετέρα, ᾧ ἄνδ. Ἄθ., εἴτε χρῆ φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν εἶθ' ὅ τι δῆποτε. In Isocr. xv. 50 the original case is retained with εἴτε...εἴτε: περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε βούλεσθε καλεῖν δυνάμειν εἴτε φιλοσοφίας, κ.τ.λ.

3. κακίαν, baseness, here in the sense of worthlessness. Bl. cites for this milder sense §§ 68<sup>8</sup>, 297<sup>2</sup>; and for that of positive wickedness (πονηρία) §§ 93<sup>6</sup>, 279<sup>7</sup>, 303<sup>8</sup>. But in § 297<sup>2</sup> κακία is applied to the whole list of traitors, though πονηρία is added as a stronger and more correct term.

4. πόλεμον μακρὸν: the so-called Amphipolitan War with Philip (357—346 B.C.), which ended with the Sacred War. See Hist. § 3.

χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλω οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων  
 συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργι-  
 ζόμενοι ἐτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε  
 232 συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμὲ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλ-  
 λεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκίματ' ἐν 10  
 αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάζη δικαίως,  
 αἰτὶ εὐρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολο- 21  
 γοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστ'  
 ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδὲν ἐστι δῆπου πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος  
 ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτῆς, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν 5  
 μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος,  
 ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς, οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς

6. οὐδ' ἄλλω Y, Φ. ἀπάντων Σ, L; πάντων vulg.; ὄντων V6. 7. συνε-  
 λαμβάνοντο Σ (γρ), Φ. καὶ (after οἷς) om. O. 8. τῷ om. A1, V6.  
 9. εἰρήνη τῷ Φιλίππῳ L<sup>2</sup>. 10. καὶ δωροδ. om. O<sup>1</sup>. 11. εἰάν V6.  
 12. αἰτία L, vulg.; αἰτια Σ<sup>1</sup>; αἰτιαί Σ<sup>2</sup>.

§ 21. 1. ταῦτα A1, V6. 2, 3. τινα...ἀδικήματα for τι...ἀδίκημα L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.  
 3. τούτων (for δῆπου) A1, V6. 4. περὶ (for ὑπὲρ) A1, V6, F, Y; πε over ὑπὲρ  
 Σ; περὶ (over ὑπὲρ) L<sup>2</sup> (γρ). 5. ἐκδεξάμενος (λ over δ) L (γρ). 6. μισθώσας  
 μετὰ τούτου V6. Ἀγνούσιος B; Ἀγνούσιος vulg.; Ἀγνούσιος Σ. 7. οὐχ ὁ  
 ἐμὸς Σ, L; οὐκ ἐμὸς vulg. οὐδ' εἰάν Φ. διαρραγείης L<sup>2</sup> (γρ), A1, V6, O.

6. σώμασιν, *lives*: cf. § 66<sup>3</sup>.

9. συγχωρηθεῖσα, *conceded, acquiesced*  
*in*: Athens showed no alacrity in making  
 the peace, though she was deceived as to  
 the main point.—διέβαλλεν, *slanderously*  
*declared*: see Aesch. 57 (end), 60.

11. τῶν νυνὶ...εὐρήσει (sc. τις): the  
 firm foothold in Greece which Philip  
 secured by the peace, especially his in-  
 fluence in the Amphictyonic Council, it  
 is implied, made him at last the victor of  
 Chaeronea.

§ 21. 1. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, *from*  
*regard for (in the interest of) truth*.—  
 ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι: see  
 note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

2. τὰ μάλιστ', *most clearly*, with  
 δοκοίη: cf. § 95<sup>5</sup>.

3. οὐδὲν...πρὸς ἐμέ, *it is no concern of*  
*mine*: cf. §§ 44<sup>7</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>. This may be an  
 emphatic present apodosis, referring to  
 the present condition implied in εἰ...δο-  
 κοίη, *if it should appear that there is*

(εἶναι) *any fault*; or it may be an em-  
 phatic future expression, as in Pind. Isth.  
 IV. (V.) 14, πάντ' ἔχεις, εἰ σε τούτων μοῖρ'  
 ἐφίκουτο καλῶν, *you have the whole, should*  
*a share of these glories fall to you*: so  
 Pyth. I. 81.

4. Ἀριστόδημος: a tragic actor of  
 good repute, one of the company in which  
 Aeschines once served (XIX. 246). For  
 his informal mission to Philip in 348—  
 347 B.C. see Grote XI. 517, 518, Schaefer  
 II. 192. See Hist. § 19. Aeschines (II.  
 15, 16) calls this mission a *πρεσβεία*.

5. ὁ ἐκδεξάμενος, *his successor* (he who  
*took the business from him*).—γράψας:  
 sc. τὴν εἰρήνην: the peace was named  
 from this motion of Philocrates.

7. οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς, *not even if*  
*you split*: cf. the common imprecation  
 διαρραγείης (Ar. Av. 2). Aeschines is  
 now as eager to repudiate Philocrates as  
 he was in 345 B.C. to claim him as an  
 associate: see note on § 17<sup>5</sup>.

ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐὼ γὰρ  
 τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ'  
 22 οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ'  
 αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναι-  
 δείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης  
 αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ  
 5 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν  
 εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν  
 τηλικαύτην πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἠλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις ὀρῶν  
 ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως, ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν  
 23 ταῦτα ἂ νῦν κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ  
 τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωσίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ

§ 22. 3. ὥστε ἐτόλμα ΑΙ; ὥστε τολμῶν V6; ὡστετολμᾶ (2nd ε erased) Σ; ὥστε  
 τολμᾶ vulg. 4. ἔτι καὶ vulg.; ἔτι om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ, V6, F, Φ. 5. ταύτην Σ,  
 L; αὐτὴν vulg. 7. νυνὶ Σ, L; νῦν L (γρ), vulg. διεξήεις Σ, L, Α2; ἐτραγώ-  
 δεις καὶ διεξ. L (γρ), vulg.; διετραγ. καὶ διεξ. B, Y. 9. νῦν Σ<sup>1</sup> (corr. νυνὶ); νυνὶ  
 L; νῦν vulg. κατηγορεῖς Σ, vulg.; κατηγορεῖς Vöm., West., Bl. καὶ (ἢ  
 above) Σ; καὶ L, ΑΙ, V6; ἢ vulg.

§ 23. 1, 2. εἰ τὸ Σ (no τω visible). 2. ἔγωγε ΑΙ.

8. ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα, for whatever reason (it may have been): δήποτε, like οὖν, makes ὅστις indefinite. This is as strong language as Demosthenes wishes to use of Eubulus, the conservative statesman, universally respected, and perfectly honest, but a strong advocate of "peace at any price." For Eubulus see Grote XI. 386, 387; Schaefer I. 186—188. Of Cephisophon's connection with the peace nothing further is known: he is probably the Paeanian mentioned in § 75, in XIX. 293, and in Aesch. II. 73. Droysen, Vömel, Westermann, and others think Κηφισοφῶν should be read here: cf. XIX. 12, 18, 9λ, 315.

10. οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 15<sup>6</sup>, and ἔστιν ὅπου; § 22<sup>6</sup>. Demosth. is fully justified in this strong denial.

§ 22. 1, 2. ὄντων, δεικνυμένων: ad- versative (M. T. 842).

4. γεγενῆσθαι, κεκωλυκῶς εἶην: for the perfects see M. T. 103, 109. The whole sentence (3—5) ὡς ἄρ'...ποιήσα- σθαι refers to the elaborate charge of Aeschines (58—64), that Demosthenes

pressed the negotiations for peace with indecent haste and thereby excluded other Greek states from the benefits of the treaty. The answer in § 23 is perfectly satisfactory. (See Hist. §§ 21, 32.)

5. συνεδρίου: a special meeting of delegates summoned by Athens from various Greek states, which never met; not the regular synod of the allies of Athens, which was in session when the peace was made (Aesch. III. 69, 70).—ὦ, τί ἂν... προσείποι; ἀποσιώπησις and διαπύρησις combined (Bl.): for the regular position of ἂν before εἰπὼν, see M. T. 224. Cf. ὦ τί σ' εἶπω; Ar. Nub. 1378.

6. ἔστιν ὅπου: temporal, like οὐδαμοῦ in §§ 15<sup>6</sup> and 21<sup>10</sup>.—παρῶν belongs to ὀρῶν...ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ...διεξῆλθες; (as a whole): the meaning is, were you ever present when you saw me, etc.?

7. πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν: the general before the particular. In § 191<sup>8</sup> the order is reversed.

§ 23. 2. ἐπεπράκειν: even the best mss. of Demosth. give this form of the plupf., while those of Plato generally



Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγήσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ  
 διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας  
 233 οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεὶς· 5  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδέν' ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ'  
 οὔτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων 24  
 καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ  
 ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε,  
 Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώ- 5  
 πων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι· τί γὰρ

4. διαμαρτύρασθαι Α1; -εσθαι (a over e) L. 5. μηδαμοῦ Α2. οὐδεὶς·  
 εἰκότως. Α1, V6; εἰκότως. om. Σ, vulg. 6. οὐδένα Σ, L, vulg.; οὐδένας Ο1, V6,  
 Cob., Dind. 7. τότε (for πάλαι) Β (πάλαι mg.); τότε πάλαι L<sup>2</sup>.  
 § 24. 3. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἑλλ. L, vulg.; ἄλλους om. Σ, Α1. 2, V6. 4. τῆς  
 εἰρήνης Σ; εἰρήνης L, vulg. 6. διεπράττεσθε (θε corr. from θαι) Σ.

have the older Attic form in -η (for -εα),  
 as ἐωράκη in Rep. 336 D.

3. τὸ μὴ σιγήσαι: West. says that  
 this argument recurs in various forms  
 72 times, citing §§ 13, 117, 124, 188 ff.,  
 196, 222, 239, 243, 273.—σοὶ λοιπὸν ἦν,  
*it remained for you*, after εἰ ἐπεπράκειν,  
*supposing that I had sold* (a simple suppo-  
 sition). If εἰ ἐπεπρ. were made an un-  
 real condition (on the ground of οὐ...  
 τοῦτο in 4, 5), λοιπὸν ἦν would be classed  
 with ἔδει, δίκαιον ἦν, etc. (M. T. 416),  
 and imply *you ought to have kept silence*.  
 But see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.—βοᾶν might refer  
 to the loud voice of Aesch., like πεφω-  
 νασκηκώς, § 308<sup>9</sup>; but Demosth. uses it  
 also of himself (§ 143<sup>5</sup>), and it is probably  
 no more than our *cry out*.

6. οὔτε ἦν ... ἀπεσταλμένη τότε:  
 Holmes calls this an "audacious asser-  
 tion." It must be remembered that ἦν  
 ἀπεσταλμένη is not an ordinary plupf. like  
 ἀπέσταλτο (M. T. 45), which would have  
 meant *that no embassy had ever been sent*:  
 the compound form means that *there was*  
*no embassy then out on its mission*. The  
 embassies were probably informal in  
 most cases, and no definite report was

expected from them in case of failure.  
 (See Hist. § 32.) The next sentence  
 tells the whole truth, πάλαι...ἐξεληλεγμέ-  
 νοι, i.e. *all had long before this been*  
*thoroughly canvassed* (and found wanting).  
 Cf. 20<sup>5-7</sup>, οὔτε...ὑμῖν. Even Aeschines  
 (II. 79) took the same view fourteen  
 years earlier: οὐδενὸς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-  
 κουροῦντος τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν περι-  
 ορώντων ὅ τι συμβήσεται, τῶν δὲ συνεπι-  
 στρατευόντων.

§ 24. 2. ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται: cf. § 19<sup>3</sup>.  
 The argument of 2—6 is that the nego-  
 tiations for peace show that Athens could  
 not have been expecting such envoys at  
 this time.

5. Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα: Eurybatus  
 was a proverbial scoundrel, said to have  
 been an Ephesian who was hired by  
 Croesus to raise an army and gave the  
 money to Cyrus. See Harpocr. under  
 Εὐρύβατον; Aesch. III. 137; and Paroem.  
 Gr., Diogen. IV. 76, under εὐρυβατεύεσθαι,  
 with note.—πόλεως ἔργον, *an act fit for a*  
*state*.

6. οὐκ ἔστι...ἔστι: see the same repe-  
 tition before the oath in § 208<sup>1</sup>.



καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλευέσθε. οὐκοῦν  
10 οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμῶν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὢν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὄν δείκνυται.

25 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ πόλις. ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμ-  
5 φέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι  
26 δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἡδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν

9. οὐκοῦν Σ, Υ, V6; οὐκοῦν L, vulg. 11. οὐδὲν before ων O<sup>1</sup>. μου om. Y.  
12. φαίνεται V6.

§ 25. 2. σκέψασθαι Σ. ἕκαστος V6. 3. ὄψεσθε τίς A1, V6. Φιλ. πάντα συναγωνιζ. Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; Φιλ. τε τὴν εἰρήνην συναγ. Σ<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>1</sup>; Φιλ. τὴν εἰρ. ἀγωνιζ. A2. 4. τὸ om. O<sup>1</sup>. 6. ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους L, vulg.; om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (in mg. with ·.); ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις A1, V6. 7. τὸν Φίλ. A1. 2, V6. πυνθάνονται V6. ὄρκους τὴν ταχίστην L<sup>2</sup>, A1, V6. 8. οὐδὲ vulg.; ὄν Σ<sup>1</sup> (δὲ above).

§ 26. 2. ἐδύνατο A2. ὦ om. B, Φ, O, V6. 3. τὸν om. F, Φ, Y.

7. μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν, *would you have been sending?*

8. ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν, i.e. *peace was open to them all*: see note on § 1<sup>3</sup>.

10. τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης, i.e. *the earlier stages of the peace*. But τὴν πρότεραν εἰρήνην in Aesch. III. 58 is the Peace of Philocrates, opposed to that of Demades (338 B.C.).

§ 25. 1. ἐπειδὴ: see note on § 42<sup>5</sup>, —ἐνταῦθα, *here* (temporal): cf. οὐδαμοῦ, § 15<sup>6</sup>.

2. τί προείλετο πράττειν; *what was his προαίρεσις (purpose or policy)?*

5. βουλευῶν: Demosth. was one of the Senate of 500 in 347—346 B.C., and he presided, as ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων, in the Assembly of the 25th of Elaphebolion (Aesch. III. 62, 73—74). See Hist. § 38.

—ἀποπλεῖν, with ἔγραψα, *proposed*. The bill was passed on the third of Munychion (April 29): see Aesch. II. 92, and Hist. § 39. No concurrent vote of the Assembly was needed here, τὴν βουλήν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν, XIX. 154.

6. ἐν οἷς ἂν πυνθάνωνται (M. T. 694<sup>1</sup>): cf. §§ 26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>3</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>; XIX. 154.

7. τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν, *to administer the oaths* (i.e. *to receive them*): ὄρκους ἀποδιδόναι is *to take the oaths* (i.e. *to give them*). See § 26<sup>9</sup>, and XIX. 318.

8. οὐδὲ γράψαντος, *not even after I had proposed the bill* (its passage is implied).

§ 26. 1. τί...ἡδύνατο; *what did this (5—8) signify?* Cf. VIII. 57, XXI. 31.

3. τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον τῶν ὄρκων, *the intervening time* (after making the peace)

ὄρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ'  
 234 ἧς ὠμόσαθ' ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην 5  
 ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου·  
 ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστ' ἐπραγματεύετο,  
 νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθὲς, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα  
 γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἀγὼ προορώμενος, 27  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω,  
 πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦ Φίλιππος καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους  
 τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν  
 ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἂ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, 5  
 τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω

5. ἡμέρας μόνον Σ, L, A1. 2; μόνον ἡμ. B, vulg. τὴν om. B, Φ, Y. 6. ἐξελύ-  
 σατε Σ, L, vulg.; ἐξελύσασθε B. τὰς (bef. τοῦ) om. V6. ἐξελύσατε τὰς τοῦ  
 πολέμου L<sup>1</sup>. 7. τοῦτον (ν erased) Σ. 9. ταῦτα πάντα A1. 10. ἕνεκεν A1.

§ 27. 2. ὧ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὧ om. Σ, L, Y, O. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα A1. 5. ἡμε-  
 τέρων A1. ταῦτα τὰ χωρία Σ, L; τὰ χωρ. ταῦθ' vulg. 6. Σέρριον Σ, L<sup>2</sup>  
 (γρ), vulg.; Σέρρειον L<sup>1</sup>, Y. Μυρτηνὸν A1; Μυρτηνον (Γι over τ) Σ; Μύρτινον  
 V6; Μύρτιν (τιον over τιν) L; Μυρτην L (γρ); Μύρτυνον O; Μύρτιον vulg.

before he (Philip) should take the oath. ὄρκων refers to Philip's oath, not to the oaths of the two parties. See Shilleto's note on XIX. 164 (p. 393 R.), τὸ ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον διατριφθῆναι (πρὸ) τοῦ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαβεῖν (Φιλ.): he quotes Ar. Av. 187 ἐν μέσῳ ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς, between earth (and heaven); Ach. 433, κείται δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν Θυεστῆων ῥακῶν, μεταξύ τῶν Ἴνου, i.e. between these rags and those of Ino; Thuc. III. 51 ἐς τὸ μεταξύ τῆς νήσου, into the passage between the island (and the mainland).

6. ἐξελύσατε, you broke off (stopped): the active, though somewhat less expressive than the middle, conveys the whole idea, and has the best MS. authority.

7. τοῦτ', his own plan, to prolong the time when Athens must be quiet while he could act, referring to 3, 4.—ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, i.e. from Philip's first suggestions of peace (see § 21<sup>4</sup>).

8. ὅσα προλάβοι, all that he might secure from the city: we might have ὅσ' ἂν προλάβῃ in the same sense (cf. § 25<sup>6</sup>).

9. οὐδένα...λύσειν continues the *or. obl.* from ἔξειν. Even an optative is sometimes thus continued, as in I. 22, δέοι διοικεῖν (M. T. 675).

§ 27. 2. ψήφισμα γράφω πλεῖν: cf. ἔγραψα ἀποπλεῖν (§ 25<sup>5</sup>).—τοῦτο, i.e. the decree just mentioned.

5. διέσυρε, ridiculed (stove in pieces), refers to Aesch. III. 82, where he charges Demosth. with making trouble, after the peace was concluded, by mentioning all the insignificant places captured by Philip: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον τείχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανιάδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδέ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδεμεν πρότερον. Herodotus mentions Doriscus seven times; Demosth. (VIII. 64, IX. 15) mentions Doriscus and Serrion as captured by Philip in time of peace. Μυρτίσκην (or Μυργίσκην) is probably Μυρτηνός jocosely assimilated to Ἐργίσκην. See Hist. § 39.

6. οὕτω, under these circumstances (hardly translatable), sums up the preceding ἐχόντων...Ἐργίσκην.

γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων  
 28 ραδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροῖη πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευῶν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς  
 5 ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατα-

7. γίγνοιθ' (2nd ν, end of line, later?) Σ.

9. εὐπορήσας V6.

§ 28. 3. ᾧμην προσάγειν V6.

7. ἐπικαίρους, *seasonable*, here *advantageous* for attacking the Athenian possessions, especially the Chersonese.

8. κατασταίῃ and ἐπιχειροῖη (10) continue the final clause with ἵνα (4).—πολλῶν χρημάτων: from the rich Thracian gold mines. Dissen refers to Diod. XVI. 8, where it is said that Philip had a revenue of a thousand talents (£200,000) from his mines at Crenides (Philippi).

10. τοῖς λοιποῖς (cf. § 95<sup>10</sup>), *what remained to be done*.

§ 28. 2. λέγει—ἀναγιγνώσκει, *recites—has it read* (by the clerk). λέγε, properly *recite, repeat*, is the term most commonly used for *read* in addressing the clerk. In § 305 we have λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβῶν, probably in the same sense as the same verbs here. We find λέγε λαβῶν, ἀνάγνωθι λαβῶν, λαβέ, λαβέ καὶ λέγε, φέρε καὶ λέγε, and δός used in the same way.

3. προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις (sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν): these were the ambassadors sent by Philip to negotiate the peace. Foreign embassies first presented themselves to the Senate, which by a decree provided for their introduction to the Assembly: see Aesch. II. 58, ταῖς δὲ ξενικαῖς πρεσβείαις ἢ βουλή τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον προσόδους προβουλεύει. See C. I. Att. II. No. 51, ll. 12—15: προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, of an embassy from the tyrant Dionysius (369—368 B.C.). Such a προβούλευμα was proposed by Demosth.

in the Senate before the arrival of the ambassadors, appointing a special meeting of the Assembly to receive them on the eighth of Elaphebolion: afterwards the discussion of the peace was postponed to the eighteenth and nineteenth. (See Hermann, Staatsalt. § 85<sup>5</sup>; Headlam, Election by Lot, 66—68.)—τοῦτό μου: μου is possessive. West. quotes ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, § 299<sup>2</sup>, and ταύτην διαβεβλήκασί μου, LVII. 30; and Bl. πολλά Ὀμήρου ἐπαινοῦντες, Plat. Rep. 383 A.

5. θέαν...κελεῦσαι; (sc. ἐχρῆν) *ought I not to have ordered the architect* (of the theatre) *to assign them seats* (as I did)? θέαν, *place to see*; cf. ἐθεώρου (7): this would be the προεδρία (Aesch. III. 76). The stone Dionysiac theatre was at this time building under the direction of Lycurgus; and the lessee was called ἀρχιτέκτων, as an important part of his duties was the superintendence of the work of building. This name still remained in use in much later times. See C. I. Att. II. No. 164 (probably about 325 B.C.), in which the ἀρχιτέκτων is directed to provide seats for some public guests. A much later inscription, No. 335, in honour of certain σιτώναι, provides εἶναι αὐτοῖς προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι...καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν αἰεὶ καθιστάμενον κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς τὴν θέαν. Other names of the lessee of the theatre were θεατροπώλης and θεατρῶνης. See Boeckh, Staatsh. d. Athener I. 278. See Dörpfeld and Reisch, Griech. Theater,



νείμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι: ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὔτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δῆπου. λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς οὔτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.

10

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

29

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα. φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστειλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδύχθαι τῇ βουλῇ 5 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν 10 ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμ-

7. μικρὰ L<sup>2</sup>, vulg., om. Σ<sup>1</sup>; σμικρὰ Σ<sup>2</sup> (above line), L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>. 8. μὴ (for με) A<sub>1</sub>; μὲν A<sub>2</sub>; om. V<sup>6</sup>. 9. πεπρακέναι Σ, L, A<sub>2</sub>, Φ, Υ, Β; πεπρ. Φιλίππῳ A<sub>1</sub>, vulg. 10. εἰδὼς οὔτος A<sub>1</sub>; εἰδὼς Σ<sup>2</sup> (partly erased), om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. λέγε (after παρέβη.) vulg.

36—40, where the building of the theatre is assigned to about 350—325 B.C. It appears that a part of the stone seats were in place in 340. Aeschines (61, 76) makes this official politeness of Demosthenes one ground of his grotesque charge of flattering Philip! To this Demosth. alludes in § 294<sup>2</sup>, *ὅς γὰρ ἐμοὶ Φιλιππισμὸν, κ.τ.λ.* Aesch., however, mentions only the introduction to the theatre.

6. ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, *in the two-obol seats*, the three-penny seats of the ordinary citizens. The *διωβελία*, which was then given from the theoric fund as festival money to every citizen who asked for it, paid the entrance fee to the theatre. It is implied that the distinguished strangers could have been admitted, like other people, to the common seats by merely paying their two obols. With ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν cf. ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, Ar.

Vesp. 789 (see Ran. 1068), *in the fish-market*, ἐν τῷ μύρῳ, Eq. 1375.

7. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα: it is jokingly assumed that Aesch. objected to the higher price which the state probably paid to the lessee for the front seats, or perhaps to the state paying at all for the seats of the ambassadors.

8, 9. τῆς πόλεως: cf. τῇ πόλει, §§ 30<sup>1</sup>, and 226<sup>7</sup>.—φυλάττειν, πεπρακέναι: the change of tense may perhaps be seen in a paraphrase; *was it my duty to watch the petty interests of the state, after I had sold her life, not in vain. It is true, what!* With ὅλα, *whole, entire*, cf. τῶν ὅλων τι, § 278<sup>7</sup>.

§ 29. This decree is a good specimen of ignorant forgery. The Archon's name and the date are both wrong; it is called a decree of the Senate and the People, when it was passed by the Senate alone:



μάχους. πρέσβεις ἠρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων  
15 Κοθωκίδης.]

30 Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν  
5 ἡμερῶν δέκα, ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερ' εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην 236  
10 καὶ τὰ χωρία.

31 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων

§ 30. 1. τὸ τῆς πόλεως O. 2. οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ Σ, L, B, F; οὐ τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου ΑΙ; οὐ τῷ Φιλίππῳ vulg. 4. καταστρεψάμενος Σ; καταστρ. τάκει vulg.; τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστρ. Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, ΑΙ. 2. 5. ὁμοίως Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. 2; μᾶλλον Σ (γρ, late), L<sup>2</sup>. 7. ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν V6. 8. ἡμῶν Σ; ἡμῶν vulg.; L has both. ὠρκίζομεν (2nd ω corr. from ο) Σ.

§ 31. 2. ἀνθρώπων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. 2; [ἀνθρώπων] ΒΙ. ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν vulg.; om. Hermog.

it provides for the appointment of five envoys when there were ten, and these had been appointed long before; it provides for the oaths to be taken by Athens and her allies, when these had already been taken; and most of the five names of the envoys are wrong.

§ 30. τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον: cf. 28<sup>7</sup>, where τὰ συμφέροντα is a pure substantive.

3. τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας: "sat still in Macedonia three whole months" is of course a rhetorical exaggeration, which is corrected by Demosth. himself. In XIX. 57 he says ἀπεδημήσαμεν τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους (cf. 158), somewhat less incorrectly; but in 58—60 he gives the exact dates, by which we see that the embassy was absent from Athens only about ten weeks. See Hist. §§ 40, 43.

4. πάντα καταστρεψάμενος: see § 27.

—ἐξὸν...ἀφίχθαι...σῶσαι: ἐξὸν represents ἐξῆν, and ἀφίχθαι is a proper perfect (M. T. 109); lit. *it was in our power to have* (already) *arrived and to save the towns*, i.e. we might have done both of these.

5. ὁμοίως, *quite as well* (as in ten days): the common reading μᾶλλον would mean *rather*.

7. παρόντων = εἰ παρήμεν, *if we had been there*. For the various past tenses with ἂν, all of which are in 7—9, see M. T. 413: thus τῆς εἰρ. ἂν διημαρτήκει is *he would have failed to secure the peace* (which he had already secured by our absence), and οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερ' εἶχε is *he would not have had both* (as he did have).

§ 31. 1. κλέμμα μὲν: cf. μὴ κλέπτε νόῳ, II. I. 132. The position of μὲν shows that the seven words before κλέμμα belong to both κλέμμα and δωροδόκημα.

τοιούτων ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ  
καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθὺς  
ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ 32  
γὰρ ὁμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν  
Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι.  
πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἄπιμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας  
ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιή- 5  
σαιτο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ  
παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύ-  
σαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε  
τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν  
κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. 10

4. καὶ (bef. πολεμεῖν) Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; om. vulg. τουτοισί A<sub>1</sub>.

5. θεάσασθε

before μείζον L.

§ 32. 2. ὁμολόγησε Σ, L, B, vulg.; ὡμοσε L (mg.), A<sub>1</sub>, B (γρ). ὁ om.  
A<sub>1</sub>. ἔξιν (after Φίλ.) L<sup>2</sup>, B, vulg.; om. Σ, L, A<sub>1</sub>. 2. προσλαβὼν Υ, V6, (A<sub>1</sub>?).  
3. τούτους τοὺς A<sub>1</sub>. 4. ἄπιμεν Bk. Anec. p. 129<sup>4</sup>, Cob., Vöm., West., Lips., Bl.;  
ἀπίωμεν Σ, L, A<sub>1</sub>; ἀπίωμεν (οι over ιω, i.e. ἀποιμεν for ἄπιμεν. Vom.) B; ἀπίωμεν  
(σιν over μεν) F; ἀπίωσιν vulg. 5. ἕως Σ, L, A<sub>2</sub>; ἕως ἂν L (γρ), vulg. στρα-  
τιᾶς L (γρ), A<sub>1</sub>. ἀτρεπῆ A<sub>2</sub>. 6. ἡμῶν Σ, L, A<sub>1</sub>, B (γρ), F (γρ), Φ (γρ);  
αὐτῶν L (γρ), B, vulg. 7. ἐξέλθητε (w. κλείσητε, ἀκούητε, ἔχητε, 8, 9, 10), V6.  
8. κλείσατε Σ, L; κλείσητε L (γρ), A<sub>1</sub>. 2; κλείσετε Φ, B (αι over ist ε); κλείσοιτε  
vulg. 9. τόπον Σ, L, A<sub>1</sub>. 2, B (γρ), F (γρ), Φ (γρ); πορθμὸν L (γρ), B, vulg.  
ἡμῶν, Σ, L, A<sub>1</sub>; ἰμῶν (ἡ over ἰ) V6; ἰμῖν τούτων L<sup>2</sup> (γρ), B, vulg.

4. πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι: these represent (in *or. obl.*) the past, the present, and the emphatic future indicated by τότε, νῦν, and αἰεὶ (M. T. 32, 119).

§ 32. 3. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας (without τοὺς) is, because of their disobedience, like μετὰ Συρακούσας οικισθείσας, Thuc. VI. 3, and post urbem conditam. This is rare in Greek, where we should expect διὰ τὸ μὴ πεισθῆναι (M. T. 829<sup>b</sup>). See § 42<sup>b</sup>, with τῶν...μισθωσάντων.

4. ὠνεῖται...ὅπως μὴ ἄπιμεν, he bribes them (to effect) that we shall not depart (M. T. 339): ἄπιμεν (as fut., M. T. 29) is more regular after ὠνεῖται than ἀπίωμεν, and has commended itself to nearly all recent editors, though it rests only on a grammarian's authority. It is difficult to decide between the two readings. We

might have had ἀπίωμεν, corresponding to ποιῆσαιτο (5).

5. ἕως...ποιῆσαιτο, after the historic present ὠνεῖται. The clause with ἕως has a final force (M. T. 614), the idea being that he bribed them to wait long enough for him to get his army ready.

6. ἵνα μὴ...ποιῆσαι (10): the purpose of ὠνεῖται.

7. ἐξέλθοιτε refers only to the land force.—περιπλεύσαντες ὥσπερ πρότερον refers to the famous expedition in 352 B.C., when Athens stopped Philip at Thermopylae. See IV. 17; XIX. 84, 319; Grote XI. 403—405; and Hist. § 7.

8. κλείσατε τὸν τόπον. i.e. make Thermopylae impassable.

9. ἀπαγγελλόντων: present to ἀκούοιτε, as ἀπαγγειλάντων in 6 is past to ἐξέλθοιτε.

- 33** οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνία, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτὸν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ 5 τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς
- 34** ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι παρ' ὄλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδέν' ἐποιούμην ἕτερον· 237
- 5 πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κάμοι πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρ' ἀπο-
- 35** κρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι

§ 33. 1. καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνία Σ, L, A2, F (mg.), Φ (mg.), vulg.; om. A1, B, F, Φ, Υ. 2. εἰ πρὸ τοῦ Σ (w. ἐκφύγοι in 3), Pal. 2; πρὸ τοῦ (w. καὶ ἐκφύγοι in 3) L, vulg. ἀπολέσθαι Σ, L, A1; ἀπολ. ἀκούσαντες L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. 3. ψηφίσαισθε vulg.; ψηφίσασθε Σ, A1. 2, Φ; ψηφίσεσθε Ven. βοηθεῖν B, F, Y, Φ; τοῖς Φωκέσιν βοηθεῖν Σ, L; βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς vulg. ἐκφύγοι (w. εἰ in 2) Σ; καὶ ἐκφύγοι L, vulg. 4. ὥστε πάλιν vulg.; πάλιν om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>. 5. ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν V6.

§ 34. 1, 2. ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς A1; ὑμᾶς om. Σ, L, A2; μεμνήσθαι ὑμᾶς vulg. 3. ἀγῶνα (γ chg'd from ι, late ∞ after αγ, and ωνα in next line) Σ. 4. ἐποιούμην οὐδένα V6. 5. πάσαις Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ἀπάσαις vulg. τ' αὐτοῦ Σ<sup>1</sup> (τούτου mg.); τ' αὐτ' (ου above) L<sup>1</sup> (γρ τούτου); ταύτου A2. 6. κάμει L (γρ), A1. κατηγορημένων vulg.; κατηγορουμένων (η over ου) L; κατηγορδμένων (8 corr. for ?) Σ; εἰρημένων Σ (γρ), F (mg.), Φ (mg.). ἀκόκρίνασθαι Σ, L, A1; ἀποκρίνεσθαι B, vulg.; ἀπολογεῖσθαι Σ (γρ); ἀπολογήσασθαι F (γρ), Φ (γρ); ἀπολούσασθαι (γῆ over υ) L (γρ).

§ 35. 2. καὶ om. Lips.

§ 33. 1. οὕτω: antecedent of ὥστε (4).—ἀγωνία, *conflict* (of mind): Vömel refers Hesych. ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἐν μερίμνῃ, to this passage.

2. εἰ πρὸ τοῦ: the older editions with nearly all mss. omit εἰ and read καὶ ἐκφύγοι in 3, making ψηφίσαισθε depend on μὴ.—πρὸ τοῦ...ἀπολέσθαι, i.e. before he could have time to lay Phocis waste: cf. XIX. 123.

4. ὥστε μισθοῦται: a clear case of ὥστε requiring the indicative (M. T. 582, 583).—οὐκέτι κοινῇ: Aeschines alone was indicted for παραπροσβεία. See § 41<sup>2</sup>.

6. δι' ὧν here and δι' οὓς in § 35<sup>2</sup> approach each other very closely, both referring to the same thing: "beides

gleich sinnigemäss" (Bl.). For ἀπώλετο see VI. 35 (end).

§ 34. 1, 2. ἀξιῶ, *I ask of you* (as something ἀξιον); δέομαι, *I entreat*. See § 6<sup>1</sup>, and note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς: he has already (§ 9) justified the discussion of the peace; and he repeats his apology now, as West. remarks, merely to call special attention to what follows.—ἐποιούμην ἂν refers to his *present* argument (cf. § 9<sup>2</sup>).—ἕτερον, like ἀλλότριον: cf. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, § 44<sup>6</sup>.

§ 35. 1. οἱ...ῥηθέντες: see the fuller account of this speech in XIX. 20—22. Aeschines said that the Thebans had set a price on his head for his anti-Theban advice to Philip. See Hist. § 44.



τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἶσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἄπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενη- 5 μένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς 36 ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν;

4. ἂν Σ, L; εἰαν vulg. εἰαν ἄγῃτε ΑΙ. 5. αὐτὸν om. V6. 6. ἐχθρόν Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2, F, Φ, O; αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν vulg. 8. συμφέρειν δὲ Σ; συμφέρει δὲ L, vulg. § 36. 2. τόθ' ὑπάρχουσιν ΑΙ. 3. μετὰ τοῦτ' Υ.

3. τῷ παρεληλυθέναι: he begged the people not to be disturbed by news that Ph. had already passed Thermopylae.

4. δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν: so XIX. 20, 74.

5, 6. οἷς μὲν, the Phocians; οἷς δὲ, the Thebans.

6. ῥήματα: e.g. the Thebans' title of allies of Philip (cf. § 213<sup>2</sup>).

7. μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, using very solemn expressions. He often jokes about the σεμνότης of Aesch. Bl. quotes §§ 130, 133, 258, and XIX. 23, κατέβη μάλα σεμνῶς.

8. συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν: a striking ἀναστροφή.

9. ἀναλγησίας, want of feeling, explained by the Schol. as ἀναισθησίας. There can be little doubt that this word, like ἀναισθητοὶ in § 43<sup>1</sup>, refers to the dulness and lack of keen perception for which the Thebans were proverbial. See West. on XX. 109, and his references: Nep. Epam. 5, 2, namque illi genti plus virium quam ingenii, and Alcib. II, 3, omnes enim Boeotii magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini inserviunt; Cic. de Fato IV. 7, Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes; Hor. Epist. II. 1, 244, Boeotum in crasso aere natum. This dulness, and the consequent illiteracy of Thebes

compared with Athens, gave rise to the proverb Βοιωτῶν ὕν, Pind. Ol. VI. 90: see the Schol., τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος, τουτέστι τὴν παλαιὰν διαβολὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμουσίᾳ. The ἀναλγησία and ἀναισθησία of the Thebans were said to make them also unfeeling towards enemies, and this appears in the terms ὠμότης and πονηρία which Demosth. applied to them in 355 B.C. (XX. 109). Cf. ἀναλγήτως, Soph. Aj. 1333. Now he prefers the milder terms βαρύτης, overbearingness (see § 19<sup>6</sup>) and ἀναλγησία. Aristotle, Eth. III. 7, 7, says of a man lacking in φόβος, εἴη δ' ἂν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάληγτος, εἰ μηδὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε κύματα, and in III. II, 7, of those insensible to pleasure, ἐλλείποντες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἤττον ἢ δεῖ χαίροντες οὐ πάνυ γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀναισθησία. Aristotle here means stupidity and slowness, not moral obliquity, by both ἀνάληγτος and ἀναισθητος.

§ 36. 2. τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν (cf. ὑπεσσι, § 315<sup>2</sup>): a mild word of speaking of the enmity against Thebes in 346 B.C. See notes on §§ 18, 19.

3. οὐκ εἰς μακράν (sc. ὁδόν), not much later, not a long way off, i.e. from Scirophorion 16 to 27: εἰς of looking forward to an end, as in § 151<sup>7</sup>, εἰς πυλαίαν. So Ar. Vesp. 454.



τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις  
 5 αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας  
 μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ  
 χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν  
 πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
 37 χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω  
 ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένου ψήφισμα καὶ  
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἄπανθ'  
 ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

5

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

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[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρα-  
 τηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, [καὶ] βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη  
 ἀπίοντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεοῖκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μηδένα Ἀθη-  
 ναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 10 ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγ-  
 μένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν παρέλαβον τάξιν διατηρεῖν μήτε  
 38 ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε  
 τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν  
 μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνῆι περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου  
 ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως  
 5 καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν  
 εἰς ἄστνυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς  
 Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἄφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

4. Φωκέας Σ; ταιλαπῶρους Φωκ. L, vulg. 5. ἀγαγόντας Σ, L; ἄγοντας vulg.  
 8. πρὸς τοὺς Θηβ. B, Φ, Υ, O. γεγενῆσθαι A1. 9. ὑπὸ O<sup>1</sup>. τῶν πραγμά-  
 των A2.

§ 37. 3. τὴν τοῦ Φιλ. vulg.; τὴν om. Σ, L, O, A2. 3, 4. ταῦθ'...ἔσται Σ,  
 L; ἄπ. ταῦτα ἔσται ὑμῖν A1; ἄπ. ὑμ. ταῦτ' ἔσται A2; ὑμ. ἄπ. ταῦτ' ἔσται B, vulg.

4. τοὺς μὲν...ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν (6): eleven days after the report of the second embassy to the Assembly, the alarming news of the surrender of the Phocians at Thermopylae arrived. See Hist. § 47.

6. σκευαγωγεῖν: as ordered by the decree of Callisthenes (§ 37).

7. χρυσίον λαβεῖν: in malicious con-

trast to σκευαγωγεῖν.—τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν...Φιλίππῳ: i.e. Athens by her vacillating course got nothing but the ill will of Philip's Greek friends, who believed that she would have protected the Phocians if she had dared to; while Philip had all the credit for ending the Sacred War and punishing the sacrilegious Phocians.

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε,  
ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός; 10  
Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα. 39

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ  
κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως 5  
239 προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγγοχότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ  
ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισίμενοι κατε-  
σκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς  
γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν  
γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι 10  
καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων  
τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμ-  
μένητε τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, οὐδεν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι  
ἀδικοῦντες.]

Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς 40  
ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι ἐγὼ πε-  
ποίηκα ταῦτ' ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων,  
ὥστ', εἶπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τού-

§ 38. 9. τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B, F, O (ἦ for εἰ); τ. εἰρ. ἐποιήσασθε L<sup>2</sup> (γρ), A<sup>1</sup>; ἐποιεῖσθε τ. εἰρ. vulg.

§ 39. 1. δὴ τὴν Σ, L, A<sup>2</sup>, B, F, Φ; δ' αὐτὴν V6; δ' αὐτὴν τὴν A<sup>1</sup>; δ' αὐτὴν vulg. ἔπεμψε Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>; δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε vulg.

§ 40. 2. ὑμᾶς (ἢ over ὑ) L; ἡμᾶς V6. 2, 3. ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ταῦτα Σ<sup>1</sup>, L; ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποί. Σ<sup>2</sup>; ταῦτα ἐγὼ πεπ. vulg.; πεποίηκα ακοντων Oxyrh. papyrus begins.

§ 38. 10. ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ'; i.e. how does the decree just read to you agree with the report of Aeschines (§ 35)?

§ 39. This letter has few of the marks by which its genuineness can be absolutely denied or established. It must be remembered that there is (since Bentley) a general presumption against the genuineness of ancient epistles; and this is in very bad company. The genuine letter, it would seem, should have more definite allusions to the dissatisfaction of Athens

with what Philip had done for the Thebans and Thessalians, to justify what is said of it in § 40. Grote remarks that Demosth. would have spoken much more severely of a letter so insolent as this one. Still Westermann says: "es ist möglich dass es echt ist." It is safest to class it with the other documents as a forgery.

§ 40. 2. πρὸς συμμάχους, with δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται. The letter, though addressed to the Athenians, was really written for Philip's allies.—ὄτι before the direct quotation (M.T. 711).

5 τους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε, —  
οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύ-  
ναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾧχετ' ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ'  
ὅτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνους ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ ποιήσασθαι.  
10 ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπυροι κέχρηται.  
41 ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστῆς,  
καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς, οὗτός  
ἐστίν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς  
οἰκτρὰ, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα  
5 πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὧν αἴτιος. δῆλον  
γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη,  
καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ  
γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην  
ὑπὸ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

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5. ὑπολήψεσθε Σ. 7. es Oxyrh. 8. προορᾶν after ταῦτα ΑΙ. 10. ταλαί-  
πυροι Σ; ταλαί. Θηβαῖοι L, B, vulg.; ταλ. κέχρ. Θηβ. ΑΙ; κεχρ. οι ταλαι. Θηβαῖοι  
Oxyrh.

§ 41. 2, 3. οὗτός ἐστίν L, vulg.; οὐτεστι (ὄς over τε) Σ. 3. νῦν ὀδυρόμενος  
ΑΙ; νῦν om. V6. 4. καὶ (bef. τούτων) om. Α2. 7. κτήμ' ἔχων Σ; κτήματ'  
ἔχων L, vulg. 8. ἐξητούμην Σ.

7. ᾧχετ' ἐκείνους λαβὼν, *he carried them* (his allies) *away* (M.T. 895); the figure is continued in *εἰς τό* with the infinitives.

10. οἱ ταλαίπυροι: Θηβαῖοι is added in all mss. except Σ. Of course the destruction of Thebes by Alexander is chiefly meant, and this suggests the digression in § 41; but the condition of Thessaly after the peace, which had been in Philip's power since 352 B.C., may well be included. See IX. 26: *Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν*; See also VII. 32; XIX. 260.

§ 41. 1. ὁ δὲ...συνεργός, i.e. *he who helped him thus to persuade his allies*: with *πίστεως* cf. *πιστεύσετε*, § 40<sup>b</sup>.

2. ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ: see § 35. In XIX. 4, Demosth. puts ὧν ἀπήγγειλε,

*his report*, first among the things for which an ambassador should render an account.

3. ὀδυρόμενος: see the solemn and eloquent invocation of Aesch. in III. 133, *Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, κ.τ.λ.*, with 156, 157.

7. κτήμ' ἔχων: Aesch. is charged with holding a confiscated Theban estate (*κτῆμα*, so Σ alone) by the gift of Alexander; as in XIX. 145 Philocrates and Aeschines are charged with having *κτῆματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμπληθεῖς* in Phocis by gift of Philip. We have no independent evidence on either of these charges.

8. ἐξητούμην: Demosth. was among the eight or ten Attic orators who were demanded by Alexander after his destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C.; Aeschines was not. See Grote XII. 59—62.



Ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον 42 ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου 5 διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, 43 εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἠγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν 5 ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ' Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενაკισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἠλπισαν, ἠγον τὴν εἰρήνην

§ 42. 1. αὐτίκα μάλα ΑΙ, Hermog. (w. ἕστερον for ἴσως). 2. ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν Σ, L, A<sup>2</sup>, B, O; ἀρμόσει λέγειν ἴσως vulg.; ἴσως om. V6 and Oxyrh. δὲ (for δὴ) V6, Oxyrh. (by corr.). ν[υν πα]λιν (?) Oxyrh. εἰς (for ἐπὶ) V6. 3. ἀδικήματα Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Oxyrh.; ἀδικ. καὶ δωροδοκήματα Σ (γρ). ΑΙ; δωροδ. καὶ ἀδικ. L<sup>2</sup>, B, vulg. 4. αἷτια ΑΙ. 6. ἑαυτοὺς ΑΙ; ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ Σ, L, vulg., εαυτους [εκει]νω Oxyrh. Perhaps τῷ Φιλίππῳ here, omitting ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλ. in 5, is correct. 8. ταλαίπωροι om. V6. τί καὶ ἐγένετο; Α2. ἐγένετο over γέγονεν V6.

§ 43. 2. Φιλίππον Oxyrh. 3. οὐδὲ Σ, ΑΙ. 2; καὶ οὐδὲ L (corr.), vulg. ἦ τις ΑΙ. 6. ἐποιεῖτε Σ, ΑΙ, Oxyrh.; ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι L, B, vulg.; ἐποιήτε μόνοι O.

§§ 42—49. After the digression in § 41, the orator here speaks of the disastrous consequences which have come from the peace and from the corruption by which it was made, and of the miserable fate of most of the traitors in Greece who aided Philip in his schemes.

§ 42. 5. ἐπειδὴ here has three pluperfects, while commonly it has the less precise aorist, as in §§ 25<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> (M.T. 59). So in Latin *postquam venit* is more common than *postquam venerat*. Both ἐπειδὴ and *postquam* contain the idea of *after that*, which the plpf. only emphasizes.

6. διὰ τούτων τῶν.....μισθωσάντων (i.e. οἱ ἐμισθωσαν): contrast διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, § 32<sup>3</sup>, and see note.

§ 43. 1. ἀναίσθητοι: see note on § 35<sup>9</sup>.

2. πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν: cf. πάντ' ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, XXIII. 120; Εὐβοία αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν, Thuc. VIII. 95; Demetrius iis unus omnia est, Liv. XI. 11. (See West.)

3. οὐδὲ...βούλοιο (M.T. 462): ἤκουον is strongly frequentative, like ἠγοῦντο (2), and ἄλλο τι is anything opposed to φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα.

4. ὑφορώμενοι, *viewing with suspicion* (ὑπό like *sub* in *suspicio*).

5. οὐ...ἐποιεῖτε: most MSS. add μόνοι. This passage represents the state of mind in which Demosthenes delivered his speech on the Peace (V.) in 346 B.C. See Hist. § 50.



[ἄσμενοι, καὶ] αὐτοὶ τρόπον τιν' ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι.  
 44 ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς  
 καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων  
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσία βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο,  
 5 ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ'  
 ἐκείνος ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος  
 45 οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυ-  
 ρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις

8. ἄσμενοι, καὶ vulg., Vöm., West., Bl.; om. Σ, Oxyrh., Bk. πολλοῦ χρόνου Oxyrh.

§ 44. 1. Φίλιππος Σ, Α1, Oxyrh.; ὁ Φιλ. L, B, vulg. 1, 2. καὶ τινες τῶν ἑλλήνων Oxyrh. 3. ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ ἐποιεῖτο O. καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων Oxyrh. 5. παρεσκευάζεθ Σ. 6. ἕτερος ὁ λόγος (ὁ erased) Σ; ἕτερος λόγος L, vulg.

§ 45. 1. διεμαρτυρόμην Α1. 2. αἰεὶ Σ, L.

8. [ἄσμενοι, καὶ]: I have bracketed these words, since the authority of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus is now (Nov. 1899) added to that of Σ for omitting them.—αὐτοὶ...πολεμούμενοι, *thousē they themselves in a certain way had been warred against for a long time*: πολεμούμενοι (impf.) is past to ἦγον, which covers the whole time of the peace to 340 B.C. See ἐπολεμοῦντο, § 44<sup>6</sup>.

§ 44. 1. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς: Diodorus (xvi. 69) mentions a victorious inroad of Philip into Illyria in 344 B.C., and Porphyrius Tyr. (Müller, Hist. Gr. III. p. 691) says of Philip, οὗτος τοὺς περὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπαντας ἐδουλώσατο πολέμιους, βουληθεὶς καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιήσασθαι, μεγάλην κτησάμενος δύναμιν, καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὑποτάξας. See Schaefer II. 346.

2. Ἑλλήνων: see Grote XI. 612—614, and Hist. §§ 51, 58—61.—δυνάμεις, like our *forces*, but including money as well as troops: see § 233<sup>2</sup> with Bl.'s note.

3. τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: cf. § 145<sup>6</sup>. He counts Aesch. as one of those who took advantage of the peace to visit Macedonia, implying that the process of corruption was still going on. In XIX. 13 he says he first discovered the corrup-

tion of Aesch. on the return of the first embassy in the spring of 346 B.C.

6. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, *this is another matter*: cf. ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος, IX. 16; ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος, [XIII.] 7. In all these ἄλλος (ἕτερος) λόγος is predicate. In Plat. Leg. 634 D, ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη, the construction is different.

§ 45. 1. διεμαρτυρόμην, *protested* (called Gods and men to witness): cf. *obtestor*. See § 199<sup>6</sup> and VI. 29.

2. παρ' ὑμῖν probably refers to orations VI., VIII. and IX.—ὅποι πεμφθείην, *whithersoever I was sent*, referring to the various embassies mentioned in VI. 19, IX. 72, in § 244 (below), and probably to others. In § 244<sup>4</sup> we have ὅποι ἐπέμφθην, referring to some of the same embassies as ὅποι πεμφθείην here. But there the negative form of the leading clause, οὐδαμῶδ' ἀπῆλθον, makes it particular, not general; and its verb is aorist, not imperfect (as here); the relative clause is therefore particular and has the indicative regularly (M.T. 536). If he had said *I always came off superior* in § 244<sup>4</sup>, we should have ὅποι πεμφθείην there: see ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν...κατεστρέφετο, § 244<sup>9</sup>. West. says of § 244: "ἐπέμφθην, objectiv gefasst, dagegen § 45 ὅποι πεμφθείην." (?)

241 ἐνόσουν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωρο-  
δοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δ' ἰδιωτῶν  
καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν 5  
ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτοῖ τι πάθος  
πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰο-  
μένων τὸ δεινὸν ἤξειν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν ὅταν βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε 46  
τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας  
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκεναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ  
τᾶλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πε-  
πρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε 5  
ὠνομάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ  
καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ἄνδρες 47  
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ'  
ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὦν ἀν πρίηται κύριος γένηται τῷ

6. τοιουτοῖ Σ; τοιουτοῖ ΑΙ; τοιούτων L, B, vulg. 7. ἐκάστων οἰομένων Σ, L, ΑΙ; οἰομ. ἐκ. vulg. 8. καὶ διὰ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ, Υ; ἀλλὰ διὰ L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.

9. σχήσειν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; σχήσειν ὑπολαμβανόντων L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.

§ 46. 4. πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς Σ (ε erased), L, vulg.; πλὴν ἄλλους F (γρ). 5. αἰσθε-  
σθαι Σ (η over 1st αι). L (η over 1st αι and ε); αἰσθέσθαι Α2; ἡσθησθαι vulg., Oxyrh.  
ἃ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 6. θεοῖσιν corr. to θεοῖς Oxyrh. 7. πάντα ἀκούουσιν· εἰκότως  
vulg.; εἰκότως om. Σ, L, B, F, O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 47. 1. ἄνδρες Σ, L; ὦ ἄνδρες vulg. 2. προδόντος Φ. 3. ὦν πρίηται  
ΑΙ; πριηται αι (?) Oxyrh.: "the word following πρίηται is neither κύριος nor γενη-  
ται" (Kenyon).

3. ἐνόσουν: Demosth. is especially fond of this figure of a diseased state: see II. 21; IX. 12, 39, 50; XIX. 259 (West.).—τῶν...πράττειν (one substantive): cf. § 11<sup>2</sup> and note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἐπὶ χρήμασι, for (with a view to) money; not by money, like ὑπὸ χρημάτων. Vömel explains, "corrumpi sub pecunia promissa, non data nisi post perpetrata proditioem."—ἰδιωτῶν: here opposed to τῶν...πράττειν (3), private citizens; generally, any men who are not of a given class, as not senators, XIX. 18; cf. ἰατρός καὶ ἰδιώτης, Thuc. II. 48.

6. δελεαζομένων, caught, as by a bait (δέλεαρ).—τοιουτοῖ...πεπονθότων is explained by ἐκάστων οἰομένων κ.τ.λ.

7. πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, upon all but themselves.

8. τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων, others' (not other) dangers.

§ 46. 2. τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν, the common people (cf. τῶν πολλῶν, § 45<sup>5</sup>) in various states: cf. τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ in § 45<sup>5</sup>.

3, 4. ἀπολωλέκεναι (M.T. 109): i.e. the result has been that they have lost their liberty; the idea of the perfect in the next clause appears more naturally in πεπρακόσιν than in αἰσθέσθαι, to find out that they have sold themselves first (M.T. 904). For the case of πεπρακόσιν see G. 928<sup>1</sup>.

7. ἀκούουσιν, audiunt, they hear themselves called: cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 16, 17, si curas esse quod audis.

§ 47. 3. ἐπειδὰν...γένηται, after he has become master of what he has bought:

προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν  
 5 ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν;  
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς  
 ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῆ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δε-  
 σπότης ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ  
 48 καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ  
 παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γ' εἰδέναί τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι. μέχρι τούτου  
 Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι  
 5 τούτου Τιμόλας, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικὸς  
 καὶ Σῆμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίη-

5. ἦν Σ; ἂν ἦν L, vulg. εὐτυχέστερον B<sup>1</sup>. οὐκ ἔστιν ταῦτα Σ, A<sub>2</sub>; οὐκ  
 ἔστιν repeated after ταῦτα vulg. (cf. § 52<sup>1</sup>). πόθεν; om. B. 7. ἀποδεδο-  
 μένων A<sub>2</sub>; ἀποδομ. Y. 8. τότε μισεῖ A<sub>1</sub>.

§ 48. 1. δὴ (for δέ) A<sub>1</sub>. 4. φίλος ὠνομάζετο Σ, Y; Φιλίππῳ added Σ (γρ),  
 Φιλίππου L, vulg. 5. Τιμόλαος MSS.; see § 295<sup>12</sup>. τούτου (bef. Εὐδ.) L, vulg.;  
 later του over του Σ. 6. ὁ Λαρισαῖος Σ; οἱ Λαρισαῖοι B, A<sub>1</sub>; ὁ Λαρισσαῖος L; οἱ  
 Λαρισσ. L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.

the rel. past time comes entirely from the force of ἐπειδὴν, *postquam* (M.T. 90). For the assimilation of ἂν ἂν πρίηται, which really conditions κύριος γένηται, see M.T. 563: in such a dependent general condition the indic. also is allowed.

4. οὐδὲν...προδότου, *for* (otherwise) *nothing would be happier than a traitor*. To omit ἂν here (with Σ and a few other MSS.) would be against all usage: in XXI. 120, οὐ γὰρ ἦν βιωτόν, cited by Vömel, there is a potential force in ἦν βιωτόν, *I could not have lived*.

5. πόθεν;...δεῖ: cf. §§ 52<sup>1</sup>, 140<sup>8</sup>, and πῶς γάρ; § 312<sup>6</sup>.

7. καὶ, *also*, with τῶν ἀποδομένων.

§ 48. 3. μέχρι τούτου with ἕως, twice repeated. West. refers to a similar ἀναφορά of πολλά in § 81<sup>1-3</sup>, of οὐχ ὅ in § 250<sup>9,10</sup>, and of οὐκ in § 322<sup>1-4</sup>. Expressions like this show the relative character of ἕως and other particles meaning *until*. (M.T. 611, 612.)

4. Λασθένης: Lasthenes and Euthy-crates are often mentioned as traitors who betrayed Olynthus to Philip: see

VIII. 40; IX. 66; XIX. 265, 342; Diod. XVI. 53. Cf. Plut. Mor. p. 178 B: τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐγκαλοῦντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνοιον τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαιοὺς ἔφη (sc. Φίλιππος) φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκαφὴν σκαφὴν λέγοντας, i.e. *they called a spade a spade*.

5. Τιμόλας: Timolaus was a Theban, who was probably active in causing the surrender of Thebes to Philip after Chae-ronaea. Dinarchus (Dem. 74) calls him a friend of Demosthenes! Theopompus (Athen. X. 436 B) calls him the greatest voluptuary who was ever engaged in state affairs. See note on § 295<sup>5</sup>, with the quotation from Polybius.

6. Σῆμος: Simus (acc. to Harpocr.) belonged to the Thessalian house of the Aleuadae at Larissa, who called in Philip against the tyrants of Pherae in 352 B.C. with the usual result (Diod. XVI. 14 and 35). See Hist. § 6.—ὁ Λαρισαῖος (so Σ, L) belongs only to Σῆμος, who is called a Larissaeian in [LIX.] 108, and ὁ Θετταλὸς in 24. Aristotle (Pol. VIII. (V.) 6, 13),



σαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβρίζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ  
 242 πασχόντων πᾶσα ἢ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρί-  
 στράτος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Πέριλλος ἐν Μεγάρῳ; οὐκ  
 ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μά- 49  
 λιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστ' ἀντιλέγων  
 τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Λίσχινη, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθα-  
 νοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις 5  
 βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶφι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλιτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ 50  
 λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρήσθαι.  
 αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινὰ μου τῆς πονηρίας

7. καὶ ὑβρίζ. om. A2.

8. γέγονεν Σ; γέγονε προδοτῶν Σ (γρ), L, vulg.

9. Πέριλλος Phot., Harp., Suid.; Περίλαος Σ, L, vulg. (see Vöm. and § 295<sup>12</sup>).

§ 49. 1. ὁ above line Σ.

3. ἡμῖν ΑΥ.

ὦ Λίσχινη Ο.

5. του-

τωνὶ Σ, L, A2; τούτων vulg. τοῖς ἀνθισταμένοις Σ<sup>1</sup> (each οἱ changed to οὐ),  
 B, F.

6, 7. ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Σ.

7. ἀπωλώλιτε Σ, vulg.; ἀπωλώλιτε L,

Bekk. An. p. 126, 33.

§ 50. 3. οὐτοσί Β.

after speaking of two factions calling in mercenaries, and an arbiter who sometimes gets the mastery of both, adds: ὅπερ συνέβη ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Σίμων. Eudicus is not otherwise known.

7. τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων; = οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐχὶ (i.e. πάντα κακὰ) πασχόντων. προδοτῶν follows γέγονε in all MSS. but Σ: it is easily understood.

8. πᾶσα ἢ οἰκουμένη is properly the whole habitable world, i.e. the Greek world; as in Ev. Luc. ii. 1 it is the whole Roman world. But here it is merely a loose expression with no special limit. We should say, "all the world is full of these wretches."—Ἀρίστρατος, a tyrant of Sicyon: see the account of his portrait by Melanthus and Apelles, destroyed by order of Aratus, in Plut. Arat. 13.

9. Πέριλλος, of Megara: see XIX. 295. Perillus and Aristratus are in the "black-list" of Cor. § 295. For Philip's intrigues in Megara see Grote XI. 613, 621. See Hist. § 52 (end).

§ 49. 4. τὸ ἔχειν...περιποιεῖ, secures for you your opportunities for being bribed (the wherewithal to be bribed).

6. ἐστε σῶφι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, i.e. you survive to be venal.—διὰ...αὐτοὺς, if you were left to yourselves (M.T. 472). The orator surprises his audience by this original reason why the Athenian traitors have been saved from the fate of traitors in other states, i.e. the honest citizens thwart their schemes and thus save them from the ruin of success. This brilliant attack is followed up sharply in what follows.

§§ 50—52: the peroration to the argument on the Peace of Philocrates.

§ 50. 1. τῶν τότε πραχθέντων, i.e. the transactions concerning the peace. The suggestion in the first sentence that he will drop this subject makes this sudden recurrence to the charge of venality all the more effective.

3. αἴτιος, i.e. of my speaking πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν.—ὥσπερ, as it were (M.T. 867), with ἐωλοκρασίαν, not with κατασκευάσας.



τῆς ἑαυτοῦ [καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων] κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον  
 5 ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι.  
 παρηνώχλησθε δ' ἴσως οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν εἰδότες  
 51 τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν  
 αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί. ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάν-  
 5 οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ' ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὔτω μαι-  
 νομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ  
 πρᾶπτοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων.  
 52 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ

4. καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων MSS.; om. Hermog., Harp., Zonar., Suid.; in [ ] West., Lips. 6. παρηνώχλησθαι Σ. δὲ ἴσως Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; δ' ὑμεῖς ἴσως AI; δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως L<sup>2</sup>, B, vulg. εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν Σ, L, AI; ὅτ. εἶπ. B, vulg. 7. τότε τὴν O.

§ 51. 1. γε Σ. L. B. AI. 2; τε vulg. 2. καὶ εἰ νῦν A2. 3. φιλίαν ὀνειδίζων V 6.

§ 52. 1. οὐκ ἔστι repeated after ταῦτα AI (see § 47<sup>5</sup>).

—*ἔωλοκρασίαν*, a mixture of stale dregs, lit. a mixture of the refuse (ε-ρ. heel-taps) of last night's feast (ἔωλα, *hesterna*). The Scholia say: ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρῆν ἐκέρασε πρᾶγμα τήμερόν μου καταχέει, καὶ ἐμὲ πρᾶξαι φησι τὰ κακῶς αὐτῷ οἰκονομηθέντα. So Didymus, quoted by Harpocr. See Bekk. An. p. 258: ἡ κατάχυσις τῶν ζωμῶν τῶν ἐῶλων δειπνῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς κοιμωμένους τῶν συμπινόντων. λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κατηγορίᾳ ἀρχαίων πραγμάτων. This burst of indignation refers especially to the audacious conduct of Aeschines (57) in charging Demosthenes with the same coöperation with Philocrates in making the peace which he had once claimed for himself as a merit (I. 174). See § 17<sup>5</sup> (above). Demosthenes calls this treatment "deluding me with the stale refuse of his own villainy." In XXI. 112 old offences are spoken of as τὰδικήμαθ' ἔωλα καὶ ψυχρά. For *ἔωλοκρασία*, see Plut. Mor. p. 148 A, ἐνίοις εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐμμένει τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσάρεστον, ὥσπερ ἔωλοκρασία τις ὑβρεως ἢ ὀργῆς ἐν οἴνῳ γενομένης, and Lucian, Conv. 3, πολλὴν τὴν ἔωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας ἀνδρῶν φιλοσόφων.

4. West. brackets καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων: see critical note.

5. νεωτέρους: the youngest judges present might have been only fourteen years old in 346 B.C.—ἀπολύσασθαι, to clear myself of: there is no need of the emendation ἀπολούσασθαι or ἀποκλύσασθαι. See Thuc. VIII. 87, ἀπολύσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαβολάς.

6. παρηνώχλησθε: addressed to the older judges (cf. ἐνοχλεῖ, § 4<sup>3</sup>).

§ 51. 1. φιλίαν, ξενίαν, properly *friendship* and *guest-friendship*, here seem to be used with little thought of the distinction. Cf. ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου (3) and οὔτε Φιλ. ξένον οὔτε Ἀλεξ. φίλον (below). See Vömel's notes.

2. εἶπε λέγων: cf. εἶπε φωνῶν, Aeschyl. Ag. 205, "speak, saying."

3. ὀνειδίζων: Aesch. had said (66), ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4. πόθεν...ἀξιωθέντι; with dramatic energy for πόθεν...ἔλαβες ἢ πῶς ἠξιώθης; cf. § 128<sup>3</sup>.

6. θεριστὰς, reapers, properly *extra farm-hands*, called in at the harvest (Bl.).

μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
καλῶ, καὶ οὔτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς·  
μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πρότερον ὑμῖν.  
243 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Λίσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι 5  
Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπο- 53  
λογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῶ, ἵνα  
καίπερ εἰδὼς Λίσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων  
τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων  
δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν 5  
αὐτὴν λαβών.

## ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμέου,  
Λίσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα  
παρὰ νόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀιαφλυστίου,

2. πρότερον Φιλ. ΑΙ. ἢ νῦν V6. 4. πρότερον (1st ρ erased) Σ. 5. ὦ  
om. F, O, V6. μισθωτὸς B, V6 (L, AI): so Vömel; μισθωτος most MSS., Σ  
(changed from -τός).

§ 53. 1. ἤδη om. ΑΙ. 4. τῶν over erased και L<sup>1</sup>. 5. πολλῶν F, Φ.  
5. δίκαιον O. 6. αὐτὴν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; ταύτην L<sup>2</sup>, ΑΙ.

§ 52. 3. οὔτοι πάντες probably included both court and audience.

5. μισθωτὸς: most MSS. (Σ only by correction) read *μισθωτος*, following the absurd story of Ulpian (see Schol.), that Demosth. pronounced this word *μισθωτος* to make the judges correct his accent by shouting out the very word *μισθωτός* which he wanted to hear. It is much more likely—indeed, it is certain—that he saw by the faces of his hearers that it was

safe for him to put this question boldly, and he was probably greeted by an overwhelming shout of *μισθωτός*, *μισθωτός*, from both court and audience. The judges, more than four-fifths of whom voted in a few hours to acquit Ctesiphon and to condemn Aeschines to a fine and *ἀτιμία*, were by this time ready to respond to such a sudden appeal, after listening to this most conclusive argument with its brilliant close.

§§ 53—125. Having finished his reply to the charges foreign to the indictment, he now proceeds to the indictment itself. We have (1) an introduction (§§ 53—59), (2) a discussion of his public life (§§ 60—109), (3) a reply to the charge that the orator was *ὑπεύθυνος* when it was proposed to crown him (§§ 110—119), (4) a defence of the proposal to crown him in the theatre (§§ 120, 121), and (5) a conclusion (§§ 122—125).

§§ 53—59. Introduction, including

the reading of the indictment.

§ 53. 4. τῶν προβεβουλευμένων (pass.), strictly accurate for the provisions of the *προβούλευμα* of Ctesiphon, which had passed only the Senate. The corresponding phrase for the items of a *ψήφισμα* would be τῶν ἐψηφισμένων. Cf. τῶν γεγραμμένων, § 56<sup>1</sup>.

5. δίκαιος εἶναι, that I deserve: personal use of δίκαιος (M. T. 762).

§§ 54, 55. This spurious document once passed for the "single undoubtedly

- 5 ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς  
 10 Ἑλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ  
 55 πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 5 θεωρικῷ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλή 244 στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλητῆρες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνοῦσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]
- 56 Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ

§ 56. 1. οἶμαι erased in Σ before διώκει.

2. οἶμαι ΑΙ, vulg.

genuine Athenian indictment." Chaerondas was archon in 338—337 B.C.; but the indictment was brought in the spring of 336. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* came before the *θεσμοθέται*, not before the Chief Archon.

The expression *τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς*, § 54<sup>7</sup>, *on the day of the new tragedians*, i.e. when new tragedies were performed, is confirmed by *τοῖς τραγωδοῖς*, Aesch. III. 45, *τραγωδῶν γιγνομένων καινῶν*, 34, and *τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, 36. In § 55<sup>6</sup> *τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ* is doubtful and perhaps corrupt: there is another reading, *τραγωδῶν καινῶν* (sc. *ἀγωνιζομένων*). But with *τῇ καινῇ* we might perhaps understand *εἰσόδῳ* with Wolf, or *ἀγωνία* with others. Boeckh, Corp. Ins. Gr. II. p. 459, gives a decree of Calymna with *κυκλίων τῇ πρώτῃ* (sc. *παρόδῳ* or *εἰσόδῳ*). In C. I. Att. II. No. 331 is *τραγωδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ καινῷ*, and in Nos. 300 and 311

*τραγωδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι*.

See note on the spurious *προβούλευμα* of Ctesiphon in § 118.

§ 56. 1. "Ἄ μὲν διώκει": the passages of the decree quoted in the indictment are all that are accused of illegality.

3. *πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι*: this is a sarcastic allusion to the demand of Aesch. (202) that the court compel Demosth., if he is allowed to speak at all, to follow his opponent's order of argument: *ἀξιόσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὄνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγορήκα*. See note on § 2<sup>6</sup>. It so happens that Aesch. has stated the charges in the indictment in the order in which Demosth. wishes to reply to them, just the order which Aesch. is anxious to prevent him from following: in his speech he has followed an entirely different order. See Essay I. § 4.



αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν, περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. 5 τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με 57 τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτ' ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ 5 προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα 58 ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνas δῶ στεφανοῦν καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ' ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου

§ 57. 1. τὸ (for τοῦ) ΑΙ. γράψαι om. ΑΙ. βέλτιστά με Σ, L, B, F, O; πράττοντά με vulg.; λέγοντά με ΑΙ. 2. ὅ τι δύναμαι Σ, L<sup>1</sup> (L<sup>2</sup> ὅ τι ἂν); ὅ τι ἂν δύναμαι vulg. 4. εἶναι μοι L<sup>2</sup>, ΑΙ. εὐρήσετε ΑΙ, L<sup>2</sup> (γρ). 5. εἴτε Κτ. γέγραφε ταῦτα περὶ ἐμοῦ (so Vöm.) V6. 6. εἴτε ψευδῆ O.

§ 58. 3. τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι Σ, L, ΑΙ, Υ; κελ. τὸν στέφανον B, vulg. 4. εἰμί ἄξιος Υ. τοῦ om. V6.

4. τῶν γεγραμμένων (pass.). of the items of the indictment: cf. § 53<sup>4</sup>. γέγραμμαι and ἐγράφη may be used as passives of both γράφω, propose (a bill), and γράφομαι, indict: see δικαίως γεγραμμένα, XXIII. 101, ὧ γέγραπται, ibid. 18; τὰ γραφέντα, the proposed measures, Cor. § 86<sup>4</sup>; οὐδὲ γραφέντα, not even indicted, § 222<sup>7</sup>. But γέγραμμαι is generally middle (seldom passive) of γράφομαι, indict: as below, § 59<sup>4</sup>, γεγραμμένος ταῦτα: cf. γέγραψαι, § 119<sup>1</sup>.

5. καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς: by taking up each point in the order of the indictment, he will ensure completeness in his defence. The same sarcasm is kept up.

§ 57. 1. τοῦ γράψαι...καὶ ἐπαινεῖν (sc. Κτησιφῶντα) depends on τὴν κρίσιν (4). πράττοντα...ἀγαθόν (1—3) is in substance quoted from the decree: cf. §§ 59<sup>3</sup>, 86<sup>2</sup>, 88<sup>6</sup>. Aesch. (III. 49) professes to quote the exact words, ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ: cf. other references in Aesch. 101, 237.

3. ἐπαινεῖν: see § 113<sup>3</sup> and note.

5. ἀληθῆ, προσήκοντα, and ψευδῆ (6) are predicates to ταῦτα.

6. εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ: καὶ expresses paral-

lelism with ἀληθῆ: cf. εἴτε καὶ μὴ, § 58<sup>5</sup>. See note on καὶ before διεκωλύθη § 60<sup>4</sup>.

§ 58. 1. τὸ...κελεῦσαι (3), the bidding me (in his decree) to be crowned...and the crown to be proclaimed in the theatre (στεφανοῦν and ἀνειπεῖν in the usual active form): this clause is repeated in τοῦτο as subject of κοινωνεῖν.—μὴ προσγράψαντα...δῶ: Aesch. makes it a special act of shamelessness in Ctesiphon (see 11, 12) to omit this saving clause. It was frequently added in such decrees: see C. I. Att. II. Nos. 114 (343 B.C.), στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χ. δραχμῶν ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνas δῶ, and 190. This proviso, according to Aesch. (12), did not make the decree legal, though it showed a sense of shame in the mover.

3. κοινωνεῖν...πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ'...καὶ μὴ (5), lit. I think this too is concerned with my public acts (namely with the question) whether I deserve the crown etc. or not. The loose relation of εἴτ' ἄξιός εἰμι κ.τ.λ. to τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, which it explains, is permissible after the full form in § 57<sup>3-6</sup>; without this it would be obscure.

- 5 καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτωςί μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικάως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογία ἐγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦ-
- 59 **μαι** δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰς ἑὶς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ <sup>245</sup>
- 5 ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.
- 60 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμέ

5. τῆς ἐν τούτοις om. Y, Φ (γρ); τῆς ἐν om. B. καὶ (bef. μή) om. A1, Y, Φ (γρ).  
8. ποιείσθε Σ.

§ 59. 1. μοι (for με) O. 5. πάντων A1. πεπολιτευμένων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2, O<sup>1</sup>; πεπολ. καὶ πεπραγμένων A1, B, vulg. 7. καὶ om. V6.

5. ἐν τούτοις: i.e. *before the people* (in the theatre).

6. τοὺς νόμους: the arguments are given in §§ 110—121.

§ 59. 2. Ἑλληνικὰς...λόγους, i.e. *a discussion of our foreign policy*, i.e. our relations to other Greek states. Athens could not be said to have a "policy" with barbarians, though her relations to them could be expressed by *ξενικά*: see note on οἰκείων, Ἑλληνικῶν, and ξενικῶν, § 311<sup>4</sup>. Demosthenes selected foreign affairs as his special department: see § 62<sup>5</sup>.

3. τοῦ ψηφίσματος, depending on τὸ λέγειν...με, i.e. *the clause declaring etc.*

4. γεγραμμένος (middle): see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

7. προαιρέσεων τῆς πολιτείας, *departments of the government* (open to choice).

§§ 60—109. In this general defence of his public policy, (1) he defends his fixed principle of opposition to Philip's aggres-

sions (§§ 60—72); (2) he speaks of the events which immediately preceded the outbreak of war with Philip in 340 B.C. (§§ 73—101), avoiding all mention of the later Amphissian war and the other events which led to the battle of Chaeronea; (3) he defends his trierarchic law (§§ 102—109).

See Fox's elaborate analysis of this argument, *Kranzrede*, pp. 86—108.

§ 60. 1. πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι: the public life of Demosth. properly began with his speech on the Symmories in 354 B.C. (see *Hist.* § 11); but his responsibility for the foreign policy of Athens began after the peace of 346. Still, his fixed policy of opposing Philip, though unsuccessful at first, goes back at least to the First Philippic in 351; and he is here (§§ 60—72) defending generally his public life as a whole, seldom mentioning his special acts. He reserves these for a later part of his argument (§§ 79—94, and after § 159).

προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, εἶσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ἄνδρες 5 Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγ' ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, 61 οὐ τισὶν, ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὄσπην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγонуῖαν· οὓς συναγωγιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς 5 Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἔξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτ' ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου 62 καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ

§ 60. 2. κατασχε Σ. 4. καὶ διεκωλύθη Σ, L (-von over -ύθη); καὶ om. A1. 2, B, vulg. 5. ὧ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὧ om. Σ.

§ 61. 2. ἀλλ' ἅπασιν Σ, L; ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν vulg. 5. λαβὼν Σ, L, vulg.; λαβὼν ὁ Φίλιππος A1, B, F, Φ, O (mg.).

§ 62. 2. φυομένου Σ<sup>2</sup> (from φυρομένου?). πάντων (om. τῶν) V6.

2. προὔλαβε and κατέσχε combined have the idea of *securing by being beforehand*: see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἃ καὶ διεκωλύθη: see note on § 57<sup>6</sup>. καὶ expresses parallelism with προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε, and strengthens the antithesis between what Philip *did* before Dem. appeared and what he was *prevented from doing* afterwards. ἃ διεκωλύθη represents an active form ἃ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσα: no infinitive is understood.

5. τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών, *after promising the following*. Demosth. has no preference for the forms in -δε (e.g. τοσόνδε) in referring to what is to follow.

6. ὑπῆρξε: see note on ὑπάρξει μοι, § 1<sup>3</sup>.

§ 61. 2. φορὰν, *a crop*: see the list of this crop of traitors in § 295.

5. καὶ πρότερον... ἔχοντας = οἱ καὶ πρότερον κακῶς εἶχον, *impf. partic.* Cf.

νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς, IX. 50, and κακῶς διεκείμεθα, IX. 28. See §§ 45—49. Blass notices the coincidence in rhythm in καὶ πρότερον κακῶς and καὶ στασιαστικῶς.

8. διέστησεν... πολλὰ: cf. [X.] 52, γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς. (Bl.)

9. κωλύειν: in apposition with ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος. An appositive infinitive generally has the article in the fully developed language; but not necessarily, for the construction is even Homeric, as εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης, II. XII. 243.

§ 62. 1. ἔτ' ἀγνοία (sc. ἐν)... ὄντων = ἔτ' ἀγνοούντων, ἔτ' belonging to ἀγνοία. Vömel: *quum adhuc ignorarent* etc.—συνισταμένου: cf. VI. 35, ἕως...συνιστάται τὰ πράγματα.



σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι  
 πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 5 λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἴμ' ἐγώ.  
 63 πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν 246  
 ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατα-  
 κτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν,  
 5 δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα εἰ μηδεῖς

3. ὦ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὦ om. Σ, L. ἦν om. L, A2, O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 63. 2. αὐτῆς Σ; ἑαυτῆς L, A1, B, vulg.; αὐτῆς O.

4. κακὰ (for καλὰ) Φ.

3. προσῆκον ἦν: see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

4. πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν: see § 4<sup>6</sup>.  
 When these words do not have their  
 proper distinction of *do* and *make*, they  
 sometimes have no apparent distinction:  
 see § 246<sup>4,10</sup>, and IV. 5, οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νυκτὶ  
 πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν.

5. ἐνταῦθ'...τῆς πολιτείας: partitive.  
 Cf. § 59<sup>7</sup>.

§ 63. 1. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν...ἀναι-  
 ρεῖν; *should she...have helped Philip to*  
*gain his dominion over the Greeks, and*  
*(so) have set at naught the glorious and*  
*just deeds of our ancestors?* Here, and  
 in μὴ ποιεῖν and περιυδεῖν (also depend-  
 ing on ἐχρῆν), in προσῆκε ποιεῖν and  
 εἶδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν in § 66<sup>2,4</sup>, in ἐχρῆν  
 ποιεῖν in § 69<sup>5</sup>, and φανῆναι ἐχρῆν in  
 § 71<sup>10</sup>, we have (I think) simply the  
 ordinary use of the infinitive depending  
 on a past verb expressing *duty* or *pro-*  
*priety*, with none of the idiomatic force  
 by which (for example) εἶδει σε ἐλθεῖν  
 often means *you ought to have gone* (*but*  
*did not go*). These expressions are all  
 repetitions or enlargements of τί προσ-  
 ῆκον ἦν in § 62<sup>3</sup>, which obviously asks  
 only *what was it right for Athens to do?*  
 with no implied idea that she did or did  
 not do the right thing. So in § 63<sup>1</sup> the  
 question is simply *was it right for her to*  
*help Philip* etc.? See M.T. 417, and  
 pp. 403, 404. In such cases the idio-  
 matic use is often forced upon the ex-  
 pressions, and ἐχρῆν συγκατακτᾶσθαι is

thought to mean *ought she to have helped*  
*him to acquire* etc. (which she *did not do*)?  
 But here μὴ ποιεῖν in § 63<sup>4</sup> and φανῆναι  
 in § 71<sup>10</sup> refer to what actually happened.  
 The consideration of these examples has  
 convinced me that we are often wrong in  
 assuming the idiomatic use where it does  
 not exist. See notes on §§ 190<sup>9</sup>, 239<sup>2</sup>.  
 It is sometimes uncertain in which sense  
 we are to take such expressions. But  
 when (with the present infinitive) they  
 refer to *present* time, as τοῦσδε μὴ ζῆν  
 εἶδει, *these ought not to be alive*, Soph.  
 Phil. 418, the use is always idiomatic.

The reiteration of the question, noticed  
 above, was called ἐπιμονή. See Her-  
 mogenes (III. pp. 266, 267 W.): ταῖς  
 ἐπιμοναῖς ἐφ' ὧν ἰσχύομεν πραγμάτων  
 χρώμεθα, ὡς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ στεφάνου,  
 πότερον, φησὶ, τὴν πόλιν ἐχρῆν...τὴν  
 ἑαυτῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ταύτη γὰρ τῇ ἐννοίᾳ  
 πλέον ἢ τετράκις ἐν ταύτῳ τόπῳ κέχρηται,  
 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος,  
 λέγω τοῦ κατ' ἐρώτησιν ἐξ ἀποστροφῆς. διὰ  
 γὰρ τὸ ἐνδοξον τῆς ἐννοίας ἐπιμένει καὶ  
 δεινῶς ἐπικεῖται τῷ ἐχθρῷ, ταῖς συνεχέσιν  
 ἐρωτήσεσιν οὐδ' ἀναπνεῖν ἔων.—τὸ φρο-  
 νημα καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, *her spirit and her*  
*dignity.*

2. ἐν...τάξει implies a *descent to their*  
*level.* The Thessalians helped Philip in  
 the Amphissian war; the Dolopians are  
 probably mentioned only to disparage the  
 Thessalians further.

5. συμβησόμενα εἰ μηδεῖς κωλύσει:

κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περι-  
δεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστ' ἐπιτιμῶντα **64**  
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος  
γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν  
συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ἧς ἂν  
Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεορα- 5  
κυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι,  
ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν **65**  
ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὄχρετ'  
εὐθέως ἀπιῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ  
συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας,  
ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος 5  
μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν  
ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς

§ 64. 3. τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι Y. βούλετ' A1; βούλαιτ' (ε over αι) V6. 5. περι-  
ωρακίας Σ; περιωρακίας L, vulg., Bk.; περιεορακίας Dind., Vöm., West., Lips.,  
Weil, Bl. 7. ἂν (ν by corr.) Σ.

§ 65. 2. γὰρ om. A1. 3. εὐθέως Σ, L, A2; εὐθὺς vulg. αὐτου Σ;  
αὐτοῦ L; αὐτοῦ vulg. 5. ἦν ἂν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; ὅμως ἦν ἂν vulg. τῶν οὐκ ἐναντ.  
(the common older reading) Y (mg.), O (mg.); other MSS. om. οὐκ.

cf. Aesch. III. 90, ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσό-  
μενον εἰ μὴ κωλύσετε. In both we might  
have the future optative.

6. ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα, *to allow  
these acts to go on*; περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα  
would be *to allow them to happen* (M.T.  
148 and 903<sup>6</sup>, with the discussion of  
περιδεῖν τμηθεῖσαν and περιδεῖν τμηθῆναι  
in Thuc. II. 18, 20).

§ 64. 1. νῦν, *now*, when the fight  
for liberty is ended: τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
refers to the fight itself.—τὸν μάλιστ'  
ἐπιτιμῶντα, i.e. *the severest critic*.

3. γενέσθαι, *to join* (not *to belong*  
*to*).

5. περιεορακίας: I have adopted this  
form on the almost unanimous authority  
of modern scholars, even against the MSS.  
See Blass-Kühlner, §§ 198<sup>6</sup>, 343.

6. γιγνόμενα: cf. note on § 63<sup>6</sup>.

7. Ἀρκάδας κ.τ.λ.: see Polyb. XVII.  
14 (quoted in note on § 295<sup>5</sup>) for a defence  
of these neutrals.

§ 65. 2. ὡς ἐκράτησε: i.e. at Chae-  
ronea. Philip treated Athens with great  
consideration after the battle, restoring  
her 2000 prisoners without ransom; but  
wreaked his vengeance on Thebes (as a  
former ally) and invaded Peloponnesus.  
(Grote XI. 699—705.)—ὄχρετ' ἀπιῶν: for  
this and similar expressions see M.T.  
895.

5. ἦν ἂν τις...κατηγορία, *there might  
perhaps be some ground for blame and  
accusation* etc.: the older editions have  
ὅμως ἦν ἂν τις and κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐναντι-  
ωθέντων, with an entirely different meaning.  
(See critical note.)

6. ἀξίωμα... ἡγεμονίαν... ἐλευθερίαν:  
see XIX. 260, τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα (the cor-  
ruption of leading men by Philip) Θεττα-  
λῶν μὲν...τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν  
ἀξίωμα ἀπωλωλέκει, νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὴν  
ἐλευθερίαν παραιρεῖται· τὰς γὰρ ἀκρο-  
πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν.  
For Euboea see § 71 (below).

πολιτείας, ὅσων ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

- 66 Ἄλλ' ἐκέῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρώσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον 247  
 ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο  
 5 πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδεν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
 μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ  
 περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν  
 πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν  
 ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων  
 67 Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν

8. ὅσον A2, B<sup>1</sup>; ὅσω Y, B<sup>2</sup>, F (γρ.).

§ 66. 1. καὶ τί V6. 2. ὀρώσαν τῶν Ἑλλ. A1. 3. τῶν συμβούλων (-ων twice over -ον) L<sup>2</sup>. 4. γράφ. ἢ λέγ. Y. Ἀθῆν. ἐμέ vulg.; ἐμέ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. 4, 5. καλ...διαφέρει om. V6. 5. συνῆδεν μὲν Σ, L, A1. 2; μὲν after παντὸς B, vulg. 6. τῆς ἡμέρας Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; τῆσδε τῆς ἡμ. A1; τῆς ἡμ. ἐκείνης B, vulg. 7. τιμῆς δόξης O (cf. § 67<sup>b</sup>). 8. πλείω...σώματα Σ, L; πλ. καὶ σώμ. καὶ χρήμ. A1. 2; πλ. σώμ. καὶ χρήμ. vulg. ἀνηλωκυῖαν (and ἀνηλώκασιν in l. 10) Σ, L; ἀναλωκ. (in both) vulg. 9. πᾶσι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2; ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλῆσι B, vulg. 10. οἱ τὰ ὑπὲρ B, vulg. οἱ τὰ om. Σ, L, A1. 2. ὑπὲρ αὐτ (∞ over τ) Σ.

8. **πολιτείας**, *free governments*. See Arist. Pol. VI. (IV.) 8, 3, ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινοῦσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις. See Dem. VIII. 43, ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκείνον, and VI. 21, οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αἰτῆαι λίαν ὀμιλῆαι. Aristotle uses *πολιτεία* in a special sense (Pol. III. 7, 3) for his third form of good government, opposed to *δημοκρατία*, its *πρόσβασις*. — **ἀπάντων**: partitive with *ἐνδοξότατα*. So *εὐφροσύνη* ἀνθρώπων in XIX. 50, *ἀναισχυντότατ'* ἀνθρώπων in XXVII. 18, *δικαιοτάτ'* ἀνθρώπων in XXIX. 28.

§ 66. 1. ἐκέῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι, *I return to my question*, i.e. after the digres-

sion in § 65.

2. **προσῆκε ποιεῖν**: see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

5. ὃς **συνῆδεν**: the antecedent, τὸν σύμβουλον, refers to the speaker, and most MSS. insert ἐμέ after Ἀθήνησιν. — **ἐκ...χρόνου**: see § 203<sup>3</sup>.

6. **ἀφ' ἧς**, *when (on which)*, strictly *beginning with which, counting from which* (as a date).

7. **ἀγωνιζομένην**: *or. obl.* after *συνῆδεν*, like *ἀνηλωκυῖαν* (8); cf. four participles after ἐώρων, § 67<sup>1</sup>.

8. **χρήματα καὶ σώματα**, *money and lives*. With the lordly boast of this passage compare the allusion to Salamis in § 238.

9. **φιλοτιμίας**, *her honour*; properly *love of honour*, but often used like *τιμή*: cf. II. 3, 16.

§ 67. 1. ἐώρων continues the construction of ὃς *συνῆδεν* (§ 66<sup>b</sup>).



τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ  
 δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεα-  
 γότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅτι βουλευθείη  
 μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, 5  
 ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 68  
 τοῦτό γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ  
 τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γ' ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην  
 μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν 5

§ 67. 2. ἦν om. O, V6. ὑμῖν A2. 4. ὅτι ἂν βουλευθείη A1; ὅτι ἂν  
 βουλευθῆ Gell. 5. τοῦτον Φ. τοῦτο προϊέμενον Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Gell.; τοῦτο ἐτοίμως  
 προϊέμ. Σ (γρ), A1; τοῦτο ῥαδίως καὶ ἐτοίμως προϊέμ. B, vulg. 6. τὸ λοιπὸν  
 L, A1.

§ 68. 2. τολμήσαι Σ; τολμήσαι (-ειεν over -αι) L; τολμήσειεν vulg. 4. προσ-  
 ἦκε γενέσθαι A1. 5. εἰς τὸν νοῦν Σ, L, A1; τὸν om. vulg. ἦμῖν V6.

2. ὑπὲρ...δυναστείας, contrasted with  
 ὑπὲρ...συμφερόντων in § 66<sup>9</sup>. δυναστεία  
 is properly a government of force, not  
 based on the popular will; see § 270<sup>4</sup>.  
 Arist. Pol. VI. (IV.) 5, 2, speaking of  
 the extreme oligarchy, ὅταν ἀρχῆ μὴ ὁ  
 νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἀρχοντες, says, καὶ ἔστιν  
 ἀντίστροφος αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὡς-  
 περ ἢ τυραννίς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ  
 ἧς τελευταίας εἶπαμεν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς  
 δημοκρατίαις (unbridled unconstitutional  
 democracy). καὶ καλοῦσιν δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην  
 ὀλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν. But Demosth.  
 uses δυναστείας in § 322<sup>7</sup> of the power of  
 Athens. It is generally, however, an  
 odious term.

3. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, had had  
 his eye knocked out, passive of the active  
 form ἐκκόπτει τις αὐτῷ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, re-  
 taining the accus. of the thing. The  
 following κατεαγότα is passive in sense,  
 and has the same construction. Cf. ἀπο-  
 τμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, Xen. An. II. 6, 1,  
 representing ἀπέτεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς κεφαλὰς.  
 For other examples see Thuc. I. 126<sup>34</sup>,  
 140<sup>27</sup>; Ar. Nub. 72; Plato, Men. 87 C; es-  
 pecially Thuc. I. 73, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον  
 ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις (sc. τὰ Μηδικά),  
 representing προβάλλομεν ὑμῖν τὰ Μηδικά,  
 as is obscurely suggested by Krüger. Of  
 Philip's wounds the Scholiast says, ἤδη  
 ἔγνωμεν ὅτι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπλήγη ἐν τῇ

Μεθώνῃ, τὴν δὲ κλεῖν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς, τὸ δὲ  
 σκέλος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν Σκύθαις. For  
 Methone, captured by Philip in 353 B.C.,  
 see Hist. § 3 (end). For the Illyrians  
 see Cor. § 44, and for the Scythian cam-  
 paign of Philip in 339, see Hist. § 69.

5. προϊέμενον, i.e. always ready to  
 sacrifice, followed by ὅτι βουλευθείη.

§ 68. 2. τολμήσαι: I have retained  
 this form, with most recent editors, on  
 the authority of Σ, though the form in  
 -ειε is far more common in Demosthenes  
 and in other Attic prose. See Blass-  
 Kühner II. p. 74; on the other side  
 Rutherford's New Phrynichus, pp. 433—  
 438. Aristotle has the form -αι quite as  
 often as -ειε.—ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι: cf.  
 Hegesippus [Dem. VII.] 7, πρὸς τὸν ἐκ  
 Πέλλης ὀρμώμενον, with the same sarcasm.  
 Pella was a small place until Philip en-  
 larged and adorned it. See Strab. VII.  
 fr. 23: τὴν Πέλλαν οὖσαν μικρὰν πρότερον  
 Φίλιππος εἰς μῆκος ἠῤῥῆσε τραφεῖς ἐν  
 αὐτῇ.

4. μεγαλοψυχίαν, lofty aspirations.  
 Aristotle (Eth. IV. 3, 3) says of the μεγα-  
 λόψυχος, the great-souled or high-minded  
 man, δοκεῖ εἶναι ὁ μεγάλων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιῶν  
 ἀξίος ὢν. Cf. § 260<sup>4</sup>.

5. εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι: cf. our  
 phrase take it into his head.

δ' οὔσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι  
καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπο-  
μνήμαθ' ὀρώσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθέλοντάς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ'  
69 ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα  
πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι  
δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ  
προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' 248  
5 οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με  
ποιεῖν; ἦδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν,  
Πύδναν, Ποτεΐδαιαν, Ἀλόνησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι.  
70 Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ  
ὄσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἠδικοῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ

6. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>1</sub>; καθ' ἡμ. ἐκ. L<sup>2</sup> (γρ), B, vulg. 7. τοῖς (for τῆς) V6. ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι Σ (ω over ου), L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσιν Σ (γρ), vulg.

8. τῆς ἐλευθ. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθ. vulg. 9. ἐθέλοντας Σ; ἐθέλοντας L, A<sub>1</sub>. 10. φήσειεν Σ, V6; φήσεις L, vulg.

§ 69. 2. ἐναντιοῦσθε Σ. 3. ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σ, L, B, A<sub>1</sub>; ἐξ ἀρχ. ὑμ. vulg. 4. καὶ (before ἐγὼ) om. A<sub>1</sub>.

§ 70. 1. τὴν om. V6. 2. ὄσ' ἄλλα Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα vulg. ἠδικοῖτο Σ, L, Φ; ἠδίκητο vulg.

6. ἐν πᾶσι...θεωρήμασι, i.e. *in all that you hear and see*: θεωρήμα is very rare for θέαμα.

7. ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι, *beholding memorials*; ὀρώσι by a slight zeugma including λόγοις: cf. Aeschyl. Prom. 21 οὔτε φωνῆν οὔτε του μορφῆν βροτῶν ὄψει.

8. κακίαν: see note on § 20<sup>3</sup>.—ὑπάρξαι and ἐγγενέσθαι (4) depend on προσῆκεν.

9. αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθέλοντάς, *as self-offered volunteers*: cf. § 99<sup>9</sup>.—οὐδ' ἂν εἰς: see M. T. 219: οὐδ' εἰς (separated)=*ne unus quidem, not a man*.

§ 69. 1. ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα: cf. ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα, § 9<sup>1</sup>.

2. ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν, in strong antithesis to ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.

3. ἐξ ἀρχῆς: this refers strictly only to the time of his own leadership (καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν χρόνους). But he modestly and speciously appears to represent his own vigorous policy as a continuation of earlier energy. When Philip was cap-

turing Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, Athens was supinely inactive; but Demosthenes was not yet a responsible adviser. In §§ 18 and 60 he expressly disclaims all responsibility for these earlier times.

5. τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

6. ἦδη σ' ἐρωτῶ: the third time of asking. See note on § 63<sup>1</sup> and the quotation from Hermogenes.—ἀφείς, *leaving out of account*: for Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, see Hist. § 3; for Halonnesus, Hist. §§ 55, 56, 57.

§ 70. 1. For Serrhium and Doriscus see note on § 27<sup>5</sup>. For the sacking of Peparethus (in 341—340 B.C.) see Hist. § 66. ταύτην ἐπόρθησεν Ἀλκιμος ναύαρχος τοῦ Φιλίππου; Schol. The people of Peparethus, an ally of Athens, had taken Halonnesus from Philip and captured his garrison.

2. οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα: cf. XXI. 78, τοῦτον οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν εἰδώς, *not being*

γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπίθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅτι 5 ἂν βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν 71 Εὐβοίαν ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάρους ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ κατα-

4. Ἀριστοφῶντος Σ (mg.), L, vulg.; Κτησιφῶντος Σ<sup>1</sup> (dots beneath), A2.  
 5. ὄντων ψηφ. A1. λέγω (ν above line) Σ. 6. οὐδὲν νῦν A1.  
 § 71. 2. ἐπιτείχισματα O.

aware even of his existence.—σύ γ' ἔφησθα: see Aesch. III. 82, ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ παραχῆς.

3. ταῦτα λέγοντα (not εἰπόντα), i.e. by everlastingly talking about these.

4. Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος: in replying to Aeschines (as quoted above) he is glad to be able to refer to decrees of his political opponents while there were none of his own. Eubulus, though he was the leader of the peace party and always friendly to Philip, might have proposed decrees directing negotiations with Philip about the towns captured by Philip or the later affair of Peparthus; and he might have proposed one remonstrating against the seizure of Athenian ships (§ 73), like the spurious one in §§ 73, 74. The decrees of Eubulus and Aristophon read to the court (§§ 73—75) may have referred to any of these subjects. As Aristophon lived to near the age of a hundred, he may have proposed bills from 346 to 340 B.C., though he was born before the Peloponnesian War. See Schaefer i. 138, 183.—Diopithes is probably not the general, but the Sphettian, of whom Hyperides (Eux. XXXIX. 29) says, ὃς δεινότατος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

6. οὐδὲ...ἐρῶ: the third παράλειψις (cf. §§ 69<sup>7</sup>, 70<sup>2</sup>), in which a fact is impressively stated by declaring that it shall not be mentioned.

§ 71. 2. ἐκεῖνος: this position is allowed the demonstrative when another qualifying word follows the article: cf. ἡ στενὴ αὐτῆ ὁδός, Xen. An. IV. 2, 6.

But even then, the regular order may be kept (Madvig, Synt. § 11).—σφετεριζόμενος (from σφέτερος), appropriating, making his own, of unlawful or unjust appropriation: cf. XXXII. 2, σφετερίσασθαι, and Aeschyl. Suppl. 39, λέκτρων σφετεριζάμενον ἐπιβῆναι. For the active ἐσφετέρισαν see Plat. Leg. 715 A. I am indebted to Dr Murray of Oxford for an example of the English verb *spheterize*, in a letter of Sir Wm Jones in S. Parr's Works (1828), i. 109, "Remember to reserve for me a copy of your book. I am resolved to *spheterize* some passages of it." The dictionaries often refer to Burke for this word.—ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, as a fortress commanding Attica. An ἐπιτείχισμα is properly a fortress in an enemy's country, used as a military basis, like the Spartan fort at Decelea in the Peloponnesian War. Here Euboea in Philip's hands is figuratively described as such a fortress commanding Attica; and the sight of its high mountains across the narrow strait made the figure especially vivid to dwellers in the east of Attica: see § 87<sup>1</sup> and note. See VIII. 36, of the tyrants in Eretria and Oreus, δύο ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτείχισσας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Σκίαθον. Cf. Thuc. I. I. 142<sup>11</sup>, VI. 91<sup>24-31</sup>, VII. 18<sup>6</sup>. This passage relates to Philip's operations in Euboea in 343—342 B.C. See § 79<sup>7</sup> with note, and Hist. § 58.

3. Μεγάρους ἐπιχειρῶν: in 344—343 B.C. Philip attempted to get possession of Megara, with the help of his friends in



λαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ καθιστὰς  
 5 ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρία Κλείταρχον,  
 καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον  
 πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν εἰς ἃς δὲ  
 τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἡδίκει  
 καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον  
 10 φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν  
 72 αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν  
 λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ  
 ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν,  
 περιείργασται δ' ἢ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσ' ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδική-  
 5 ματα πάντ' ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἀμαρτήματ' ἐμά. εἰ δ' ἔδει

4, 5. ωραιόν and ωραιωι. Σ.  
 L, A2, B; τὰς μὲν A1, Y, vulg.  
 Older editions have τινὰς...τῶν or τὰς...τὰς: see Reiske and Dobson.  
 ταῦτα F; πάντα om. L.

6. τὸ Βυζάντιον A1 (cf. § 80<sup>2</sup>).

7. ἃς μὲν Σ,  
 εἰς ἃς δὲ Σ, L, A1. 2, B; εἰς τὰς δὲ O<sup>1</sup> (τ? erased).

9. τὴν εἰρ. ἔλυε L.

8. πάντα

§ 72. 2. λείαν (ei fr. ι) Σ.  
 A2, B, Y, Φ; πάντα ταῦτα vulg.

ζώντ. Ἀθ. καὶ ὄντ. vulg.

5. πάντα Σ, L,

the city. See § 48<sup>9</sup> and Hist. § 52. Megara is mentioned here with Euboea because its close proximity to Athens would have made it, in Philip's hands, another ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

6. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον: for Philip's operations in the Hellespont and at Byzantium, see §§ 87—89, and 244.

7. ἃς μὲν...εἰς τὰς δὲ: very rare for τὰς μὲν...εἰς τὰς δὲ: in XLI. II we have ἃ μὲν (cod. A τὰ μὲν)...τῶν δὲ...τὰ δὲ. See Philem. frag. 99 (Kock) ὧν μὲν διὰ τύχην, ὧν δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦς. (See Vömel.)

8. τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων: i.e. restoring his own exiled partizans.

9. ἢ οὐ: sc. ἡδίκει κ.τ.λ.; but (in II) ἢ μή: sc. φανῆναι.

10. τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα = δς τ. κωλύσει (final); in § 72<sup>6</sup> is the simple κωλυτήν; both predicates with φανῆναι.

11. ἐχρῆν ἢ μή: the question is here put for the fourth time: see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

§ 72. 1. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν: the alternative is εἰ δ' ἔδει (5).—τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν, Mysian booty, i.e. like the Mysians,

a prey to everybody. παροιμία· τάττεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην καὶ ἀναιτίως ἀπολλυμένων (Schol.). παροιμία, ἣν φησι Δήμων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν καταδραμόντων ἀστυγειτόνων τε καὶ ληστῶν τὴν Μυσίαν κατὰ τὴν Τηλέφου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδημίαν, Harpocr. This refers to the wanderings of Telephus, disguised as a beggar, in quest of Achilles, who had wounded him and alone could cure his wound. This was the plot of the much-ridiculed Telephus of Euripides: see Plat. Gorg. 521 B; Arist. Rhet. I. 12, 20.

2. ὀφθῆναι: sc. ἐχρῆν (without μή).—ζώντων καὶ ὄντων: see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>. See Plat. Rep. 369 D, τοῦ εἶναι τε καὶ ζῆν.

3. περιείργασμαι, I have done a useless (superfluous) work: περιττῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως παρήνεσά τε ἐγὼ καὶ ἢ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσα μάτην ἐπέισθη (Schol.).

4. ἔστω...ἐμά: ἀδικήματα καὶ ἀμαρτήματα ἐμά is predicate to ἔστω. See ἀδικήμα, crime, and ἀμαρτήμα, blunder, distinguished in § 274.

249 τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίν' ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκεν γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἐγὼ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνου ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβὼν, 73 οὐχ ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη.

Φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τίς τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ γενήσεται φανερόν.

5

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶντος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μιησιθέου Κόπρειος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη 10

6. τούτων τινὰ κωλύτην O; τούτων κωλυτὴν (without τινὰ) vulg.; τινὰ τούτων κωλ. Σ (τούτων corr. from τούτων?) L; τούτων κωλ. φαν. Α1 (mg.). μᾶλλον (for ἄλλον) Α1. 7. δῆμον Ἀθην. L. προσῆκεν Σ; προσῆκε L, Α1, F, Φ; προσῆκει vulg. ἐπολιτευόμεν τότε vulg.; τότε om. Σ, L, Α1. 2. 9. προῖεσθαι Σ, I., Α2; προῖεσθαι ταῦτα Φιλίππυ vulg.; προῖεσθαι Α1, O. διετέλουν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Α1. 2, Φ; om. F, Y.

§ 73. 3. δὲ Σ, V6; δ' L, Α1; δὴ vulg. ταῦτα Α2. τὴν τοῦ om. Α1. 4. τούτων Σ<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>1</sup>, Α2; τούτων ἐξεταζομένων Σ (late mg.), L<sup>2</sup> (mg.), vulg. 5. λέγε. (at end) vulg.; om. Σ, L, F, Y.

9. μὴ προῖεσθαι, *not to make surrenders (not to give up your own)*. προῖεσθαι is here absolute, as in Arist. Eth. III. 5, 14: τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν, προεμένω δ' οὐκέτι, i.e. *after he has sacrificed his health*.

§ 73. 1. καὶ μὴν...λαβὼν: this seizure of merchant ships by Philip's cruisers, of which we have no other knowledge, was the overt act which Athens made the occasion of her declaration of war. It perhaps hastened this declaration by a few weeks; but after the letter of Philip (§ 76), which was practically a declaration of war on his part, only one course was open to Athens. For the formalities with which Athens declared war and removed the column on which the peace of Philocrates was inscribed, see Hist. § 68, with the notes. This probably took place in

the autumn of 340 B.C.

3. φέρε: see note on § 28<sup>2</sup>.—τὴν ἐπιστολὴν: this was a detailed statement of Philip's grievances, with a defence of his own conduct towards Athens, ending with a formal declaration of war. The document numbered XII. among the orations of Demosthenes purports to be this letter; and it is accepted as genuine (at least in substance) by most modern scholars, including Grote (XI. 630). See Hist. § 68. The letter contained in §§ 77, 78 is of course spurious.

4. τίς τίνος: such double interrogatives are common in Greek, but colloquial or comic in English, as *who's who?* An increase of the number becomes comic in Greek; as in IV. 36, τίς χορηγός...πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

- εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ὅπως ἢ βουλή συναχθῆ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον,
- 74** οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν,
- 5** ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ 250
- ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]
- 75** Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἠγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. λέγε.

5

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνευεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ

**10** τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἴλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφώντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεῖα φυλῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

- 76** Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω καὶ σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτιός

§ 75. 3. πάντες Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι vulg. 4. λέγε. Σ; λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα. L, vulg.

§ 76. 2. καὶ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. ὁποῖον Σ, L, A<sub>2</sub>; ποῖον vulg.

§ 75. 4. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων: this with § 76<sup>2</sup> is a positive denial of the statement of Aeschines (III. 55) that the decree declaring war was proposed by Demosthenes. The authority of Philochorus, claimed for this statement, is based on an unnecessary emendation (ψήφισμα

γράψαντος for ψηφίσματα γράψαντος): see Hist. § 68, note. Though Demosthenes was constantly proposing decrees at this time, he cannot have proposed the one which formally declared war or any on the matters mentioned in § 70 or about the seizure of ships (i.e. περὶ τούτων).



εἶμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἔμ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. 5 λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 77  
 251 δῆμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λεωδάμας. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσσεσθαι, εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ 5 λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σίτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λήμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου 78 τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυβριανοῖς 5 βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, εἰ βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσι ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι 10 καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν 79 οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γ' ἔγραφεν· τούτων

3. εἶχεσ (σ from τ'?) Σ. 5. ἐμὲ Σ, L, B; με vulg. 6. τὴν τοῦ Σ, F, Y, A1; τὴν om. L, vulg.

§ 79. 4. ἐαυτοῦ O, V6. γεγραφεν Σ; γέγραφε L, vulg.; γ' ἔγραφεν Droysen (1839); ἐγεγράφει Devarius, Dind.

§ 76. 6. ἐπιστολὴν: see note on § 73<sup>3</sup>.

§ 79. 3. ὅτι...τῶν αὐτοῦ: this implies that Philip could not speak of any

recent case in which Demosth. had opposed him, without alluding to some disgraceful act of his own.

4. εἴ.....γ' ἔγραφεν: this absolutely

5 γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν 252  
 τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος  
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἠνίκ'  
 Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν,  
 καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκείνος ἐν ταύταις  
 80 ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους  
 ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ τὸ  
 Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ  
 κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαὶ, στέφανοι, χάριτες παρὰ  
 5 τῶν εὐπεπονθότων ὑπήρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν  
 ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγω-  
 ρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνηῖσθαι καὶ  
 νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὖνοις ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους  
 ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ

8. Ὀρεῶ ΑΙ.

§ 80. 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σ<sup>1</sup>, Α2; μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Σ (corr.), vulg. 2. πάντας  
 ΑΙ. τὸ Βυζ. Σ, L, Α2 (cf. § 71<sup>6</sup>); τὸ om. vulg. 3. μὲν ὑμῖν V6.  
 5. ὑπήρχον Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ; ἐγίνοντο L<sup>2</sup> (over ὑπήρχον), vulg. 6. ἡμῖν V6.  
 8. ἑαυτοῖς Σ (line through ἐ), L, ΑΙ. 2; αὐτοῖς B, vulg.

certain but long neglected correction of Droysen (1839), hardly an emendation, is now generally adopted for the impossible γέγραφεν or γέγραφε of the mss. Others read ἐγεγράφει: see G. H. Schaefer's note (Appar. Crit<sup>2</sup> et Exeg.).

5. εἰχόμεν, *clung to, followed up closely.*

6. εἰς Πελοπόννησον: probably the embassy of 344, on which Demosth. made the speech to the Messenians and Argives which he quotes in the Second Philippic, 20—25. This agrees better with ὅτε πρῶτον παρεδύετο than the later embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic 72. See Isoc. v. 74, and Hist. §§ 51, 52.

7. παρεδύετο, *was working his way, stealing in*: cf. παρέδν, XXII. 48.—τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν (sc. πρεσβείαν): this was sent in 343—342 B.C., when Philip was establishing the tyrannies at Eretria and Oreus (§ 71).

8. τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν... Ἐρετρίαν: these are the two military expeditions to Eu-

boea in 341 B.C., by which the two tyrannies in Oreus and Eretria were suppressed, the tyrants Philistides and Clitarchus were killed, and the whole island was left free from Philip's influence. See Hist. § 64.

§ 80. 1. ἀποστόλους: the orators use ἀπόστολος, properly a messenger (N. Test. *apostle*), for a naval armament: cf. οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας ἤλθεν ἄν ποτε στόλω, οὔτε πεζῇ κ.τ.λ., VI. 36.

2. ἀπέστειλα: properly used with ἀποστόλους, *I sent out* (by my decrees): cf. πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, § 79<sup>6</sup>.—Χερρόνησος... σύμμαχοι: see §§ 87—89, 240, 241.

4. ἔπαινοι... χάριτες: the decrees conferring these grateful rewards on Athens were read after § 89.

6. τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασι: this refers to the Peloponnesians who neglected the advice of Demosthenes in 344 B.C. (§ 79<sup>6</sup>) and later (IX. 27, 34), and to the early refusal of Oreus and Eretria to listen to Athens (IX. 57, 66, 68).

προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε 81  
 Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ'  
 ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ'  
 ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγ-  
 χεσθαι μηδ' ἂ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδέν' ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, 5  
 οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἤκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ 82  
 Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δευρ' ἀφικνού-  
 μνοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλνον, Λισχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν·  
 οὓς ἢ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα  
 λέγοντας ἀπήλασεν, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη 5  
 τούτων οὐδὲν, ᾧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ  
 253 μὲν λαβῶν βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σὺ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν  
 ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ' εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώ-

10. προείπατε Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; προείπατε αὐτοῖς L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.

§ 81. 1. ἂν om. A1. 2. ὠραιον (ε over αι) Σ (cf. § 71<sup>4-5</sup>). 4. αὐτῶ  
 Σ; αὐτῶ L, vulg.; αὐτῶ Bk. ἐλέγχεσθαι A1, Y.

§ 82. 2. ἀφικόμενοι A1. 3. Λισχίνη om. Y. 5. ἀπήλασεν Σ,  
 -σε L, vulg.; ἀπήλασαν V6. 7. σὺ Σ; σύ γε L, vulg. 8. παύσει Σ, L;  
 παύση vulg.; παύη V6. ἀτιμάσαντες O<sup>1</sup> (ἀ corr. to ὠ, γρ).

§ 81. 3. ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, *that he might have these* (the two towns under the two tyrants) *to depend on*, i.e. as ἐπιτεχνίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν (§ 71).

4. μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι (sc. subj. αὐτῶν): cf. the active constr. in Plat. Ap. 23 A, ἂ ἄν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω.

5. πανταχοῦ, *anywhere*: cf. πάντων, § 5<sup>3</sup>.

6. πάντων ἠκιστα σύ: a sudden outburst of personality.

§ 82. 2. ἀφικνούμενοι... κατέλνον: the tenses imply that such envoys of the tyrants were regular guests of Aeschines. These visits were probably connected with the embassy sent by Callias of Chalcis to Athens in 343—342 B.C. to negotiate a treaty (Aesch. III. 91), which alarmed the tyrants. See Hist. § 58, and Schaefer II. 420, 421.

3. κατέλνον, *lodged* (as we say *put up*), lit. *let down*, originally *unharnessed*; cf. Od. IV. 28, καταλύσομεν ὠκέας ἵππους.— προὔξενεις αὐτῶν, *you were their πρόξενος*:

this might be metaphorical; but there is good reason for thinking that Aeschines was the official representative at Athens of Oreus, if not of Eretria. See Hist. § 39, note on Aesch. II. 89, προξενίας κατασκευαζόμενοι.

5. ἀπήλασεν, *rejected* (i.e. their proposals). Cf. II. 6, IX. 66.— οὐ τοίνυν... οὐδὲν: i.e. *nothing of the kind was ever successful with me*, referring to πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε κ.τ.λ. in § 81.

6. ὡς σιωπῶ... ἀναλώσας: quoted from memory from the speech of Aesch. (218), σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβῶν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας.

7. βοᾶς ἔχων, *you keep on shouting*: cf. Ar. Nub. 509, τί κυπτάξεις ἔχων; (M.T. 837).

8. παύσει... παύσωσιν, *you will not stop unless these judges stop you*.— ἀτιμώσαντες, i.e. by not giving you a fifth of their votes, the result of which would be the partial ἀτιμία of losing the right to bring a similar suit hereafter, with a fine



83 σαντες τήμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἔμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἄσπερ οὐτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφεν, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου,—καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος  
5 ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου,—οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν οὕτε τὸν εἰπόντ' ἐγράψατο. καὶ μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

84 [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας  
5 χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὦν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαι-  
10 νέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶ

9. τήμερον περί τὸ βῆμα O.

§ 83. 3. γέγραφεν νῦν AI. 4. τετάρτου (for δευτέρου) Spengel. 5. γενομένου AI. ἀντεῖπεν Σ<sup>1</sup> (τ above the line). 6. τὸν αὐτ' εἰπόντα Σ; ἀντεῖπόντα L, F (γρ), Φ (γρ); ἀντι πόντα A2. καὶ (bef. τοῦτο) om. AI, B. τοῦτο corr. for τούτου Σ.

of 1000 drachmas. This was actually the result of this trial.

§ 83. 2. γράψαντος... γέγραφεν: i.e. the two decrees were essentially identical in form. In § 223 he says of a later decree, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματα ἔχει. Even this does not include such details as dates, names, etc.

4. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: this anticipates the argument on the place of proclamation (§§ 120, 121), and gives a precedent for Ctesiphon's proposal.—δευτέρου... τούτου γιγνομένου: τούτου is here ambiguous, and West. and Bl. think it is corrupt. If we refer the words to Ctesiphon's decree (with Blass, who omits τούτου), assuming that the crown proposed by Demomeles and Hyperides in 338 was never proclaimed on account of the battle of Chaeronea, we cannot explain τὸ πολ-

λάκις αὐτὸς στεφανῶσθαι in § 120<sup>2</sup>. We must therefore refer τούτου to the proposal of Aristonicus, and understand the clause δευτέρου... γιγνομένου to mean that one crown had been given to Demosth. in the theatre before that of Aristonicus. γιγνομένου is imperfect, and we might have had δευτέρον κήρυγμα ἤδη μοι τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο, the imperf. implying that he was then receiving the distinction for the second time. In the Lives of the Ten Orators (Demosth., end) Aristonicus is said to have been the first to propose to crown the orator: but the writer may have interpreted τούτου in our passage wrongly. No solution of the difficulty is perfectly satisfactory: Spengel proposes to emend δευτέρου to τετάρτου (i.e. δ').

5. παρῶν, though present.

6. ἐγράψατο: sc. παρανόμων.

στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις. τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορέσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι 254 τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.]

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει 85 συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι ἂν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἢ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, εἴαν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, εἴαν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. 5 φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' 86 ἐπράχθη, πάντ' ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπρα-

§ 85. 1. τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν Σ, L, A1, Y; συμβ- τῇ πόλ. B, vulg. 3. ἢ ἃ O1. ἂν Σ, L, V6; εἴαν vulg. 6. τότε (corr. for ?) Σ.

§ 86. 2. πάντας ἀνωμολ. τοὺς χρόνους Σ (γρ), L, vulg.; τοὺς χρόνους om. Σ; πάντ' (for πάντας) West., Lips., πάντως Dobr., Vöm. πράττειν καὶ λέγειν Σ (γρ), Φ (γρ).

§ 85. 2. συμβᾶσαν = ὅτι συνέβη: cf. φαίνομαι τετυχηκῶς (6).

3. ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι: see Aesch. 231, ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι;

5. ὡς ἑτέρως, otherwise, in the other way (opposed to καλῶς), used to avoid κακῶς. This is the adverb of τὸ ἕτερον, as ὡσαύτως (ὡς αὐτως) of τὸ αὐτό, and ὡς ἀληθῶς of τὸ ἀληθές. We find also ὡς ἐτύμως, Aeschyl. Eum. 534, ὡς ἐτητύμως, Soph. El. 1452; and ὡς παραπλησίως, Hdt. VII. 119<sup>1</sup>. This is the explanation of Fox, Kranzrede, pp. 298, 299, in which West. and Bl. concur. See XXII. 12, ἀγαθὰ ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν εἶπω φλαῦρον, which shows the euphemistic character of ὡς ἑτέρως here.

§ 86. 2. πάντ'...πράττειν, that I did everything that was best. It is difficult to choose even the most probable reading here. Both πάντας (Σ) and πάντας τοὺς χρόνους are objectionable,

and we seem compelled to decide between the conjectures πάντ' and πάντως. We have πάντως ἐξετάζειν in § 256<sup>1</sup>, acc. to Preuss (Index) the only case of πάντως in Demosth. This would connect τῷ νικᾶν etc. more closely with ἀνωμολόγημαι; but πάντα τὰ ἄριστα makes a most natural object to πράττειν.—πράττειν is imperfect (for ἔπραττον). On the contrary, νικᾶν, καταπραχθήναι, and γενέσθαι are distinguished only like ordinary present and aorist infinitives (M.T. 87, 96). This is always the case with these tenses of the infinitive with the article, except in occasional examples of *oratio obliqua* (M.T. 794). Madvig's rule (Synt. § 172 b), that the aor. infin. with both the article and a subject is always past except in purpose clauses, cannot be maintained. It fails in § 33<sup>2</sup>, πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι, and in Thuc. VII. 68<sup>12, 15</sup> (τὸ ἀπελθεῖν and τὸ κολασθῆναι). πεποιήσθαι (6) is the regular perfect (M.T. 102, 109).

χθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ  
5 ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους  
ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
ἐξηλάθη,—τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτεία καὶ τοῖς ψηφί-  
σμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,—ἕτερον  
κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτω  
5 πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτω, βουλόμενος  
τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης  
Βυζαντίους, συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου

5. πᾶσιν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>; πᾶσιν ὑμῖν vulg. γίνεσθαι A<sub>1</sub>. τοῖς θεοῖς after προσό-  
δους A<sub>1</sub>. 6. ὡς om. L<sup>1</sup>.

§ 87. 1. ὑφ' ἡμῶν (corr. for ὑμῶν, Vöm.) ἐξηλάθη τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις (ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
added later over ὄπλοις) Σ (ὑφ' ἡμῶν dotted for erasure); ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλ. τοῖς  
μ. ὄπλοις L, same w. ὑφ' ὑμῶν A<sub>2</sub>, in both ὑφ' ὑμῶν added after ὄπλοις; ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
μὲν ἐξηλ. τ. ὄπλ. Υ; ἐξηλ. τοῖς μὲν ὄπλ. ὑφ' ὑμῶν A<sub>1</sub>, B, vulg. 6. σιτοπομπίας  
Σ, L, Υ, Φ, A<sub>1</sub>. 2; σιτοπομπείας vulg. 7. ὄντας συμμ. V6. αὐτῷ L,  
vulg.; αὐτῷ Σ, αὐτῷ Bk.

4. τὰ γραφέντα = ἃ ἔγραψα; see note  
on § 56<sup>1</sup>.—καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν repeats the  
idea of τῇ πόλει.

5. προσόδους, processions: cf. § 216<sup>9</sup>.

§ 87. 2. τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις, I mean, by  
arms, added, as if by afterthought, to  
limit ὑφ' ὑμῶν, as πολιτεία and ψηφίσμασι  
limit ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. The interruption is col-  
loquial and designedly spontaneous. See  
note on § 121<sup>6</sup>, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.

3. κἂν διαρραγῶσι: see § 21<sup>7</sup>.

4. ἐπιτειχισμὸν, i.e. Byzantium, as a  
point from which to threaten Athens:  
see note on § 71<sup>2</sup>.—σίτῳ ἐπεισάκτω: the  
same words are found in XX. 31, where  
it is said that the grain from the Euxine  
was about half of the whole amount im-  
ported by Athens. See Sandys's notes  
on XX. 31—33. The thin soil of Attica  
(τὸ λεπτόγειον, Thuc. I. 2) could not  
supply grain enough for the population,  
even in the best seasons, and the fruitful  
shores of the Euxine were the most im-  
portant sources of supply. Hence it  
would have been fatal to Athens to have  
the Hellespont and the Bosphorus in  
hostile hands (cf. §§ 241, 301). Boeckh  
estimates the grain annually consumed

in Attica at about 3,400,000 μέδιμνοι  
(5,100,000 bushels), of which only  
2,400,000 μέδιμνοι could be raised at  
home. See Staatsh. d. Ath. Book I. Ch.  
15. Strabo (p. 311) says that in the  
Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea) the seed  
produced thirty-fold. See Hdt. VII. 147  
for the characteristic story of Xerxes  
complacently viewing the ships loaded  
with grain sailing by Abydos to Aegina  
and Peloponnesus to supply his army.

6. παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης: this prob-  
ably refers to the advance of Philip to  
the siege of Perinthus in 340, when he  
protected his fleet in its passage through  
the Hellespont by marching an army  
through the Chersonese. The appeal to  
Byzantium, as an ally, to help him in his  
coming war with Athens was perhaps  
sent from Perinthus, which he besieged  
unsuccessfully before he attacked Byzan-  
tium. See Hist. §§ 66, 67. Threats of  
hostilities against Byzantium by Philip  
are mentioned a year earlier (see VIII. 66,  
IX. 35); but the present passage must  
refer to the time immediately before the  
war with Athens.

7. Βυζαντίους: with both ἡξίου and



συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' 10 ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν 88 προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν 255 ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. 5 τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταυτ' 89 ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεύρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ

10. χάρακα Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Harpocr.; χαράκωμα Σ (γρ), A1; χαρακώματα L<sup>2</sup> (with ἀτ-), vulg. βαλλόμενος Σ, L, vulg.; βαλλόμενος Σ (γρ); βουλλόμενος A1. 11. ἐπιστήσαι (ca1 for cac) V6.

§ 88. 2. προσῆκε vulg.; προσῆκει Σ, L. ὑμᾶς Σ, L, A1, Φ; ἡμᾶς vulg. οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω Σ, L, A2, Φ (γρ); οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω vulg. 4. ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι A1. 5. ὡ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὡ om. Σ, L. 6. ὅταν λέγω Σ, L; ὅταν εἶπω vulg. 7. αὐτὸν V6. 8. δούς Σ, L, vulg., Bk.; διδούς A1, most edd.

§ 89. 2. οὐκέτ' Σ, L, A1; οὐκ vulg. τοῦ λόγου Σ, L, A2; λόγου vulg. δεῖ om. O. μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς A1.

ἐπολιόρκει (11).—**συμμάχους**: after Byzantium left the Athenian alliance in the Social war, she became an ally of Philip (XV. 3, IX. 35). But now she had been brought into friendship and alliance with Athens by the skilful diplomacy of Demosthenes before Philip's appeal to her for help (Hist. § 63).

8. οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἔφασαν, *refused and denied*.

10. **χάρακα**, here a *palisade*, generally a *pale* or *pole*: see Harpocr. **χάρακα**· Δημοσθένης τὸ χαράκωμα ὃ περιεβάλλοντό τινες στρατοπέδῳ ἐπὶ σπηλιά. See VI. 23, **χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι**.—**μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας**: cf. IX. 17, 50. The siege of Byzantium marks an epoch in engines of war: see Schaefer II. 500.

§ 88. 1. ὅ τι προσῆκε: the question already asked in §§ 63, 66, 69, 71.

2. οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω, *I will not repeat*

*the question*: the common reading οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω gives nearly the same sense.

3. τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας; like *who was the one who did it?* (M.T. 41).

7. λέγων... διδούς; these participles are imperfect, and so contrasted with the preceding βοηθήσας etc. Few editors venture to accept δούς for διδούς, though it is supported by Σ and L. Vömel says: "Nec puto Demosthenis aures tolerasse continuatas syllabas—δῶς δούς. Sed in talibus nihil affirmarim." The aorist δούς after the preceding imperfects would doubtless add force, like δς ἔδωκε for δς ἐδίδου. But how about the sound?

§ 89. 2. ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, in the familiar antithesis to ἔργῳ.

3. ὁ ἐνστάς, *which broke out* (δς ἐνέστη): cf. ἐνειστήκει, *was upon us*, § 139<sup>b</sup>.—**ἄνευ**, *besides* (*without reckoning*): cf. [XIII.] 7, ἄνευ τοῦ συμφέρου, and XXIII. 112, ἄνευ τούτου.

καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεργεῖν ἐν πάσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέ-  
 5 ροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὔτοι  
 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις  
 ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιν, καὶ μετάσχοιν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ  
 βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν  
 10 στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, οἷς ἔστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων  
 τὴν πόλιν.

5. καὶ εὐων. om. A2. διήγεν Σ, L; διήγαγεν vulg. ὑμᾶς vulg.; ἡμᾶς A1.  
 6. μέλλουσιν (ais over w) Σ. 7. καὶ μετάσχοιν Σ, L; καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιν vulg.  
 8. μὴ μεταδοῖεν Σ; μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν L, vulg. ὑμῖν Σ, L (ἡ over v); ἡμῖν B, F (ὑ  
 over ἡ). 9, 10. τοὺς τῶν Βυζ. Σ, L, Υ, A1. 2; τοὺς τῶν Περ. same, with F, Φ;  
 τῶν (in both) om. vulg.

4. ἐν πάσι...διήγεν ὑμᾶς, saw you  
 supplied (carried you through) with all  
 the necessaries of life in greater abundance  
 and cheaper.

5. τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης: τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου (Schol.), the peace of Demades,  
 under which Athens had been living since  
 Chaeronea.—ἣν...τηροῦσιν: the Mace-  
 donian party had been strong enough to  
 prevent Athens from openly helping  
 Thebes in her revolt in 335 B.C., or the  
 Peloponnesians under Agis in 330. See  
 Grote XII. 44, 59; 380—383.

6. χρηστοί: cf. the sarcastic χρηστέ,  
 § 318<sup>d</sup>.—ἐπὶ...ἐλπίσιν, in (with a view  
 to) their hopes of future gain: ἐλπίζουσι  
 γὰρ ἐπανελθόντα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Περσῶν μεγάλα αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι ὡς προ-  
 δόταις (Schol.).

7, 8. καὶ μετάσχοιν...μὴ μεταδοῖεν:  
 this reading of Σ gives an entirely different  
 sense from that of the common text, καὶ  
 μὴ μετάσχοιν...μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν. The  
 meaning is, *May they fail in these their  
 hopes; and may they rather be allowed to  
 share with you patriots in the blessings  
 for which you pray, that they may not  
 involve you in the calamities which would  
 result from their policy.* It is impossible,  
 I think, to take μὴ μεταδοῖεν as a mere  
 continuation of the wish of μετάσχοιν:  
 the asyndeton would be too harsh. Μὴ  
 μεταδοῖεν must be a final clause, assim-  
 ulated to the optative μετάσχοιν (M.T.  
 182), as in ἔλθοι ὅπως γένοιτο λυτήριος,

Aeschyl. Eum. 297, and γένοιτο...ἔν' αἰ  
 Μυκῆναι γνοῖεν, Soph. Phil. 324. For  
 12 final optatives and 10 subjunctives  
 after wishing optatives (all poetic) see  
 M.T. 181. I know no other case in  
 prose; but I know no other final clause  
 (of any kind) depending on a wishing  
 optative in prose, which is hardly strange.  
 But an optative in a condition is as good  
 for our purpose as one in a wish; and we  
 have in Plato Rep. 370 D, εἰ βουκόλους  
 προσθίμεν, ἵνα...ἔχοιν βοῦς, and Xen.  
 Cyr. I. 6, 22, εἰ πείσαις ἐπαινέειν σε πολ-  
 λούς, ὅπως δόξαν λάβοις: see other cases  
 in M.T. 180<sup>b</sup>. Μὴ introducing a pure  
 final clause is a gradually disappearing  
 construction. In epic and lyric poetry  
 the proportion of this to that of the final  
 particles with μὴ is 131 : 50; in tragedy  
 it is 76 : 59; and in Attic prose it is  
 almost wholly confined to Plato (24) and  
 Xenophon (12). In the Attic orators  
 there are only four cases of simple μὴ,  
 two of which (not counting the present  
 one) are in Demosthenes: see XIX. 225,  
 μὴ τις ἴδῃ, and XXXVIII. 26, μὴ με φῶσιν.  
 See Weber, Absichtssätze, pp. 184, 221,  
 245—247. Those who are not satisfied  
 with μὴ μεταδοῖεν in this sense must re-  
 turn to μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν as a wish.

9. ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηται, i.e. their  
 προαίρεσις: τῆς δουλείας δηλονότι (Schol.).  
 —τοὺς...Περινθίων, i.e. the crowns voted  
 by these towns and sent to Athens as  
 marks of honour.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν. 90  
 ἐκ τῆς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε  
 τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελέει Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς  
 συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινηθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας  
 χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ 5  
 Μακεδόνοσ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ'  
 56 ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοιτος καὶ  
 δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ  
 βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ  
 ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πατριὸν πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους καὶ τὼς 10  
 τάφους, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων Ἀθηναίοις 91  
 δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν  
 τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ  
 τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις  
 ἡμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαίδε- 5  
 καπάχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανοῦμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων  
 ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ  
 θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παναγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ  
 Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνω-  
 ται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας 10  
 τὰν τε Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων εὐχα-  
 ριστίαν.]

λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

92

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μάδυτον,  
 Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν  
 δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ χαριτος βωμῶν 5  
 ἰδρύνονται καὶ δῆμον Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν  
 παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ  
 57 ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν  
 ὅ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βου- 10  
 λευτηρίῳ.]

§ 92. 1. λέγε...στεφάνους om. O.



- 93 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν  
5 ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτούς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ
- 94 μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ', οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σῶζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε,  
5 ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὐνοίαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

§ 93. 4, 5. ἔδειξεν ἀνθρ. Σ, L, A1, Y, Φ; ἀνθρ. ἔδειξε vulg. 6. μὲν γὰρ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2, B (γρ); μὲν γὰρ Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. σύμμαχος ὢν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>; Φιλίππο καὶ over σύμμαχος L<sup>2</sup>; φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν Σ (γρ), vulg.; φίλος ὢν καὶ σύμμαχος A1. 7. καὶ (for ἢ) A2, V6.

§ 94. 5. δόξαν εὐνοίαν vulg., Lips., Bl.; (with comma) Vöm., West.; δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν only η, Bk.; δόξαν εὐνοίαν τιμὴν A1. 6. μὲν πολλοὺς Σ, L, A1; πολλ. μὲν vulg. πολιτευομένων Σ, L, B, vulg.; πεπολιτευμένων F. ἅπαντες add. over line Σ. 8. λέγω om. Y<sup>1</sup>.

§ 93. 1. οὐκοῦν introduces the conclusion to which the decrees point.

2. οὐδὲ (sc. μόνον): cf. οὐδὲ, § 2<sup>4</sup>.

3. ἢ προαίρεσις καὶ ἢ πολιτεία: cf. §§ 292<sup>4</sup>, 317<sup>2</sup>. In § 192<sup>5</sup> we have τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας in nearly the same sense.

6. σύμμαχος ὢν: cf. § 87<sup>7</sup>.

§ 94. 1. οἱ μεμψάμενοι ἄν = οἱ ἐμέμψασθε ἄν.—πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἐκείνοις: cf. Ar. Plut. 8, Λοξία μέμψω δικαίαν μέμφομαι ταύτην.

2. ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς: cf. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, § 18<sup>5</sup>. This refers to the conduct of Byzantium in the Social war: see note on § 87<sup>7</sup>, and Hist. §§ 2, 63.

3. μνησικακοῦντες: remembering old grudges (maliciously): cf. § 99<sup>4</sup>. See μὴ

μνησικακήσειν in the oath of oblivion after the restoration in 403 B.C., Xen. Hell. II. 4, 43.

5. δόξαν, εὐνοίαν: the asyndeton is more emphatic than δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν: see §§ 96<sup>4,5</sup>, 234<sup>5</sup>, and XIX. 190 and 220. (See West.)

6. τῶν πολιτευομένων, your public men: the other reading τῶν πεπολιτευομένων might be neut. pass. (as in §§ 8<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>2,5</sup>) and causal.

7. σύμβουλον... ῥήτορα: Phocion as general was probably one of the exceptions here implied (West.); see XXII. 72, for the inscription on a crown at Athens, Εὐβοεῖς ἐλευθερωθέντες ἐστεφάνωσαν τὸν δῆμον, which Blass refers to the famous expedition to Euboea under Timotheus in 357 B.C. See § 99<sup>6</sup>.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἄς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων 95  
καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέ-  
πρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὐσας  
ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν  
ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἠγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν 5  
ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν  
χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων  
258 καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ  
ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρ-  
χόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, 96  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων

§ 95. 5. εἰδέναι (dotted for erasure) under ἠγοῦμαι Σ, same (εἰδέναι erased) L.  
6. συμφέρειν V6. 7. χρῆσθαι ΑΙ, Ο. 10. πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ Σ, L; τὰ  
λοιπὰ πειρ. vulg.

§ 96. 2. ἄνδρες Σ, L; ὦ ἄνδρες vulg.

§§ 95—101. Historical parallels are cited to show that the considerate treatment of Euboea and Byzantium was in accordance with the traditional policy of Athens.

§ 95. 1. τὰς βλασφημίας refers to the long tirade of Aeschines (III. 85—93) against the proceedings in Euboea in 341—340. There is nothing in the speech of Aesch., as it now stands, relating to the help sent to Byzantium.

2. δυσχερὲς, *unpleasant*, is a euphemism adapted to the changed state of feeling towards Euboea and Byzantium since 343.

4. ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας, *that you may be presumed to know*: cf. § 228<sup>2</sup>. This is not a mere expanded εἰδέναι (as if εἶναι were used), but we have the fundamental idea of ὑπάρχω added: see note on § 1<sup>3</sup>. In line 9, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων applies to the glories of our ancestors as material stored up for us to emulate.

5. τῷ...συνφέρειν, like τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι, expresses means.—εἰ...ἦσαν, *si erant* (not *essent*): cf. § 12<sup>6</sup>. For τὰ μάλιστα see § 21<sup>2</sup>.

7. χρήσασθαι, *deal with, manage*.—τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς, *of the events of your time*, beginning with the Corinthian war of

395 B.C. This war was now 65 years old; but there were probably old men in the immense audience who distinctly remembered it and who would be pleased to have it spoken of as *in their day*. Still, he feels that these earlier events hardly fall within his limit of καθ' ὑμᾶς, for he says τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων in § 96<sup>7</sup>, directly after ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον, and οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, followed by ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, in § 98<sup>2</sup>.

9. ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ...πράττειν: this belongs (acc. to Bl.) to the class of γινώμαι discussed by Aristotle, Rhet. II. 21, 15: ἔχουσι δ' (γινώμαι) εἰς τοὺς λόγους βοήθειαν μεγάλην, μίαν μὲν διὰ τὴν φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν· χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐάν τις καθόλου λέγων ἐπιτύχη τῶν δοξῶν ἄς ἐκείνοι κατὰ μέρος ἔχουσιν.—πρὸς, *with reference* (or *regard*) *to*: cf. τὸ πρὸς τι, Aristotle's category of *relation*.

10. τὰ λοιπὰ (cf. § 27<sup>10</sup>), opposed to τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

§ 96. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων...ἀρχόντων: after the Peloponnesian War, Lysander established in most of the conquered towns, and even in some which were previously friendly to Sparta, a Spartan governor (ἀρμοστής) with a military force (φρουρά), and a board of ten citizens of

καὶ τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἄρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέ-  
5 γαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς οὐ τείχη  
τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον καὶ  
πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε

3. καὶ (before τὰ) om. A2. 5. Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας Dobree; Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας Σ; Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας L, vulg. οὐ ναῦς οὐ τείχη vulg.; οὐ...οὔτε Σ, L. 6. κτη-  
σαμένης Σ<sup>1</sup>, L, A2; κεκτημένης Σ<sup>2</sup> (over κτησαμένης), vulg.

the subject state (δεκαδαρχία), who were partisans of Sparta. See Plutarch, Lysander. 13: καταλύων δὲ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, ἓνα μὲν ἄρμοστήν ἐκάστη Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπε, δέκα δ' ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἐπαιρειῶν· καὶ ταῦτα πράττων ὁμοίως ἔν τε ταῖς πολεμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμάχοις γεγενημέναις πόλεσι, παρέπλει σχολαίως. See Grote IX. 255.

3. τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς: more rhetorical than τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κύκλω having the adverbial sense of *around*. See IV. 4<sup>5</sup>, εἵχομεν πάντα τὸν τόπον οἰκείον κύκλω, and XIX. 155, ἐπορεύοντο κύκλω, *they travelled round*.

4. Εὐβοίαν...Αἴγιναν: Euboea and Megara had been in the hands of the Spartans before the end of the Peloponnesian war. Tanagra was held by friends of Sparta in 377 B.C. (Xen. Hell. v. 4, 49), and we see here that it was Spartan in 395. Aegina, which Athens had settled with her own people in 431, after expelling the native population, was restored to its former owners (so far as this was possible) by Lysander in 405, as he was on his way to attack Athens (Thuc. II. 27; Xen. Hell. II. 2, 9). Boeotia as a whole was nominally allied with Sparta; but Thebes and other towns became disgusted with Sparta's tyrannical conduct soon after the end of the war, and though Thebes had been the greatest enemy of Athens when the peace was made, she harboured Thrasylulus and his fellow exiles before they attacked the Thirty in 403. This disaffection ended in the Boeotian war in 395, in which Athens aided Thebes (see below); in the battle of Haliartus the

allies gained a doubtful victory over Sparta, which was made decisive by the death of Lysander on the field. (See Grote IX. 409.) The invasion of Boeotia by Lysander and his Spartan army justifies τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν from the Athenian point of view. It must not be thought that old Spartan allies like Megara were subjected to Lysander's harposts and garrisons, notwithstanding Plutarch's remark quoted above.

5. Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, i.e. Ceos and the adjacent islands, Tenos, Andros, Cythnus, Melos, etc. Melos is mentioned as restored to its old inhabitants by Lysander (Plut. Lys. 14). The emendation Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους for Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους (Σ) removes the difficulty caused by the mention (for no apparent reason) of Cleonae, a town between Corinth and Argos, under τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς. If Cleonae were named, it would naturally precede Aegina and follow Megara. Cf. Αἴγιναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον, Xen. Hell. v. 4, 61.—οὐ ναῦς οὐ τείχη τότε κτησαμένης: Athens was required by Sparta to demolish her Long Walls and the walls of the Piraeus, not those of the ἄστυ; and she was allowed to keep twelve war-ships: see Xen. Hell. II. 2, 20. Here τότε κτησαμένης (not κεκτημένης) means that she had not yet *acquired* any ships or walls beyond what were left her at the end of the war. West. thinks that ἀνακτησαμένης (the strictly correct word) was avoided as suggestive of previous loss.

6. εἰς Ἀλιάρτον: see note on I. 4.

7. οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις: according to the accepted chronology, the battle of Haliartus was in the autumn of 395 B.C.,



Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τούτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα 97 ἀμφοτέρα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποιοῦν οὐτ' ἀκίνδυν' ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρασ μὲν 5 γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κὰν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ' 98

8. ἐχ. ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ Θηβ. καὶ Κορ. V6. 9. Δεκελεικὸν L, A1, B, Etym. Magn. p. 30, 1 (see Vömel); Δεκελικὸν Σ (but Δεκελικού in XXII. 15).

§ 97. 1. τότε om. A1. 3. προΐεντο Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2; προεῖντο L<sup>2</sup>, A1, B, O; πρβείντο vulg. 4. ἐφ' αὐτοὺς B, O; ἐπ' αὐτοὺς A1. 6. θάνατος Σ, L, A1. 2, B, Y, O; ὁ θάνατος vulg. 9. φέρειν δ' ἂν δ ὁ θεὸς διδῶ Σ; φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν θεὸς διδῶ Σ (γρ), vulg.; δ ἂν Stob.; ἃ ἂν διδῶ Schol. II. v. 233; ἂν Vöml., later edd.

and that of Corinth in the summer of 394, in the year of Eubulides (see the inscription below). The Corinthian war was the result of a combination of Athenians, Corinthians, Boeotians, Euboeans, Argives, and others against Sparta. In the battle of Corinth, called ἡ μεγάλη μάχη in XX. 52, the Spartans were victorious. See Grote IX. 426—429. The beautiful monument, representing a young warrior on horseback, now standing near the Dipylon gate of Athens, was erected in honour of Dexileos, one of the Athenian horsemen slain in this battle. The inscription is: Δεξιλεως Λυσανίου Θορίκιος. | ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἄρχοντος, | ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου | ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἰππέων. See C. I. Att. II. 3, Nos. 2084 and 1673; also in Hicks, Gr. Inscr., Nos. 69 and 58. Nos. 65, 66 and 67 in Hicks refer to the relations of Athens to the Boeotian and Corinthian wars.

8. πολλ' ἂν ἐχόντων (πόλλ' ἂν εἶχον), i.e. they might have done so, *potuissent*. M. T. 214.

9. Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον, a name often given to the last years of the Peloponnesian war (413—404 B.C.) when the

Spartans held the fortress of Decelea in Attica.

10. οὐδ' ἐγγύς: cf. § 127.

§ 97. 5. πέρασ μὲν...τηρῇ: this was celebrated as a gnomic saying in various forms: see Dindorf's note. In Lucian, Dem. Encom. 5, it is compared with II. XII. 322—328; and the following words, δεῖ...ἐλπίδα, with XII. 243, εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος. Dissen quotes Propert. IV. (III.) 18, 25. The meaning is not the flat truism, "death is the end of all men's lives," but *all men's lives have a fixed limit in death*, and this is made a ground for devoting our lives to noble ends, for which it is worthy to die.

6. ἐν οἰκίσκῳ, in a chamber: ἀντι τοῦ μικρῷ τινι οἰκῆματι, Harpocration, who refers to an erroneous attempt of Didymus to explain οἰκίσκῳ here by a comic use of the word for ὄρνιθοτροφείον, *bird-cage*, or *dovecote*. The same error appears in the Scholia to Demosthenes.

8. προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, *protecting themselves by hope* (holding it before them, like a shield). Dissen quotes Menander, frag. 572 (Kock); ὅταν τι πράττης ὄσιον, ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα | πρόβαλλε σαυτῷ, τοῦτο

ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἷ, Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ  
 5 Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ 25  
 δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων  
 99 κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι, κἂν ὀτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τ' ἄλλ' ἔχετε, ἔαν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικα-  
 5 κήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως

§ 98. 2. ὑμέτεροι Σ, L, vulg.; ἡμέτεροι AI; ὑμετ. (ἡ over υ) V6. τόθ' (for ταῦθ') A2. ὑμεῖς Σ; ὑμῶν Σ (γρ), L, A2; ὑμῖν AI; ἡμῖν V6.

§ 99. 2. ὅτι om. V6. τις om. AI. 3. τούτων Σ; τούτῳ Σ (γρ), L, vulg. ἔαν Σ, L; ἂν vulg. 4. ἐλευθερίας ἢ σωτηρίας AI. 5. μόνον Σ, vulg.; μόνων L, AI. 2, Dind., Bl.

γιγνώσκων ὅτι | τόλμη δίκαια καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Cf. τῷ προβάλλεσθαι, § 195<sup>11</sup>.

§ 98. 2. πρόγονοι: see note on § 95<sup>7</sup>. —ὑμεῖς: cf. παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, XX. 52.

3. Λακεδαιμονίους, obj. of ἀνελεῖν, διεκωλύσατε having τοὺς Θηβαίους, or perhaps simply τὸ πρᾶγμα, understood as its object. From the position of Λακ. we should expect it to belong to the leading verb.

5. κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις: the "Leuctricinsolence" of Thebes (Diod. XVI. 58), which made her rather than Sparta the natural enemy of Athens from 371 to 339 B.C., was notorious. See §§ 18<sup>6</sup> and 36<sup>2</sup>. In 370, a year after Leuctra, Epaminondas with a Theban army invaded Laconia and marched up to the city of Sparta itself; but he did not venture to enter the unwall'd city and withdrew into Arcadia. At this time he established the new cities of Messene and Megalopolis, to hold Sparta in check. In this trying emergency, Sparta humiliated herself so far as to ask help from her old enemy, Athens. Her request was granted, and Iphicrates was sent into Peloponnesus to the aid of Sparta with 12,000 Athenians in the spring of 369 B.C. This

saved Sparta from another invasion at this time. See Xen. Hell. VI. 5, 33—52, and Grote x. 320—326. The alliance then formed remained unbroken, though sometimes strained, until after the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C., in which Athens fought on the side of Sparta. Nations seldom go to war from the pure sense of justice which Demosthenes here attributes to Athens; of course fear of the growing power of Thebes under Epaminondas, as well as political sagacity, had great influence on her policy towards Sparta.

§ 99. 3. τούτων, for this, referring to ὀτιοῦν, as ὅστις can always have a plural antecedent.

4. μνησικακήσετε... ὑπολογιεῖσθε: μνησικακεῖν, though usually intransitive (cf. § 101<sup>5</sup>), may have an accusative, as μνησικακήσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, Ar. Nub. 999. Thus both verbs may here have the same object, suggested by ὀτιοῦν.

5. ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον: cf. XV. 15, τῷ Ῥοδίῳ δῆμῳ μόνον, and IX. 57, παρὰ τούτοις μόνον. In these cases μόνον modifies the whole sentence as an adverb, where we should expect the adjective μόνων or μόνῳ with the noun. We are often careless about the position of only; as "he only went to London once."

ἔσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὦν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ 100  
καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὦν ἠδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε 5  
ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω,

9. ἐθελοντῶν B; ἐθελόντων Σ, L, vulg. (see § 68<sup>9</sup>). τότε τριηράρχων L; τριηράρχων τότε B; τότε τριηραρχῶν Σ, A2; τριηραρχῶν τότε vulg.

§ 100. 1. καὶ Σ, Φ; καίτοι L, vulg. 5. ἐν οἷς (ἐφ' οἷς V6) ἐπιστεύθητε Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, Dind. and later edd.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2. 6. ἕτερα om. A1.

6. σφετεριζομένων τὴν Εὐβοίαν: cf. 71<sup>2</sup>. Euboea had been under the control of Thebes since the battle of Leuctra, but in 357 B.C. a Theban army was sent to quiet some disturbances in the island. The Eretrians called on Athens for help against her local enemies, who were supported by the Thebans; and the Athenians with great energy sent an army to Euboea, which drove the whole Theban force from the island in thirty days. This is the famous expedition to which the orators always referred with pride. See Dem. VIII. 74, 75, IV. 17; Aesch. III. 85, II. 164; Diod. XVI. 7; Grote XI. Ch. 86, pp. 306—309.

7. οὐ περιείδετε: cf. διεκωλύσατε, § 98<sup>5</sup>.—Θεμισωνος: a tyrant of Eretria, who in 366 B.C. took from Athens the frontier town of Oropus and gave it to Thebes. Theodorus, another Euboean, was concerned in this seizure. (Grote, X. Ch. 79, p. 392.) Oropus had long been a bone of contention between Athens and Thebes. It was stipulated that Thebes should now hold the town only until the right to it could be settled by arbitration (μέχρι δίκης, Xen. Hell. VII. 4, 1). The "case of Oropus" was a protracted one; and it is said that Demosthenes as a boy was first inspired with a passion for oratory by hearing an elo-

quent plea of Callistratus in defence of the rights of Athens (Plut. Dem. 5).

9. τούτοις: the Euboeans.—τῶν ἐθελοντῶν...τῇ πόλει, i.e. the state then for the first time obtained the services of volunteer trierarchs (τῶν, because these became an institution: see Boeckh, Staatsh. d. Ath. I. 638, 657, 686. Most MSS. have ἐθελόντων for the noun ἐθελοντῶν (see § 68<sup>9</sup>). See XXI. 161: ἐγένοντο εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐπιδόσεις παρ' ὑμῖν πρῶται· τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μειδίας, ἀλλ' ἐγώ, καὶ συντριηράρχος ἦν μοι Φαλῖνος. See XXII. 14. Demosthenes therefore was joint trierarch with Phalinos for the expedition to Euboea.

10. ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων: this may look forward to the orator's account of his public services in § 267, or possibly to the discussion of his trierarchic reform in §§ 102—109. οὐπω: sc. λέξω, but in XIX. 200, μήπω ταῦτα: sc. εἴπωμεν.

§ 100. 2. καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, even saving the island, i.e. this by itself, opposed to πολλῶ δ'...κάλλιον, sc. ἐποιήσατε.

5. μηδὲν.....ὑπολογισάμενοι: μηδὲν shows that the participial clause is closely connected with τὸ ἀποδοῦναι, not with ἐποιήσατε (understood). The meaning is without taking into account, rather than not taking into account. This use of μή



ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζὰς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγонуίας  
καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
101 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται. εἶτ' ἐγὼ  
τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ  
αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν  
5 ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς  
τοὺς βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς  
ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, 260  
εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύ-  
νειν ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ'

7, 8. ναυμαχίας...ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Σ, L; ἐξόδους, πεζὰς στρατείας, καὶ vulg.; στρατίας Σ, V6. 3. ἡμῶν Σ, L, A1, B, F, Φ; ὑμῶν vulg. ἄλλων om. A1. 9. ἐνεχ' Ἑλλήνων L<sup>2</sup>, B, vulg.; Ἑλλήνων ἐνεκ' A1; Ἑλλήνων om. V6; ἐνεκα om. Σ, L (cf. XIX. 76).

§ 101. 2. τεθαρηκῶς L<sup>1</sup>. 4. συμβουλήs F. ἤμελλον A1. 5. συμβουλεύειν A1. μνησικακεῖν L, B<sup>2</sup>, V6; μνησικακήσειν Σ, B<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; μνησικακήσαι H. Wolf. 6. ἃς by corr. Σ. 7. προησόμεθα Σ, L, A1. 2, B, F, Φ; προησ. τὰ συμφέροντα vulg.; προηγησόμεθα O<sup>1</sup>. 8. μόνων V6. αἰσχύνειν A1. 9. ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν Σ, L; ἐπεχείρησα ἂν A2, F<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>, Φ; ἂν om. A1, B<sup>2</sup>, vulg., Plut. τότε (for τό γε) A1. ἐποιήσασθ' A1.

shows the distinction between τὸ...ἀποδοῦναι and ὅτι...ἀπέδοτε, the giving up and (the fact) that you gave up, though we often have to translate both by the same or equivalent expressions: cf. the distinction between ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέδοτε and ὥστε μὴ ἀποδοῦναι ὑμᾶς, which is often very hard to express (see M.T. 582, 583), and has often been overlooked.—ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε (for ἐν ἐκείνοις ἃ), representing the active πιστεύειν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, as ὦν ἠδίκησθε represents ἀδικεῖν ταῦτα ὑμᾶς: cf. §§ 18<sup>5</sup> and 19<sup>3</sup>.

7. ἐξόδους πεζὰς, land expeditions (after ναυμαχίας); στρατείας, campaigns.  
8. τῆς...σωτηρίας, rare genitive of purpose or motive, generally found with ἐνεκα, which is added here in most MSS. So XIX. 76, πᾶσ' ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκίας ὀλέθρον, with similar variety of reading. (See G. 1127.) The infinitive with τοῦ is common in this construction, especially in Thucydides (M.T. 798): an example occurs in § 107<sup>2</sup>, τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν.

§ 101. 3. ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς...οὔσης, when the question in a manner concerned herself.

5. νῆ Δία, in bitter irony: cf. xx. 161.

6. δι' ἃς προησόμεθα (excuses) for sacrificing (final).

8. ὑπαρχόντων (cf. § 95<sup>4</sup>): the glories (καλά) are viewed as a public possession.

9. ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν: I follow this reading of the best MSS. with little hesitation, chiefly because I cannot see how such a change could creep into the best MSS. by corruption, if the genuine reading were simply εἰ ἐπεχείρησα, if I had undertaken, which would be perfectly clear. There is no objection to εἰ ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν, as to either grammar or sense. It is amply justified by XIX. 172, where there are no various readings and nobody doubts the text: εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῦτους βούλσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πάνυ πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα. There εἰ ἐπρέσβευσα ἂν is if I would have

ὕμεις, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; 10  
οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπήρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευό- 102  
μην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ τί τὸ τῆ πόλει  
βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν  
ὕμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ  
μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους τοὺς δὲ μέτρι' ἢ μικρὰ 5  
κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὕστε-

10. ἀκριβῶς om. A1.

11. οὐκ ὑπήρχον Σ.

§ 102. 1. ἐπελθεῖν O.  
μένους Φ; γιγνομένους V6.  
ὄντ' om. Σ<sup>1</sup>; τὰ om. O<sup>1</sup>.  
ἀπολλύοντας vulg.

2. τὸ om. O. 3. συμφέρον ἦν V6. 5. γενο-  
καὶ (for ἦ) A1. 6. τῶν πολιτῶν om. A1. τὰ  
ἀπολλύοντας Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2, Φ; (w. υῶ, L<sup>2</sup>); ἀπολλύοντας F;

gone on the embassy, as εἰ ἐπεχείρησα ἄν  
here is *if I would have undertaken* (for  
any consideration). See M.T. 506. Is  
there not a justification of ἐπεχείρησ' ἄν  
in the following τὸ γ' ἔργον οὐκ ἄν  
ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, *you would not have done  
the thing in reality* (ἔργῳ), opposed to  
the preceding supposition, *if I had been  
capable of undertaking it even in word*  
(λόγῳ)?

11. οὐχ ὑπήρχον...οὗτοι; *were not  
these men here ready to tell you this?*  
ταῦτα refers to μνησικακεῖν...προησόμεθα  
(5—7).

§§ 102—109. The orator defends his  
Trierarchic Law (340 B.C.) against the  
attacks of Aeschines.

§ 102. 1. ἐπανελθεῖν: after the di-  
gression in §§ 95—101, he now returns to  
his own political acts. Next in order to  
his rescue of Byzantium and the Helles-  
pont (τούτων ἐξῆς) he speaks of his reform  
of the trierarchy at Athens. This im-  
portant measure was carried in 340 B.C.,  
at about the time of the outbreak of the  
war with Philip (see § 107<sup>5</sup>). See note  
on § 103<sup>3</sup>. For an account of the law of  
Demosthenes and of the various systems of  
trierarchy which preceded it, see Boeckh's  
Staatsh. d. Ath. I. Bk 4; Ch. 11—16.

4. καταλυόμενον, *breaking up*: notice  
the following descriptive present parti-  
ciples.—ἀτελεῖς...γιγνομένους, *becoming  
exempt* (from all 'liturgies') *by small pay-*

ments. As all the members of a συντέλεια  
(under the former system) were assessed  
equally for the support of their ship, the  
richer συντελεῖς might satisfy the law (as in  
the case supposed in § 104) by paying  $\frac{1}{16}$   
of the expense of one ship; and as no one  
could be required to take more than one  
'liturgy' in the same year, they would thus  
be exempt from all other services. But the  
richest of all, the leaders of the symmo-  
ries (§ 103<sup>3</sup>), sometimes ingeniously used  
their legal duty of advancing the money  
for the trierarchy in case of special neces-  
sity as a means of avoiding even their  
own legal share of the expense. They  
could bargain with a contractor to do all  
the work for a fixed sum (e.g. a talent),  
which they advanced, afterwards assess-  
ing this whole sum, or an unfair part  
of it, on their poorer colleagues. See  
Dem. XXI. 155: ὅτε πρῶτον μὲν διακοσίους  
καὶ χιλίους πεποιήκατε συντελεῖς ὑμεῖς,  
παρ' ὧν εἰσπραττόμενοι τάλαντον τα-  
λάντου μισθοῦσι τὰς τριηραρχίας οὗτοι  
(i.e. rich men like Midias)...ὥστ' αἰτῶν  
ἐνίοις τῆ ἀληθεία τὸ μηδὲν ἀναλώσαι καὶ  
δοκεῖν λεητουργηκέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
λητουργιῶν ἀτελέσι γεγενῆσθαι περι-  
εστιν.

6. τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας: a strong  
expression of the injustice to which the  
poorer συντελεῖς were liable.—ὑπερί-  
ζουσιν...τῶν καιρῶν, as we say, *in kind  
time*.

ρίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, [τοὺς πλουσίους,] τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν  
 10 χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα.  
 103 καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι  
 5 τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, καταβάλλοντ' ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ;

7. ἐκ τούτων ὑστερίξ. Υ.

7, 8. καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν L, vulg.; τοὺς om. Σ, Φ.

8. τοὺς πλουσίους om. West., in [ ] Lips. Φ (mg.), Reiske.

10. ναυτικὰς (for τὰς) Σ (γρ), B (mg.),

§ 103. 1. γραφεῖς εἰς A1; κατηγορηθεῖς L<sup>2</sup>; γραφεῖς παρανόμων Σ (mg.), mg. of B, F, and Φ; τοῦτον παρανόμων vulg.; παρανόμων om. Σ, L, A2, F. 2. τὸ μέρος Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, F, Φ; τὸ πέμπτον μέρος A1, B, vulg. (cf. §§ 222, 250, 266). 3. τοὺς (bef. ἡγεμ.) om. O<sup>1</sup>. 4. θείναι με vulg.; με om. Σ, L, A1. 2, B. 5. καταβάλλοντα Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Φ, Υ; καταβαλόντα vulg. με after καταβ. vulg.; om. Σ, L, A1. 2, B, O.

8. [τοὺς πλουσίους]: I bracket these words (which West. omits), as an explanation of τοὺς μὲν, which needs no such note, not venturing to read καθ' ὃν μὲν (without τοὺς) with Σ. The reading is very doubtful, though the sense is clear.

§ 103. 1. γραφεῖς: sc. παρανόμων. —τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον... εἰσῆλθον, i.e. *I stood (entered on) my trial on this issue before you, εἰς ὑμᾶς implying coming into court. τοῦτον refers to γραφεῖς, meaning the trial which followed his being indicted. Cf. εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, § 105<sup>2</sup>.*

2. τὸ μέρος (sc. πέμπτον): cf. § 266<sup>6</sup>. See note on § 82<sup>8</sup>.

3. ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν, *leaders of the symmories*, here probably the symmories of the trierarchy, though the term commonly refers to the 300 richest citizens (οἱ τριακόσιοι, § 171<sup>5</sup>), who were leaders of the symmories of the property-tax (εἰσφορά). Under the system which prevailed from 357 to 340 B.C., the 1200 richest citizens, who alone were liable to the duty of the trierarchy, were divided into 20 symmories, regularly of 60 men each. To each of these symmories was assigned a number of triremes to be fitted out in each year, regulated by the needs of the state. The symmory divided itself

into smaller bodies (*συντέλειαι*), each of which equipped a single ship. The expense was borne equally by all the members, without regard to their wealth. Each symmory probably had a single leader, and the 20 leaders, with the two classes called *δευτέροι* and *τρίτοι* (who are not mentioned elsewhere), evidently belonged to the *τριακόσιοι*, perhaps including all of that class in the symmories (15 in each). The new law of Demosthenes imposed the burden of the trierarchy on the members of each symmory according to their property, thus greatly increasing the assessment of the richer and diminishing that of the poorer members. Of this a striking case is given in § 104<sup>5,6</sup>. This is all the certain knowledge that we have of this important law. The details often quoted from § 106 are untrustworthy.

4. διδόναι, *offered*, representing *ἐδίδοσαν*, which appears in § 104<sup>9</sup>.—*μάλιστα μὲν*, *above all things*, opposed to *εἰ δὲ μὴ* (5), *otherwise, if not* (M.T. 478).—*μὴ θείναι*, *not to enact*, i.e. not to bring the new law before the *νομοθέται*.

5. *καταβάλλοντ' ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ*, *to drop it and let it lie under notice of indictment* (lit. *under the prosecutor's oath to bring an indictment*). Whenever anyone



τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκείνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς 104  
ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λητουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς  
μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν  
261 πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον  
κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέται, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος 5  
ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
τριηράρχους ἔτ' ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε  
δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι,  
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν 105  
τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσηλθον τὴν γραφὴν, εἶτα τοὺς

6. ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ΑΙ, Φ (γρ), Υ.

§ 104. 2. πρότερον ΑΙ. συν ἐκκαίδεκα Ο. 6. δέκατος ὦν L, vulg.; ὦν  
om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ, Β, F, Φ. πρότερος ΑΙ. 7. ἔτι ὠνόμαζον Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2; ἐπωνό-  
μαζον Β, vulg. αὐτοὺς V6. ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα Σ (γρ). 8. καὶ μὴ...  
ἀναγκασθῆναι om. L<sup>1</sup>. 9. οὐκ ἔστιν V6.

§ 105. 2. τοὺς λόγους Υ.

formally declared his intention of bringing a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against a law or decree, he was required to bind himself by an oath, called *ὑπωμοσία*, to prosecute the case. This had the effect of suspending the law or decree if it was already finally passed, or of stopping a decree which had passed only the Senate (i.e. a *προβούλευμα*) from being voted on by the Assembly, until the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* could be tried. (For an account of this process see Essay II.) The meaning here is that Demosthenes was offered large sums if he would either decline to bring his new law before the *νομοθέται* (*μὴ θεῖναι*) or else let it quietly drop (*ἔαν*) when a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was brought against it after it was passed. This passage shows that dropping a law under indictment was not illegal.

§ 104. 1. ἦν...λητουργεῖν, i.e. *they might perform the service* (of the trierarchy) *in bodies of sixteen*: this is probably stated as an extreme case under the old law, in contrast with an equally extreme case of a man with two whole triremes to support under the new law.

2. αὐτοῖς μὲν, *themselves (ipsis)*, opposed to τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους (3).

3. μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν: see note on § 102<sup>4</sup>.

4. ἐπιτρίβουσιν, *distressing (grinding)*.—τὸ γιγνόμενον τιθέται, *to pay their quota (what fell to each)*: cf. τιθέται τὰς εἰσφοράς, XXII. 42.

5. κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, *according to his property*: κατὰ τὸ τίμημα, *according to his valuation*, would be more strictly accurate, as the τίμημα, or *taxable property*, in different classes bore a differing proportion to the οὐσία.—δυοῖν...συντελής: it was a possible case that a man who had been assessed (as supposed above) for only one-sixteenth part of the expense of one ship might be compelled to pay for two whole ships under the new law. τριήραρχος suggests τριήρων and τριήρους for δυοῖν and μιᾶς.

7. συντελεῖς, as members of a *συντέλεια* (see note on § 103<sup>3</sup>): sixteen trierarchs of a single ship, of whom perhaps no one even saw the ship, were absurd!

9. ἐδίδοσαν, *offered*: cf. διδόναι as imperfect in § 103<sup>4</sup>.

§ 105. 2. ψήφισμα: this cannot be the trierarchic law itself, which was no ψήφισμα; but a decree passed after the ὑπωμοσία, which (as West. explains it)

καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

5

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἴπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν  
10 ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθέει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

106 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

## ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς  
5 τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγία χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

## ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

262

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· εἰ δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία  
10 ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἔστί τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

3. τὸν (after καὶ) om. Y.

§ 106. 1. καὶ om. AI.

2. ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ Σ.

7. ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΥ Σ, Φ.

ordered the suspension of the law, or (as Blass suggests) provided for the trial of the case.—καθ' ὃ = *secundum quod, ex quo*, not *propter quod* (West.).

τοὺς καταλόγους: the stupidity of the interpolator of the false documents never shows to greater advantage than in the two fragments of a pretended decree given as κατάλογοι in § 106. The real

documents were two lists of citizens of various degrees of wealth, with statements of their assessments for the trierarchy under the old law and under the law of Demosthenes. The contrast between the two called forth the question with which § 107 begins. The document in § 105 is not a decree, but a memorandum.

Ἴδρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μικρ' 107  
 ἀναλώσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι :  
 οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ  
 τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν  
 νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργω δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν 5  
 πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν  
 ἐμὸν, οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πρόποθ' ὡς  
 ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνιχία ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ

§ 107. 1. ἀρά γε L, vulg.; γε om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, Φ. ὑμῶν Σ, L, vulg.; ὑμῖν V6.  
 καὶ (over ἦ) Σ<sup>2</sup>. 2. ἀναλώσειαν ἂν F (γρ); ἀναλώσαι ἂν ἀντι A2. τί τοῦ L<sup>1</sup>.  
 τοῦ L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. ἐθέλειν om. A1. 2. 4. γραφῆς F, Φ. ἀποφεύγειν (sic)  
 Σ; ἀποφυγεῖν L<sup>1</sup>; ἀποφυγεῖν vulg. τὸν om. V6. 5. πειραιεῖ (for πείραν)  
 V6. 7. ὡς om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 8. Μουνιχία MSS.; Μουνιχία Kirchhoff, Attic in-  
 scriptions.

§ 107. 1. μικρ' ἀναλώσαι ἂν...ἐθέ-  
 λειν, does it seem likely that the rich  
 would have been willing to spend (only)  
 a little to escape doing justice? With οἱ  
 πλούσιοι supply δοκοῦσιν. ἀναλώσαι de-  
 pends on ἐθέλειν ἂν, which represents  
 ἤθελον ἂν. τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν is genitive of  
 purpose. Many editors omit ἐθέλειν,  
 and take ἂν with ἀναλώσαι (=ἀνήλω-  
 σαν ἂν), depending directly on δοκοῦσιν  
 understood. But ἐθέλειν is in the best  
 MSS., though it must be confessed that  
 the sentence would be simpler without it.

3. καθυφεῖναι, dropping: cf. κατα-  
 βάλλοντα, § 103<sup>5</sup>.—οὐδὲ: sc. μόνον.

4. συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον: cf.  
 πτηνὰς διώκεις τὰς ἐλπίδας, Eur. frag. 273.

5. τῷ πείραν δεδωκέναι, either *on my  
 having given a test of it* (sc. ἐμέ) or  
*on the law having given a test of itself*  
 (sc. τὸν νόμον). It is much more natural  
 to continue the subject ἐμέ from καθυ-  
 φεῖναι, ἀποφυγεῖν, and θεῖναι, but usage  
 favours the ellipsis of the reflexive. See  
 § 195<sup>10</sup>, ἃ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε, which  
 did not even give us a test of themselves;  
 XXIV. 24, πείραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώ-  
 κασιν (sc. οἱ νόμοι) ὅτι συμφέροντες ὑμῖν  
 εἰσι (with αὐτῶν expressed); Thuc. 1.  
 138<sup>9</sup> (of Themistocles), ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν  
 δίδους ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι, i.e. *on trial* (sc.  
 ἑαυτοῦ). Demosthenes, however, is eager  
 to make his own agency prominent.

Compare the perfect δεδωκέναι with the  
 timeless aorists which precede (M. T.  
 109, 96).

6. ἀποστόλων: see § 80<sup>1</sup>; and cf. IV.  
 35, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερί-  
 ζειν τῶν καιρῶν.

7. ἰκετηρίαν (sc. ῥάβδον), *suppliant's  
 bough*, generally of olive, bound with  
 wool, which a suppliant laid on the altar  
 of a divinity whose succour he invoked.  
 See Schol. on Ar. Plut. 383, ἰκετηρία  
 ἐστὶ κλάδος ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ πεπλεγμένος, and  
 Hermann, Gottesdienstl. Alt. § 24, 14.  
 Here παρ' ὑμῖν shows that it was the  
 altar in the Pnyx where the helpless  
 trierarch sought the protection of the  
 Assembly. Aristotle (Pol. Ath. 43), in  
 describing the regular meetings of the  
 Assembly, says: ἑτέραν δὲ ταῖς ἰκετηρίαις,  
 ἐν ἣ θεὸς ὁ βουλόμενος ἰκετηρίαν (ὑπὲρ)  
 ὧν ἂν βούληται καὶ ἰδίων καὶ δημοσίων  
 διαλέξεται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. Cf. Poll.  
 VIII. 96.

8. ἐν Μουνιχία: ἐνθα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μου-  
 νυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος· κακεὶ ἐφευγον οἵτινες  
 τῶν τριηράρχων ἠδικοῦντο, ἢ ναῦται ἢ τινες  
 τῶν ἐξεταζομένων ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ (Schol.).  
 See Lys. XIII. 24, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν Μουνιχιασιν. The form Μουνιχία  
 is found almost exclusively in inscriptions  
 of the best period. See Meisterhans,  
 Gr. d. Gr. Inschr. § 13, 8.



τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσ'  
 10 ἀπόλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνά-  
 108 γεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα  
 ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητουργεῖν·  
 πολλὰ δὴ τὰδύνατα συνέβαινε. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς  
 5 τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ  
 ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύ-  
 ματα ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον  
 τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακότηες οὐδέν ἐστι 263  
 109 ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι

9. ἀποστολων O.  
 V6 and some others.  
 (ν over π) B.

ἐδέθη Φ.

καταλειφθεῖσα Σ, L, vulg.; καταληφθεῖσα

10. ἀπελήφθη Σ<sup>1</sup>; ἀπελείφθη Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. ἀπάγεσθαι

§ 108. 2. ἦν τῷ A2.

λειτουργεῖν Σ, L, Φ; λειτουργεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι Σ (γρ),

vulg.; λητουργεῖν Bl., Att. inscriptions: "λειτ. only after 300 B.C.," Meisterhans, Gr.

d. Gr. Inschr. § 15, 3.

3. δὴ ἂν Y, O (corr.).

4. τὰς om. O.

5. κατὰ

τοῦτο A1, Y.

7. καὶ (before τιμαὶ) om. V6.

8. δὲ πικρὸν (om. καὶ) O.

9. ἀποστολέων: see Bekk. Anecd. 435, 29: ἀποστολεῖς· δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν πλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀπαγομένων στόλων ἀποδεδειγμένοι. They were chosen for each occasion, and had charge of supplying the trierarchs with rigging and other material for the triremes from the public stores, and of seeing that these were properly restored at the end of the voyage. Boeckh's Att. Seewesen, Urk. No. x., shows how many and serious were the complaints against trierarchs in regard to these supplies: cf. No. xiv. p. 466, 20—25, where the ἀποστολεῖς are mentioned. These documents and the present passage show that the symmories contained many men of very narrow means.

9, 10. ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσ', abandoned at sea; αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη, left behind in port. We have to decide between these forms and καταληφθεῖσα and ἀπελήφθη. But καταληφθεῖσα (which has little MS. authority) would rather denote that the ship

was caught or detained by an enemy, whereas the meaning obviously is that she was unseaworthy. See Plat. Rep. 496 B, ὑπὸ φυγῆς καταληφθέν, of a noble character detained and held fast for philosophy by exile. And ἀπελήφθη is still less suited to the case of a ship too badly fitted out to leave the harbour.—αὐτοῦ, on the spot, i.e. in port, where she was lying: ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀνεπισκεύαστος (Schol.). See Plat. Rep. 371 C, αὐτοῦ μένοντας περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.

§ 108. 2. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, without ὅτι, like σημεῖον δέ and τεκμήριον δέ: cf. VIII. 32.

3. ἀδύνατα, cases of impossibility.

6. προηρούμην: cf. προαίρεσις, § 93<sup>3</sup>, and often.

7. δυνάμεις, power (of various kinds): cf. §§ 44<sup>2</sup>, 233<sup>2</sup>, 237<sup>5</sup>.

8. βάσκανον, malicious: see Harpocr., ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλαίτιον καὶ συκοφαντικόν.—κακότηες: see ἦθος, § 109<sup>1</sup>.

§ 109. 1. ἦθος, principles (of action), political character: see note on § 114<sup>2</sup>.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι 5 συμφερόντων.

Ἰγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος 110 εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τᾶριστά τ' ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἰκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, 5 ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κὰν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ

§ 109. 2. ἐν τοῖς om. Y. 4. τὰ om. AI.

§ 110. 1. μοι om. Y. 2. ὡς ἄριστα AI, B. γε (for τ') B. 4. καὶ μοι (for καίτοι) AI. 5. τε (for γε) O. πολιτευομένων O.

2. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, opposed to ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν: see 59<sup>2</sup>.

5. ἀντί, rather than, like μᾶλλον ἢ (3).

§§ 110—121 contain the reply to the first two arguments of Aeschines, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as an ἄρχων at the time when Ctesiphon proposed his decree (§§ 111—119), and that on the place of proclamation (§§ 120, 121). § 110 is introductory. §§ 122—125 are a peroration to the division of the argument beginning with § 53.

§ 110. 1. περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος, i.e. about the place of proclamation, this being the only point in dispute under this head.

2. τῶν εὐθυνῶν: this concerns only the question whether Demosthenes was a "responsible magistrate" when Ctesiphon proposed to crown him.—τὸ γὰρ...ὑμᾶς, i.e. the statement in Ctesiphon's decree that I did etc., subj. of δεδηλωσθαι: with this reference to the words of the decree cf. 57<sup>1</sup>.

4. τὰ μέγιστα refers especially to his important public services in the year before Chaeronea (339—338), the account of which is reserved to the later

division of his argument, where it comes in with far greater effect.

5. παραλείπω, I leave aside (not necessarily I omit). This whole passage, with the implied doubt about any future mention of these "greatest acts," is full of rhetorical art. He has no intention whatever of omitting these acts or abridging his account of them; but he skilfully implies that his earlier acts, already related, are ample for the legal justification of Ctesiphon, so that he could afford to leave his greatest achievements unmentioned. He also diverts attention from one of his main objects, that of concealing the weakness of his argument on the εὐθυναί by placing it between two most effective political harangues.

6. ἐφεξῆς, in due order: cf. § 56<sup>5</sup>. In § 56 οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω is said with no reference to this passage, but it simply states his general purpose of giving a full account of his public life.—αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου, the strict question of illegality, with which alone the γραφὴ παρανόμων is properly concerned.

7. ἀποδοῦναι: see note on § 114<sup>10</sup>.

τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

111 Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι.  
5 τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

8. ἐκάστω Σ, L, A1. 2; ἐκάστου B, vulg. 9. ὑπάρχει O<sup>1</sup>, F.

§ 111. 1. οὗτος om. V6. κυκῶν A1, Y; κυκλῶν A2; διακυκλ(ων above) L.  
2. τῶν om. A1. πεπραγμένων Σ, I., A2; παραγεγραμμένων Σ (γρ); γεγραμμένων L<sup>2</sup> (mg.), A1, O. 3. οἶμαι ὑμᾶς Σ, F, Φ, O; ὑμᾶς οἶμαι L; ὑμᾶς οἶμαι A<sup>1</sup>, B. λανθάνειν B. συνίεναι A2. 4. αὐτῶν (after πολλούς) L (mg.), A2, F (γρ), Φ (γρ), Y, O. τὴν ὀρθὴν Σ, L, F, Φ; τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν vulg.; ὁδὸν after δικαίων L (mg.), Y. 5. τοσοῦτῳ Σ, L (ν over ω), Φ; τοσοῦτου vulg. οὗτος Σ, L, F; οὗτος πολλάκις vulg. 7. ὧν ἤδη A2. διακεχείρικα Σ, O (η over last i); διακεχείρικα L, Y, V6.

8. ὁμοίως, *all the same*.—παρ' ὑμῶν... ὑπάρχειν μοι, *that I may rely on a consciousness of them in each of your minds*: cf. § 95<sup>4</sup> and note.

§ 111. 1. τῶν λόγων, depending on τοὺς πολλούς.—ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν, *mixing them in utter confusion*. See IX. 36, ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε, and without καὶ II. 16, στρατείας ταῖς ἄνω κάτω, and IV. 41, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, *up and down*.

2. παραγεγραμμένων: the laws which the indicted decree (τὸ φεῦγον ψήφισμα) was charged with violating were *written* on a tablet (σανίδιον) *by its side*, and this was posted in the court-room. See Aesch. III. 200: ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι.

4. τὴν ὀρθὴν (sc. ὁδόν), as we say, *straightforward*: see Ar. Av. I, ὀρθὴν κελεύεις;—τῶν δικαίων, *the rights of the case*, opposed to τῶν λόγων (1).

5. τοσοῦτῳ δέω λέγειν, *I am so far from saying*: τοσοῦτῳ with δέω as with comparatives: so in IX. 17. Most mss. have τοσοῦτου in both passages, and all have it in VIII. 70.

6. διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο: see § 4<sup>6</sup>.

7. ὧν...πεπολίτευμαι, i.e. *either for money that I have handled or for public acts that I have done*.

§ 112. The sophistical character of the argument of §§ 112—119 explains the anxiety of the orator to cover its weakness by its position in the oration (see note on § 110<sup>5</sup>). The reply of Aeschines (III. 17 ff.) to this ἀφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, probably written or greatly modified after hearing this passage, is conclusive. The law quoted by Aesch. (11) τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν certainly made no exception for those who gave money to the state while in office. Indeed, this very claim is one which needed to be established by the εὔθυναί, in which it might be disputed: see Aesch. 23, ἔασον ἀμφισβητήσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας. The claim of Demosthenes at least amounts to this, that any officer who asserts that he has expended more in the service of the state than he received should be exempt from the law τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. The specious argument that a man cannot fairly be called to account for the expenditure of his own money on public



ὦν μέντοι γ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ 112  
 δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις  
 264 Αἰσχίνῃ;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων  
 τις ὦν τύχη. τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ  
 μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ 5  
 ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλόφρονον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος  
 μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους  
 ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὦν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν  
 οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ 113  
 ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ  
 θεωρικῷ τότε ὦν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν,

§ 112. 4. ὁ νόμος A2. 7. εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν Σ; εἰς τοὺς  
 συκοφ. δ' ἄγειν AI, Y; εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφ. ἄγειν L, B, vulg. 8. δέδωκεν AI;  
 ἔδωκεν L<sup>2</sup> (mg.). οὐδὲ εἰς Σ, AI; οὐδὲ εἰς δήπου L, vulg.

works could not release Demosthenes from εὐθυναί when he had obviously had public money in his hands; and the responsibility for *this* was the real obstacle to his receiving a crown before his εὐθυναί.

1. ὦν μέντοι γ': γε emphasizes the whole relative clause. We should generally have ὦν γε, but μέντοι has naturally the second place (see Bl.).—ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα, *have offered and given*, i.e. *have given by my free act*, openly declared. See C. I. Att. II. No. 334, a ψήφισμα calling for voluntary contributions εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως and ordering a publication of the donors' names (which follow).

3. τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων: the Archons, as the chief magistrates and as candidates for the Areopagus, would naturally be subject to special scrutiny at their εὐθυναί.

5. μισανθρωπίας, *misanthropy*, opposed to φιλόφρονον (6).

7. εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας: ironical allusion to εἰς τοὺς λογιστάς, as if the sycophants were a board of officers (hence τοὺς).—τούτους...ἐφιστάναι, *to set them to audit the accounts etc.*

§ 113. 1. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν (sc. νόμος τοιοῦτος).

2. ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὦν, *treasurer of the Theoric Fund*: for the importance of this office see Aesch. III. 25, 26, ending with Κτησιφῶν δὲ Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ ὤκησε γράφαι στεφανοῦν.

3. ἐπέδωκα, properly *gave in addition* (to the public fund in his charge). Gifts to the state were often called ἐπιδόσεις: cf. § 171<sup>7</sup>.—ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν (sc. Κτησιφῶν)=ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεσαι. All MSS. except Σ insert ἡ βουλή as subject of ἐπήνεσεν. The true subject appears in l. 10, ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἐπαινεῖν, *compliment by a vote of thanks*, and στεφανοῦν are both used of the vote conferring the crown, which included also a vote of thanks: see §§ 57<sup>3</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 55<sup>3</sup>, 117<sup>2</sup>.<sup>4</sup>. See Maximus (in Walz, Rhet. Gr. IV. p. 587): οὐ δυνάμενος γὰρ ἀντιστῆναι πρὸς τὸ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ὄντα Κτησιφῶν ἀνηγόρευσε, ὅπερ ἀντικρυς καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει, ὀνόματος μεταθέσει τὴν μέθοδον παρέσχετο, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνηγόρευσε ἐπήνεσεν ἐπῶν,—which must refer to this passage.

φησίν, ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γ' οὐδενὸς ὦν  
 5 ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὧ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα. καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην,  
 ὅτι τάνηλωμέν' ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ  
 δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ  
 114 ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' οὐ μόνον ἐν  
 τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν ὄρισται, ἐγὼ  
 ραδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς

§ 113. 4. φησίν, ἡ βουλή L, Σ<sup>2</sup>, vulg.: ἡ βουλή om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, φησίν om. A1<sup>1</sup> (see Bl.).  
 οὐδὲν ὦν Y, O. 6. φησί (after ἦσθα) vulg.; om. Σ, Φ. διὰ γε τοῦτο Σ, L,  
 B, F, Φ; δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο L<sup>2</sup> (mg.), A1. 2, vulg. 7. τάνηλωμένα A1. 2, B (η  
 over 2nd a). ἔδωκα Σ, L, A1, Φ; ἐπέδωκα B, vulg. (cf. §§ 112<sup>3</sup>, 114<sup>7</sup>, 117<sup>4</sup>).  
 8. ἐξεταζομένων A1. 9. καὶ om. Σ. ἐστὶν τυγχάνειν Σ; τυγχάνειν ἐστὶ  
 A1. 2, Y. 10. οδὶ (ω over ο) B; ὁ V6.

§ 114. 1. οὕτως Σ, L; οὕτω vulg. ταῦτα (bef. οὐ) Σ, L, F, Φ, V6; ταῦτα  
 ἔχει, καὶ vulg. 2. ὑμετέροις Σ, L, Φ; ἡμετέροις vulg. ἔθεσιν Sopater, Dind.  
 3. δείξω πολλαχ. A2. γὰρ om. V6.

4. οὐ περὶ τούτων...ἐπέδωκα: this argument assumes that an ordinary ὑπεύθυνος could be crowned, before passing his εὔθυναί, for a gift to the state which was not connected with his office. It is conceivable, and even probable, that a crown might be voted for such a gift to an officer of state, even during his term of office, by general consent, without being thought illegal, though the letter of the law made no exception for such a case. And the cases cited as precedents in § 114, so far as we know, may have been of this nature (see § 117<sup>1,2</sup>). But this was not the case with the gifts of Demosthenes. These were both closely connected with the funds which he held as an officer of state, and the argument of Aeschines (23) applies to them in its full force. Demosthenes says nothing which shows that Ctesiphon did not violate the letter and even the spirit of the law τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. And yet it is more than likely that the friends of Demosthenes, in their eagerness to crown him for his noble services, overlooked the technical obstacle to their action; and the court appears to have decided to overlook their oversight.

6. τειχοποιός, one of a board of commissioners appointed to superintend the repairs of the city walls. The argument seems to have been the same about both of the offices which Demosthenes held in 337—336 B.C. The orator attempts no such distinction as Aesch. predicts (28—30), by excluding the office of τειχοποιός from the ἀρχαί which require εὔθυναί.

8. τῶν ἐξετασόντων (= οἱ ἐξετάσουσι), men to investigate: the present would be simply investigators, with no temporal or final force.

§ 114. 2. ἦθεσιν, your moral feelings, which impel you to act thus. Some read ἔθεσιν with some rhetoricians here, and by conjecture in § 275<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle (Eth. II. 1, 1) thus explains ἠθικὴ, moral: ἐξ ἔθους περιγίνεται, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα ἔσχηκε μικρὸν παρεκκλίνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους. Cf. ἠθικά, mores, morals. See note on § 275<sup>3</sup>.

3. πολλαχόθεν δείξω: Aeschines anticipates or rather answers this argument in 193: λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων...οὐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν.—Ναυσικλῆς: the general who commanded the well-known expedition which stopped

στρατηγῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο πολλάκις ἐστεφάνο-  
νται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ 5  
πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὕτωσιν Νεοπτόλεμος  
πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε τετίμηται.  
σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τιν' ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντι ἢ  
διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται,  
265 ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. 10  
ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ 115  
τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα,  
γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεῖρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ 5  
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Νausικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων,  
ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῶ καὶ βοηθού-  
των τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος  
τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας  
πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε 10

5. ὅτε Σ, L, B, vulg.; ὅτι A1, O. 6. ἐστεφανοῦτο A1, O. οὕτωσιν Σ  
(corr.), L, A1. 2; οὕτως B, vulg. 8. εἰ τῷ V6; εἰ τῷ Markland, Cobet.  
9. τῇ...ἑαυτοῦ Σ, L; τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ πόλει vulg. 10. ὑφέξει Σ, L, A1. 2, vulg.;  
ὑφέξειν B, F (ν over ei).

§ 115. 1. λέγε om. Y. 2. αὐτὰ λαβών om. A2. λέγε. Σ, L<sup>1</sup> (mg.),  
vulg.

Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C. Diod.  
xvi. 37; Grote xi. 414; Schaefer I. 509.  
See note on § 32<sup>7</sup>. Nausicles is men-  
tioned by Aeschines (159) as the one in  
whose name Demosthenes proposed his  
decrees after the battle of Chaeronea.

5. **Διότιμος**: mentioned in XXI. 208  
as a rich trierarch, included by Arrian  
(I. 10, 4) among the generals whom Alex-  
ander demanded after the destruction of  
Thebes.

6. **Χαρίδημος**: of Oreus, an adopted  
Athenian, the object of severe invective in  
the oration against Aristocrates (352 B.C.).  
He was first a guerilla leader in the ser-  
vice of Athens, later one of the patriotic  
party, and was demanded by Alexander in  
335.—**οὕτωσιν** implies that Neoptolemus  
was well known in Athens.

7. **πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης**: prob-  
ably one of those called δημοσίων ἔργων  
ἐπιστάται by Aesch. (III. 29), specially  
appointed to direct special works. In an  
inscription (partly relating to 338 B.C.),  
C. I. Att. II. 2, Add. No. 741, crowns  
are recorded as given by the people to  
Neoptolemus, Charidemus, and Nausi-  
cles and as afterwards dedicated by them  
to Athena (see Aesch. III. 46).

8. **σχέτλιον ἂν εἶη...ὑφέξει**: for the  
peculiar form of conditional sentence see  
M. T. 503, 407.

10. **κομίσασθαι** implies that the re-  
ceiver has a claim on the giver: cf. ἀπο-  
δοῦναι, § 110<sup>7</sup>, and Plat. Rep. 507 A, ἐμέ  
τε δύνασθαι αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὑμᾶς κομι-  
σασθαι.



καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίους τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.]

### ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 116** [Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνά, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
5 ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δε ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.] 266
- 117** Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαι' ἐστὶ μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν  
5 ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ δέδωκά γ' εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα· εἶτα παρῶν, ὅτε μ' εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ, οὐ κατηγορεῖς;

§ 117. 2. οὐκοῦν Σ. 3. ταῦτα γὰρ Ο. 4. καὶ ἐπαινοῦμαι Ο. 5. ἔδωκα Σ<sup>1</sup>, Φ; ἐπέδωκα Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. γ' om. Α2, Υ. 6. ὦν ἐπέδωκα νῆ Δία· ἀλλ' Σ, L. 7. δικασταὶ Α2. οὐ Σ, L, Α1; διὰ τί οὐ Β, vulg.

§ 117. 2. ἐφ' οἷς ἔστεφανοῦτο: we do not know whether there was any distinction between these decrees and that of Ctesiphon like that mentioned in § 113<sup>4</sup>. As Demosthenes identifies his own case absolutely with these, the question is of little moment.

4. ἐπαινοῦμαι: cf. ἐπήνεσεν, § 113<sup>3</sup>.

6. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ': a more emphatic form in stating an objection than the common ἀλλὰ, νῆ Δία: cf. XIX. 272, XX. 58.—παρῶν: i.e. *being present* (as you were).

7. μ' εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ: see Aristot. Pol. Ath. 54, καὶ (κληροῦσι οἱ Ἀθ.) λογιστὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους τούτοις δέκα, πρὸς οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντας λόγον ἀπενεγκεῖν· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι

μόνοι τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις λογιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγοντες. Before this board of auditors every magistrate had to appear for his *εὐθυναί* at the end of his term of office; and they (generally as a matter of form) brought him before a Heliastic court of 501 judges, in which anyone might appear and accuse him of any offence connected with his office. His accounts of money expended were audited at the same time. See Aesch. III. 17—23. The question *τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν*; (Aesch. 23) was probably asked in presence of the court at the *εὐθυναί* of Demosthenes; and to this Aeschines did not respond. But these *εὐθυναί* must have come several months after Ctesiphon's bill had passed the

Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδῃθ' ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς 118  
οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψή-  
φισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ  
προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἃ διώκει συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται.  
λέγει.

5

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πρυνεψιώνος ἐνάτη ἀπίοντος, φυλῆς  
πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος  
εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπι-  
μελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα 10  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ  
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεῖς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν  
θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ  
Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἀρετῆς  
ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν 15  
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀνα-  
267 γορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς·  
τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

§ 118. 1. Ἵνα ἐμοὶ νῦν Α2. ἴδῃτε Σ<sup>1</sup>; εἰδῃτε Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. 2. οὐκ  
ὑπεύθ. Σ. 4. φανήσεται συκοφ. Υ.

Senate and had been indicted by Aeschines, so that accusation at the εὔθυναί was superseded.

For another board of ten, chosen by the Senate by lot from their own number, also called λογισταί, and for the ten εὔθυνοι with their twenty πάρεδροι, see Aristot. Pol. Ath. 48.

§ 118. 2. ἐστεφανῶσθαι (sc. ἐμέ), i. e. that the proposal to crown me has passed the Senate: cf. ἐπήνεσεν in § 113<sup>3</sup>.

3. γραφέν μοι, *proposed in my honour*: see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.—τοῦ προβουλεύματος: partitive after οἷς. The meaning is, that he will use the omissions from the decree in the indictment to show the malice of Aeschines in prosecuting the clauses which he includes.

4. ἃ διώκει συκοφαντῶν: see XXIII. 61, συκοφαντοῦμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα.

The orator now calls for the reading of

the bill of Ctesiphon, ostensibly to prove the point just made, but perhaps chiefly to recall to the minds of the judges Ctesiphon's enumeration of his public services which the Senate has approved. In the following spurious decree the Archon's name is wrong and different from that in the indictment (which is also wrong); and the references to the words of the decree made by the two orators do not agree with this document.

§ 119. Here the proof of the malice of Aeschines, promised in § 118, is given on the authority of the decree just read. It is argued that Aeschines admits the gifts and their legality by his silence concerning them, while he brands as illegal the proposal to return public thanks for these gifts. As if the thanks for a legal gift might not be given in an illegal manner.

- 119 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δὲ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει.  
 5 ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;
- 120 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις

§ 119. 2. μοι γενέσθαι Δ1. 4. ἔννομον εἶναι ὁμολογῶν Υ. γράφη Σ, L; γράφη vulg., Bk., Bl.; γράφει Dind., Vöm., West., Lips. See § 121<sup>5</sup>, and note below.

§ 120. 1. τὸν μὲν (for τὸ μὲν) Σ<sup>1</sup>.

4. παρανόμων γράφει: cf. note on § 13<sup>8</sup>. See critical note. Here, and in nine other places in this oration, all MSS. have the ending -η (or -η) in the second person singular of the present or future middle. See §§ 121<sup>5</sup>, 131<sup>5</sup>, 140<sup>8</sup>, 198<sup>5</sup>, 198<sup>6</sup>, 238<sup>3</sup>, 239<sup>1</sup>, 283<sup>1</sup>, 313<sup>5</sup> (three of these having πολιτεύη). In eight places Σ has -ει, while most or all other MSS. have -η (or -η). See §§ 82<sup>8</sup>, 162<sup>5</sup>, 245<sup>2</sup>, 256<sup>2</sup>, 283<sup>2</sup>, 284<sup>9</sup>, 290<sup>4</sup>, 310<sup>4</sup>. In both classes I have, not without hesitation, given the form -ει in the text. In the whole of Demosthenes, according to Vömel, there are 38 cases of -ει and 30 of -η. The Greek grammarians are strong in their statements, that "the Attic" or "the ancient Attic" used the form in -ει, except in tragedy, which had -η; and that in βούλει, οἶει, and ὄψει there were no forms in -η. See the quotations and the statistics in Vömel, Demosth. Contiones, pp. 84—87. The writers of the fifth century wrote EI for both ηι and ει of the Ionic alphabet. The confusion in Athens in the fourth century between -ηι and -ει, to which Blass calls attention, probably prevented the establishment of fixed usage in spelling the syllable in question in the Ionic alphabet, and both -ηι and -ει were perhaps used indifferently. Blass, after calling the introduction of -ει into the tragedians, Aristophanes, or Thucydides "widersinnig," thus proceeds: "Bei Demosthenes ist es gleichgültig, ob man so oder so schreibt, da der

Schriftsteller selbst beliebig bald η, bald ει geschrieben haben wird." The MSS. of Demosthenes certainly show great confusion in the spelling, which may be traditional. Thus in Cor. § 238<sup>8</sup> all MSS. have διαλέγη, while in xxxiv. 33 Σ has διαλέγει and others διαλέγη. See Blass-Kühner, §§ 43, 5, and 211, 3; Meisterhans, Gramm. d. Gr. Inschr. §§ 10, 14, and 15, 2 and 3. We can hardly believe that Demosthenes himself wrote λέγηι and λέγει indifferently; but it is perhaps impossible now to decide which he did write.

§ 120. 2. μυριάκις μυρίους: this means that 10,000 men had been crowned on 10,000 occasions (not 10,000 times 10,000 men). This was justified rhetorically by the great frequency of decrees conferring crowns to be proclaimed in the theatre: the number of these on record shows that any law which may have forbidden the proclamation of crowns in the theatre was a dead letter. Blass (Einkl. p. 13) cites the following decrees from the C. I. Att.: I. No. 59 (410 B.C.); II. 10<sup>b</sup> (393 B.C.), 251 (307—300 B.C.), 300 (295 B.C.), 311, 312 (286 B.C.), 331, 341, 383, 402, 444, 445. In all these we find essentially the same language; e.g. in No. 300, [καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστ]ει τραγηδῶν τῷ ἀγῶν[ι].—τὸ πολλάκις... πρότερον: in the notes on § 83<sup>4</sup> (δευτέρου ... γιγνομένου) I have given reasons for thinking that the crown voted on the



αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Λισχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ 5 στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων εἵνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἢ πόλις γέγρα- 10 φεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὸν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

### NOMOS.

[Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίῳις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή 15 τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' εἵνεκα ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἀκούεις, Λισχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν 121

3. ἐστεφανοῦσθαι O; στεφανοῦσθαι Spengel. 4. δύνασαι Σ, L, AI. 2, B<sup>2</sup>, Φ, Y; δύνασθαι F (σαι over σθαι), B<sup>1</sup>, vulg. 6. ὅπου Σ, L, A; ὅποι B, vulg. ἂν om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, V6. 7. εἵνεκα Σ, L. See note below. τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται AI. 9. ἐπαινοῦσι μᾶλλον V6. 10. τῶν στεφανουμένων (corrected to τοῦ στεφανουμένου) V6. 11. μοι om. AI.

motion of Aristonicus in 340 B.C., and proclaimed in the theatre, had been preceded by another, also proclaimed in the theatre, of which we have no other account than the allusion in § 83. These two, with the one voted on the motion of Demomeles and Hyperides in 338 B.C. (§§ 222, 223), if the latter was actually proclaimed, justify the use of *πολλάκις*, especially after *μυριάκις μυρίους*.

4. ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι: see M.T. 601 and 584. The meaning is *are you so stupid that you are not able?* while with ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι it would be *are you stupid enough not to be able?*

5. τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον, i.e. *the receiver of the crown feels the same pride*: ζῆλος is emulation, *pride in excelling*; hence *glorying* (see §§ 217<sup>3</sup>, 273<sup>5</sup>).

7. εἵνεκα: this Ionic and poetic form is often found in the best MSS. of Demo-

sthenes. I have admitted it here and in § 175<sup>5</sup> on the authority of Σ and L, and in § 144<sup>2</sup> on that of Σ and B. West. and Bl. adopt *εἵνεκα* or *εἵνεκ'* often without ms. authority. See Sandys's note on Lept. 1<sup>a</sup>.

8. εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ: this motive is strongly urged in many decrees conferring crowns. See C. I. Att. II. No. 251: *ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι ἅπαντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων μέμνηται καὶ χάριν ἀποδίδωσιν ὑφ' ἧν ἂν εὖ πάθει (πάθη) καὶ τιμῇ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἀξίως τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν*. So C. I. Att. II. No. 114, A, 13.

§ 121. This short but impassioned outburst cannot be a reply to the long and confused argument of Aeschines (32—48). For an attempt to explain the real state of the case, see Essay I, Remarks on §§ 120, 121.

ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω; τί οὖν, ᾧ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαντὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; 5 ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνει φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι τοῖς γ' ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ 122 τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις πόσα

§ 121. 2. ψηφίσῃται Σ, L, A1. 2, B, F, Φ, O; στεφανώσῃται Σ (γρ), B (mg.), F (mg.), Φ (mg.), vulg. 5. αἰσχυνῃ Σ; αἰσχύνῃ (or -νῃ) all other MSS. See § 119<sup>4</sup>. εἰσάγειν Σ, L, Φ; εἰσάγων vulg. 6. οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν A1. 2, O. νόμους Σ<sup>1</sup>; νόμους τοὺς μὲν Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. ἀφερῶν (αι over ε) Σ. 8. ψηφιεσθε (εσ ch. to εἶσ) Σ.

§ 122. 1. ἔπειτα (ι ch. to ει) Σ; ἔπειτα σὺ A2, O; εἶτα σὺ A1. λέγει (later σ added) Σ. προσὰ δεῖ Σ; λέγεις πρὸς ἅ δεῖ B; λέγεις ἅ δεῖ vulg.; λε πρ ἅ L<sup>1</sup> (w. later γεε over λε, and ὀ over πρ); λέγεις πόσα δεῖ B1.

2. τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω (sc. ὁ κῆρυξ): the quoted passage πλὴν ἐάν...ἀναγορευέτω appears to be an addition to the law quoted by Aeschines in 32, ἐάν μὲν τινα ἢ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐάν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. This would mean that Aeschines read a mutilated law to the court, which in full would have told against him, and that Demosthenes simply supplied the omitted words and so ended the argument. This is more than we can believe either of Aeschines or of the court. Our trouble is, that we do not know what law the clerk read to the court at the end of § 120, and therefore do not know in what connection the words now quoted by Demosthenes stood.

4. ἐλλεβορίζεις: see Ar. Vesp. 1489, πῖθ' ἐλλέβορον, i.e. *you are mad*; Hor. Sat. II. 3, 166, naviget Anticyram; A. Poet. 300, tribus Anticyris caput insanabile.

5. οὐδ' αἰσχύνει...εἰσάγειν: for αἰσχύνει (MSS. αἰσχύνῃ) see note on § 119<sup>4</sup>. For the difference between αἰσχύνομαι εἰσάγειν and αἰσχύνομαι εἰσάγων, which in the negative form is not very important, see M.T. 881, 903<sup>1</sup>. This appears clearly in Xen. Cyr. V. 1, 21: τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων· τὸ δὲ...αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν

λέγειν.—φθόνου δίκην, a suit based merely on φθόνος, opposed to ἀδικήματος δίκην, a suit (to get redress) for an offence (cf. § 279<sup>1</sup>).

6. τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, as if τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν had preceded, which is the reading of all MSS. except Σ. The use of τοὺς δέ alone gives the clause the appearance of a sudden after-thought; and, so far from showing carelessness, it may be a rhetorical device to give emphasis. The same occurs in XIX. 180: ὅσοι διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολώλασι παρ' ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν, and XXVII. 9: κατέλιπε...μαχαιοποιούς μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀνὰ πέντε μῶς καὶ ἕξ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ τριῶν μῶν ἀξίους. See West., and Krüger's Gr. Spr. § 50, 1, 12.

7. ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι, ought to be read entire.—τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι...ψηφιεῖσθαι: see Aesch. III. 6, ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὄρκῳ, ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. See Dem. XIX. 179, ὁμωμόκατε ψηφιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων, which agrees essentially with the first sentence of the document purporting to be the Heliastic oath in XXIV. 149, which is probably not genuine as a whole (see Meier and Schömann, pp. 152—155).

δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκῶς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἅ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾷς 5 ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἅ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῶ γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ 123 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἠγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν. ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ 5 ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομηῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους,

3. ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς V6.

§ 123. 1. καίτοι καὶ L, vulg.; καὶ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, A1, O<sup>1</sup>. καίτοι τούτῳ O<sup>1</sup> (om. τούτῳ in 2). ὧ om. A1. 4. αἱ om. Y, V6. 5. ἃς om. A1. 6. προγόνους ὑμῶν A1, O; προγ. ἡμῶν A2. 7. ἡμᾶς A1.

§§ 122—125 are a peroration to the division §§ 53—125.

§ 122. 1. πόσα: so Blass for προσά (Σ).

2. τῷ δημοτικῷ: referring to Aesch. 168—170.—ὥσπερ...συγγραφὴν: we find it convenient to translate, as if you had put out a statue to be made by contract; but the participle with ὥσπερ (without ἂν or ἂν εἶ) is not conditional, as appears by its having οὐ (not μή) for its negative (M.T. 867). ὥσπερ is simply as, or as it were, but we can seldom translate it with a participle without an ἴφ.

5. γινωσκομένους (with ὥσπερ): accus. abs. (M.T. 853): cf. ὡς...ἔχοντα, § 276<sup>4,6</sup>.

6. ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα, dicenda, tacenda (sc. ὀνόματα), with ὀνομάζων.—ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης: see note on πομπείας, § 116; and Suid. under τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκώμματα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαρακαλύπτως σκωπτόντων· Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ οἱ κωμάζοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν τοὺς ἀπαντώντας ἔσκωπτόν τε καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦν... ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ὀχοῦμεν αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπὶν εἰς τὰ Ἐλευσίνα

ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια. ἐλοιδοροῦν ἀλλήλας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἔθος αὐταῖς.

§ 123. 1. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο: cf. IV. 12.

2. λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας: see note on § 10<sup>1</sup>.

5. κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, opposed to ἐν τοῖς νόμοις (4): the accident of personal nature is expressed also in συμβαίνει (6). See Bl.

7. ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια: most of these were in the ἀγορά, as is implied by Lysias, XIX. 55.

8. ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, i.e. out of (our stock of) private enmity. For the use of ἀπὸ, cf. Thuc. I. 141, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες.—κακῶς.....ἀλλήλους. αἰνῶν one another with lawless epithets: cf. Ar. Ach. 503, τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω, and Dem. XIX. 220, πολλὰ καὶ φιλόπρωπα εἰπόντες Φίλιππον. ἀπόρρητα were epithets which it was unlawful to apply to a citizen: cf. Lys. X. 6, ερεῖ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐάν τις εἴπῃ τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτονέει· τὸν γὰρ νόμον οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύει· ἀλλ' ἀνδροφόνον



ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγωμεν ἂν τις ἡδίκηκώς τι τυγχάνη τὴν  
**124** πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐμοῦ,  
 πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ'  
 ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
 πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις,  
 5 Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον  
 ὅτι. εἶτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ **269**  
 τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις,  
**125** ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν  
 ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ

9. ἐξελέγωμεν B. ἂν (for ἂν) V6. τι om. O<sup>1</sup>, F.

§ 124. 2. λοιδορεῖν (for πομπ.) O. 3. δίκαιως (o over ω) L<sup>2</sup>. 5. θῆ (for φῆ) A1. 7. ἐξέλειπες Σ; ἐξέλιπες L, vulg.

§ 125. 2. πᾶσι A1, Y. τοῖς νόμοις A1 (mg. only).

οὐκ εἶναι λέγειν. This speech shows that ἀνδροφόνος, ῥίψασπις, πατραλοίας, and μητραλοίας were ἀπόρρητα, but the number must have been much larger. See Meier and Schömann, 628—632. The penalty for using ἀπόρρητα was a fine of 500 drachmas, which could be recovered by a δίκη κατηγορίας (Lys. x. 12; Isocr. xx. 3).

9. ἂν...τυγχάνη, if it shall happen that anyone has wronged: the perfect participle is the common form for expressing past time with τυγχάνω etc.; ἂν ἀδικήσας τύχη would mean if he shall perchance wrong (M. T. 144, 147<sup>1</sup>).

§ 124. 1. ἐμοῦ: with οὐδὲν ἤττον.

2. πομπεύειν (cf. πομπείας, § 11<sup>6</sup>): referring to ἐξ ἀμάξης, § 122<sup>6</sup>, and λοιδορίαν, § 123<sup>2</sup>.

3. ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπελθεῖν, to get off with any less (than he has given): this fatal principle of paying off vituperation in the same base coin is the weak justification of the scurrility which follows (§§ 128—131) and elsewhere. Such passages remind us that we are dealing with the customs of 2200 years ago. The vituperation of Demosthenes has at least one advantage over that of Aeschines, in being free from much of the lowest vulgarity and indecency of his opponent.

4. πότερον...φῆ; here φῆ τις; hardly differs from φῶμεν; the third person

without τις in these questions is rare (M. T. 289).

6. οὐ, where, explained by ἐν...κρίσεσιν.—ὑπὲρ τούτων: the Athenians present, as representing the whole.

7. ἐξέλειπες (impf. only Σ) expresses habitual neglect.—εὐθύναις: i.e. by bringing a suit in connection with my εἶθυναί (see note on § 117<sup>7</sup>), like the γραφή παραπροσβείας against Aeschines (XIX.).

8. γραφαῖς: here ordinary public suits, not including εἰσαγγελία, εἶθυναί, etc., which come under γραφαί in its wider sense. See note on § 249<sup>2</sup>.

§ 125. 1. οὐ δ'...ἀθῶος, but where I am scot-free, opposed to οὐ μὲν ἦν, § 124<sup>6</sup>.

2. τοῖς νόμοις...πρότερον: these four grounds of immunity (explaining ἅπασιν) do not all exclude each other, νόμοις in fact including all the rest, and χρόνῳ being in great part identical with προθεσμία. See Weil's note; and Arist. Rhet. III. 12, 3 and 4, where he discusses ἀσύνδετα, which "make one thing many" (τὸ ἐν πολλά), whereas a conjunction ἐν ποιεῖ τὰ πολλά.—τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, the limitations of time set by law to bringing certain actions. Debts were outlawed in five years, and this limitation applied to many other cases. The mover of a law was personally liable to the γραφή παρανόμων only one year. See Meier and

κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς 5 δόξης, ἐνταῦθ' ἀπήντηκας; ὄρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς. ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι **126**

3. πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον Σ, L, B; τούτων πολλάκις AI; πάντ. πολλ. τούτων πρότ. vulg. 4. δη πλεόν Σ<sup>1</sup> (corr. to δὲ πλεόν); δὲ πλεόν L, Φ; δ' ἢ πλεόν vulg.

7. ἐμοὶ Σ, B, F (corr. to ἐμός), Φ; ἐμός L, AI. 2, O.

§ 126. 1. εἰ μὲν Σ<sup>1</sup> (ἡ above line).

Schömann, 838—840. Of course *in this suit* nothing could make Demosthenes personally amenable to any law, as he was only Ctesiphon's advocate; but the meaning of ἀφῶς is that no suit could now legally be brought against him personally for any of the offences with which he is charged before the court. He bitterly complains of the power given to Aeschines by the form of this suit to accuse him of crimes for which he could not indict him: see §§ 9—16.—τῷ κεκρίσθαι πολλάκις πρότερον (sc. ἐμέ): probably referring to the cases mentioned in §§ 83, 222—224, which covered important parts of the present case. He may also refer to actual indictments against himself: for the time since Chaeronea we have his statement in §§ 249, 250, e.g. κατὰ τὴν

ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμεν. See note on § 224<sup>4</sup>. For the law forbidding new trials of cases already decided, see XXIV. 55, οὐκ ἐᾶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἅπαξ γυνῶ δικαστήριον πάλιν χρηματίζειν.

4. ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν: ὑμᾶς shows that the orator could address the audience in the midst of a question addressed to Aeschines personally.

6. ἐνταῦθα, *there*, referring back emphatically to οὐδ' (1).—ἀπήντηκας; cf. ἀπηνητηκώς, § 15<sup>6</sup>.—ὄρα μὴ...ἦς, *see to it that you do not prove to be their enemy*: μή with the subjunctive always implies the future; φοβοῦμαι μὴ ἀληθές ἐστίν is *I fear that it is true* (M. T. 369).

7. ἐμοὶ: the MSS. are divided between ἐμοὶ and ἐμός: we might have ἐμοῦ, corresponding to τούτων.

§§ 126—226. The next main division of the argument is devoted chiefly to the account of the means by which Aeschines gained for Philip an entrance into Greece with his army, by getting up the Amphissian war (§§ 139—159), and of the measures by which Demosthenes opposed this joint plot of Aeschines and Philip (as he represents it), especially his negotiations with Thebes in 339—338 B.C., which led to the alliance of that city with Athens (§§ 160—226). The orator introduces these accounts by a general sketch of Aeschines' life and that of his parents, full of offensive scurrility (§§ 126—131), followed by a brief account of some of the lesser political offences of Aeschines (§§ 132—138).

The orator's account of his own political acts in the eventful year before the battle of Chaeronea, connected with his vigorous defence of the policy of Athens under his guidance in her last resistance to the power of Philip, is the most eloquent passage in the oration. This is a direct continuation of the story of his political life which was interrupted by skilful design in § 110.

§ 126. 1. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. This is one of the few undoubted cases of anacoluthon in Demosthenes. The causal sentence introduced by ἐπειδὴ goes on regularly through § 126, when the sudden turn given by the question τίς οὐκ ἂν... φθέγγασθαι; causes the orator to burst forth into the fierce invective which fol-

δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι  
 5 τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὔτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκησε  
 127 τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγγασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἦ  
 'Ραδάμανθυσ ἦ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν

2. ὄντα φύσει L, A1, vulg.; φύσει om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added above line), B, F<sup>1</sup>, Φ<sup>1</sup>, Υ.  
 6. τινὰς Σ; τινὰς L, B, vulg., West., Bl.; τινὰς A1 (Φ, V6, see Vömel), Dind., Bk. διασύρειν A1, 2. ἂ τίς Σ, vulg.; ἂ τίς L. ἂν om. V6. 7. ἀνθρώπων om. A2.  
 § 127. 2. Μίνως ἦ 'Ραδάμ. A2.

lows, forgetting his leading sentence, the apodosis to ἐπειδὴ... φθέγγασθαι. This exclamatory diversion carries him to the end of § 128, where we find in a changed form (in § 129) what would be a natural apodosis to § 126. Hermogenes, περὶ τῶν ιδεῶν (III. p. 342, W.), thus explains the structure of the passage: ἔστι δὲ... ἕτερα τίς μέθοδος ἐνδιαθέτου λόγου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ δοκοῦντος σὺν ὀργῇ προῖεναι, τὸ μηδὲ τὰς ἀκολουθίας σῶζειν τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐξιστασθαι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, οἷον ἔστι καὶ τὸ ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν... φιλολοίδορον ὄντα (§ 126), καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πάντα μέχρι τοῦ οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρῆ... τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ (§ 129). οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀποδέδοται τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ σχήματι, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολὺ τὸ οἷον ἀκρόχολον. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμψυχος καὶ ἀληθής ὁ λόγος εἶναι δοκεῖ. This shows the futility of attempts to restore grammatical sequence to the passage. The power and passion of the invective in §§ 127, 128 is certainly augmented by the sudden break in the rather formal construction of § 126, and we may well doubt whether the orator ever thought of the beginning of § 129 as a resumption of this broken sentence.—ἡ εὐσεβής... ψῆφος, i.e. *the vote which your oath and justice both require of you.*

4. αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα, *what is barely necessary* (to satisfy the promise in § 124<sup>2, 3</sup>). Cf. ἀναγκαιότατα § 168<sup>7</sup>. See Thuc. I. 90 ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ

ἀναγκαιότατου ὕψους, i.e. to have the wall just high enough to be defensible.

5. τίνων: sc. γενόμενος.

6. λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, *ridicules certain sayings of mine*. It is hard to decide between τινὰς and τίνας. With τίνας it is *what sayings of mine he ridicules*, i.e. *how he ridicules my sayings*. The reference is to Aesch. III. 167, ταῦτα τί ἐστιν, ὦ κίναϊδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; also to 72 and 209.—ἂ τίς... φθέγγασθαι; this interrog. rel. sentence breaks the construction. For μετρίων see § 10<sup>7</sup>.

§ 127. 1. Αἰακὸς... Μίνως: the three judges of the dead in Plat. Gorg. 523 E.

2. ὁ κατηγορῶν is subject: Vömel says, "Non dicit si Aecacus accusaret, sed si accusator esset Aecacus."—σπερμολόγος: originally a little bird which *picked up seed* from newly sown fields (Ar. Av. 232, 579); then a man who lives by *picking up* what he can in the market and other places of trade, *a vagabond*, and generally a worthless fellow; sometimes one who picks up and retails small scraps of gossip, *a babbler* or *prater*, as applied to St Paul in Acts xvii. 18. Either of the last two meanings, or perhaps a combination of both, suits the present passage. See Harpocr. s.v., and Eustath. in Odys. p. 1547.

3. περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, *a hack of the market place*: see Arist. Nub. 447, περίτριμμα δικῶν, with the explanation in Bekk. Anecd. p. 59, οἷον τετριμμένον ἰκα-



αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἶπῆν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδία βοῶντα ᾧ γῆ καὶ ἤλιε 5 καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἧ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροὶα διαγιγνώσκειται· ταῦτα γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ 128 ἀρετῆς, ᾧ κάθαρμα, ἧ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἧ καλῶν ἧ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἧ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς 270 τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, 5 ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρῆ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἶπῆν, 129 ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης

4. οἶομαι L. ταῦτ' Σ, L, B, F, Φ; τοιαῦτ' ΑΙ, vulg. 6. παιδίαν ΑΙ (cf. § 128<sup>4</sup>); καὶ παιδεῖαν om. B. 7. ἐπικαλούμενος Α2. 8. ἠκούσατ' ΑΙ.

§ 128. 3. πόθεν Σ<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. 2, B, vulg.; πόθεν λαβόντι Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, B (γρ), Φ (γρ). 4. παιδείας ΑΙ (cf. § 127<sup>6</sup>), vulg.; παιδίας Α2. μὲν ὡς om. O. 5. αὐτοῦ L. 8. τοιούτους ΑΙ, Υ; τούτοις V6.

νῶς πράγμασιν.—ὄλεθρος γραμματεῦς, a curse of a scribe: see IX. 31, δλέθρου Μακεδόνοσ (of Philip), and XXIII. 202, ἀνθρώπουσ οὐδ' ἐλευθέρουσ, ὄλεθρουσ.—οὐκ ἂν...εἶπῆν (repr. εἶπεν ἂν): for the common position of ἂν before words like οἶμαι, see M. T. 220<sup>1</sup>.

4. ἐπαχθεῖς, ponderous, offensively pompous: cf. ἐπαχθέσ, offensive, § 10<sup>7</sup>. See Ar. Ran. 940, οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν, of the style of Aeschylus.

5. πορίσασθαι, provide one's self with, bring out: cf. XIX. 186, XXXV. 41.—ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδία: see note on § 13<sup>6</sup>.—ᾧ γῆ...ἀρετῇ: thus Aesch. begins his peroration (260), adding καὶ σύνεσισ καὶ παιδεία, ἧ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροὶα.

§ 128. 1. σοὶ ἀρετῆς...τίσ μετουσία; =τί σοὶ ἀρετῆς μέτεστιν;

2. κάθαρμα, properly filth, offscourings.

3. πόθεν...ἀξιωθέντι; see note on § 51<sup>4</sup>.

4. ἧσ belongs to τετυχηκότων, ἀπολειφθεῖσι, and προσποιουμένοισ: it has a partitive force with προσποιουμένοισ (7), as in Ar. Eccl. 871, προσποιῆ τῶν χρημάτων.

6. κἂν...ἐρυθριάσειε: M. T. 224.—ἀπολειφθεῖσι: cf. § 257<sup>5</sup>.

7. ἀναισθησίας: see note on ἀναισθητοί, § 43<sup>1</sup>.

9. περίεστιν, it remains for them: cf. περιεῖναι χρήματα, of a balance of money due, § 227<sup>3</sup>. See II. 29, περιεστί ἡμῖν ἐρίσειν.

§ 129. 2. τοῦ (= τίνος) πρώτου μνησθῶ: indirect question (M. T. 677).—ὁ πατήρ...ἐδούλευε: it is a hard problem for historical criticism to evolve the real father of Aeschines from this slave of a schoolmaster, seen with his feet in the stocks or wearing a wooden collar for punishment, and the patriotic citizen described by his son (Aesch. II. 147, III. 191), who

ἔδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ, 5 τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἤρῳ χρωμένη, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριτα-

§ 129. 3. Ἑλπίᾳ vulg.; ἐλπίδαι (δ dotted w. θ above) Σ; Ἑλπίδα (δ erased), A2, O<sup>1</sup>. Θησίῳ A1. 4. σχοινικας (πεδας above) L. καὶ ξύλον om. V6. μήτηρ Σ, L, B, F, Φ; μήτηρ σου vulg. 5. κλεισίῳ L, A2, O<sup>2</sup>; κλεισειῳ (w. marks of correction) Σ; κλησίῳ A1, O<sup>1</sup>; κλισείῳ Φ; κλισίῳ B, vulg. 6. ἤρῳι vulg; om. A1; ἤρωι (ώ above ρ) Σ (ἤρώω?); cf. πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἤρῳῳ Apoll. Vit. Aesch. 2. ἀνδριάντας L; ἀνδρείαντα A2.

had died about twelve years before at the age of ninety-five, who lived through the Peloponnesian war, in which he lost his property, was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, served his country bravely in Asia, was one of the restorers of the democracy under Thrasybulus, and in his old age discoursed learnedly and wisely to his son on the early history of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*! Fortunately Demosth. speaks of the same man thirteen years before this, when he was still living at the age of ninety-four, in XIX. 281, where he calls Aeschines τὸν Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ, *son of Atrometus the schoolmaster*. From this respectable station he has now descended to be the son of Tromes, a schoolmaster's slave (see § 130<sup>5</sup>).

3. πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ: in XIX. 249, Atrometus is said to have kept school πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἱατροῦ, *near the shrine of the Hero Physician*. We have no means of knowing whether these refer to the same locality. Archaeologists are generally agreed that the temple now called the Theseum is not the famous building under which the bones of Theseus were buried; and the position of the real temple is unknown. The place of the shrine of the Hero Physician is likewise unknown. For this hero, the Scythian Toxaris, a friend of Anacharsis and Solon, see Essay VI. Cf. note on καλαμίτης (line 5).—*διδάσκοντι γράμματα*: the *γραμματιστής* was a teacher of *γράμματα*, *reading and writing*, the earlier *γραμματική*.

4. *χοίνικας παχείας*, crassas compedis

(Plaut. Capt. III. 5, 64), *stocks or shackles* for the feet: see Ar. Plut. 275, αἱ κνήμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν τοῦ τοῦ, τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.—*ξύλον*, a *wooden collar*, worn on the neck for punishment: see Ar. Nub. 592, ἦν φιμώσητε τούτου ἔν τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν ἀχένα, and Lys. 681. It meant also *stocks* for the feet, and the *πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον* was an instrument with five holes, for neck, arms, and legs. See Lexicon, ξύλον.

5. *τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις*, a euphemism for *daylight prostitution*: the stories of the mother of Aeschines are as trustworthy as those of his father (see §§ 258, 259).—*κλεισίῳ*, a *hut*, opposed to a house, as in Lys. XII. 18, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν, ... κλείσιον μισθωσάμενοι. In Od. XXI. 208 κλισιον (ἴσ) refers to slaves' dwellings built around the master's house: ἐνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔην, περὶ δὲ κλισιον θέε πάντη, on which see Eustathius. Here κλεισίῳ may be euphemistic, like γάμοις.—*πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἤρῳ*, *near the shrine (or statue) of the hero καλαμίτης*. The meaning of this name is very uncertain. Many identify this hero with the ἥρωις ἱατρός of XIX. 249, notwithstanding strong objections; among others, Westermann does this "ohne Zweifel." If they are identical, we may explain καλαμίτης as *archer* (*bowman*, or rather *arroto-man*), deriving it from κάλαμος, *arroto*, like ὀπλίτης from ὄπλον. The Hero Physician, Toxaris, was represented as a Scythian bowman (Lucian, Scyth. 1).

6. *τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα*, *the pretty doll*: see Bekk. Anecd. 394, 29 (quoted by Dissen), ὡς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ



γωνιστήν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης  
 Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτήν  
 ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ  
 θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ  
 προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν 130  
 οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὁψὲ γάρ  
 ποτε—, ὁψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην ἄμ' Ἀθηναῖος  
 καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν· καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν 5  
 πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα  
 σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι

7. σε om. Y. After σε AI, O add ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω:  
 om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sub>2</sub>, B, vulg. ἦ ὡς L (γρ), B<sup>2</sup>. 10. θεοὺς Σ, L; τοὺς θεοὺς vulg.  
 II. προηρῆσθαι (ei over η) B.

§ 130. 2. οὖν Σ (mg.), om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. ἀπ' αὐτῶν L, vulg.; ἀπαντων (in 2 lines)  
 Σ (not απαντων); ἀπὸ δ' αὐτῶν Σ (γρ); ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν AI. αὐτὸς om. Y<sup>1</sup>. Σ (γρ)  
 has: προηρῆσθαι λόγους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ταῦτα  
 μὲν οὖν παραλείψω· ἀπὸ δ' αὐτῶν ὧν βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι. 4. ἐχθὲς Φ. 5. γέ-  
 γονεν Σ; om. AI. 6. Ἀτρόμ. ἐποί. O. 7. ὠνόμασεν (after Γλαυκ.) vulg.;  
 om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. ἦν ἅπαντ. Ἐμπ. L.

μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, “ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάς μου.”—**τριταγωνιστήν ἄκρον**, a *tip-top third-part-actor*; see §§ 262, 265, and XIX. 246, 247, 337.

7. **ἀλλ' ὡς**: supply *μνησθῶ* from line 2, as a *direct* interrogative.—**τριηραύλης**, *galley-piper*, who gave the stroke to the rowers on a trireme.

8. **Δίωνος**: we find *Δίων Διαίτου Φρεάρριος* (?) as trierarch in C. I. Att. II. No. 804 A, a 84: see also Index to Vol. II. s.v. *Δίων*.—**ἀνέστησεν**: “*memineris prostare in lupanari Graece dici καθῆσθαι*” (Dissen); there is also the idea of *raising* her from a low occupation. Cf. Aesch. I. 41.

§ 130. 2. **ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν**, *the life he has himself led*, = τῶν αὐτῷ βεβιωμένων: cf. § 265<sup>1</sup>, XXII. 23, τὰ τούτῳ βεβιωμένα, and XIX. 199, 200.—**οὐδὲ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν**, *he was not even of ordinary parents*, i.e. not of any of whom he merely *chanced* to be. ὧν ἔτυχεν is nearly equivalent to the common τῶν τυχόντων, *ordinary people* (οἱ ἔτυχον), such as might chance to fall in one's way: cf. Isocr. X.

21, εἰ εἷς ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν πολὺ διενεγκόντων. See West. for various interpretations of this much disputed passage. He quotes Rutilius Lupus, de Fig. I. 16: parentes appellat quos scitis non ignotos fuisse, sed huiusmodi ut omnes hos execrarentur. After such a statement we should naturally expect to hear that he was of *higher than ordinary* parentage; but here (παρὰ προσδοκίαν) we have ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται added. In the religious ceremony before each meeting of the Senate and Assembly, a curse (ἀρά) was invoked against certain classes of offensive people: see XXIII. 97, καταρᾶται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ ...εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν, with XIX. 70. Aeschines himself is elsewhere included among these “deceivers”: see § 282<sup>5-7</sup>, καίτοι τίς.. καταρᾶται δικαίως;

5. **δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς**: on the contrary, Demosth. probably made *Τρόμης* (*trembler*) by cutting off two syllables from Ἀτρόμητος (*dauntless*).

7. “**Ἐμπουσαν**, *hobgoblin*.”



- καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι  
**131** δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ  
 ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς· φύσει  
 ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ 27  
 τουτουσι γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ  
 5 μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ περὶ ὧν  
 μὲν ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
 εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη  
 πράπτων, ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω.
- 132** Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντ' Ἀντιφῶντα,

8. καὶ γίγνεσθαι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; om. vulg.

§ **131.** 4. τούτους Υ. ἔχης ΑΙ, Β; ἔχοις Ο. ἀλλὰ καὶ Α2, Φ.  
 5. αὐτὸν Α2. τουτωὶ (ν over ω) Σ; τούτων ΑΙ. πολιτεύη Σ; -εύη or -εὴ  
 in all MSS. 7. καθαρῶς (for φανερώς) Α2, Φ. ἐπεδείχθη ΑΙ; ἐδείχθη Α2.

§ **132.** 1. ὑμῶν om. ΑΙ.

8. καὶ γίγνεσθαι: almost all editors omit these words, which have the best MS. authority and are especially appropriate to the description of Empusa. See Ar. Ran. 289—293: Χαν. δεινόν· παντοδαπὸν γοῦν γίγνεται· ποτὲ μὲν γε βούς, νυνὶ δ' ὄρεὺς, ποτὲ δ' αὖ γυνὴ ὠραιότατη τις. Dion. Ἐμπουσα τὸνν ἐστί.

§ **131.** 4. τουτουσι: i.e. the Athenians, as represented by the court.—οὐχ ὅπως...ἀλλὰ: οὐχ ὅπως and οὐχ ὅτι came originally from οὐ λέξω ὅπως (or ὅτι), *I will not speak of, I will not say that*, etc., while the nearly equivalent μὴ ὅπως (rare) or μὴ ὅτι came from μὴ λέγε ὅπως (or ὅτι), *do not mention that*, etc. Usually *not to speak of* is a good English equivalent; but what is *not to be spoken of* may be either affirmed or denied. Thus here οὐχ ὅπως χάριν ἔχεις, *not to mention your being grateful*, means *not only are you not grateful*; but in Lys. XIX. 31, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ σκεύη ἀπόδοσθε, *not to speak of your selling the furniture*, means *not only did you sell the furniture*. These examples show the absurdity of connecting this construction with that of *non modo* for *non modo non*, with which of course it is not related in form. (See M.T. 707, 708.) Like most elliptical idioms, this is very

often used where the ellipsis could not be supplied grammatically, and even where (as here) no definite ellipsis was in the speaker's mind. For the occasional use of ὅπως like ὡς in *oratio obliqua*, see M.T. 706.

5. πολιτεύει (MSS. πολιτεύη): see note on § 119<sup>1</sup>.

6. ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς εἴρηκεν: ἀμφισβήτησις, like ἀμφισβητῶ and Latin *disputo*, refers to *maintaining in a dispute*. See Plato Rep. 476 D, ἐὰν ἀμφισβητῆ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, and Ter. Andr. Prol. 15, in eo disputant contaminari non decere fabulas.

7. ἐάσω: "Hier ist die *πομπεία* aus, und der Redner wird ernst." (Bl.)

§§ **132—138.** Here the orator alludes briefly to some lesser offences of Aeschines, which preceded the outbreak of the war with Philip. In § 139 these are called slight matters compared with his conduct after the war began.

§ **132.** 1. οἶδεν, *know of*.—ἀποψηφισθέντ', *rejected* from the list of citizens. In 346—5 B.C. (ἐπ' Ἀρχίου, Harpocr. under διαψήφισις) a general revision of the lists of citizens was ordered at Athens; and the members of each deme went through its own list (the *γραμματεῖον*

ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρι' ἐμπρήσειν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγὼς ὡς ἐν δημοκρατία δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς 5 ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή 133

2. τὰ ὑμέτερα (after ἐμπρήσειν) vulg.; om. Σ, L, B<sup>1</sup>, F<sup>1</sup>, Φ<sup>1</sup>. 3. καταλαβόντος V6. 5. οὗτος om. A2. 6. ὑβρίζων om. V6.

ληξιαρχικόν) voting on each name which was questioned. This process was called διαψήφισις (διαψηφίζομαι), and the rejection of any person on the list was called ἀποψήφισις (ἀποψηφίζομαι). Demosthenes wrote his oration against Eubulides (LVII.) for a client who had been thus rejected and had appealed (as every such person might) to a Heliastic court. (See Westermann's introduction to that oration.) Antiphon was undoubtedly rejected at the same διαψήφισις (see Dem. LVII. 2, πολλῶν ἐξεληλαμένων δικαίως ἐκ πάντων τῶν δῆμων), and afterwards offered his services to Philip (ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ).

4. καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: it is hardly probable that Demosthenes brought Antiphon before the Assembly without some official authority. At the time of the passage of his trierarchic law (340 B.C.) he held the office of ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ (Aesch. III. 222). Schaefer (II. p. 370) thinks that he was ταμίης εἰς τὰ νεώρια, an officer mentioned in C. I. Att. II. Nos. 803 d, 5 and 14; 811 d, 34. See Boeckh, Urkunden üb. d. Att. Seewesen, pp. 59, 62, and 535<sup>127</sup>. It is doubtful by what process Antiphon was thus summarily arrested: it was probably by μῆνυσις, *denunciation* to the people, the process by which those charged with mutilating the Hermae in 415 B.C. were dealt with. (See Meier and Schömann, pp. 330—332.) Except in the rare cases in which the Assembly itself undertook the trial (as in the μῆνυσις against Phidias, Plut. Pericl. 31), the people either sent the accused to a Heliastic court for trial

or discharged him. In the case of Antiphon, the appeals of men like Aeschines moved the Assembly to discharge him; but the Areopagus interposed, and ordered (through the Assembly) that Antiphon be tried before a court, which condemned him to the rack and to death. See Hist. § 53. Dinarchus (I. 63) says: ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι (the Heliasts) τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες. See note on § 133<sup>3</sup>. Aeschines naturally does not mention this affair.

6. ἡτυχηκότας: referring to Antiphon's "bad luck" (as Aesch. called it) in losing his citizenship.

7. ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, i.e. *without a vote* of the Assembly or Senate. An Athenian citizen, like an Englishman, looked upon his house as his castle. See XXII. 52, τότε τοίνυν (under the Thirty Tyrants) οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις ἀπεστερέιτο τοῦ σωθῆναι ὅστις ἐαυτὸν οἶκοι κρύψειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατηγοροῦμεν τῶν τριάκοντα, ὅτι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδίκως ἀπήγον. This is not strictly true of the Thirty, according to Lys. XII. 8, διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον· καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἐστιῶντα κατέλαβον. In extraordinary cases officers of the state with proper authority could search private houses and arrest persons concealed therein. See [XLVII.] 38, 53, for houses entered by the authority of the Senate. Pollux (VIII. 50) implies that an officer called in to effect ἐφήγησις could enter a house to make the arrest. (See Meier and Schömann, pp. 784, 785, with note 99.)—ἀφεθῆναι: Antiphon was at first discharged by the Assembly without a trial.

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγνοίαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα, ἐπέζητησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς ἐξεπέπεμπτ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες  
**134** αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦθ' ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ

§ 133. 2. ἡμετέραν Σ<sup>1</sup> (ἡ ch. to ὕ). 5. ἐξεπέπεμπετ' ἂν MSS., Bk.; ἐξεπέπεμπτ' ἂν Cobet (conj.), Dind., Vöm., West., Lips., Bl. (om. ἂν). 6. σεμνολογούμενου Y, F (γρ). τούτου A I. 2, Y.

§ 134. 2. τότε Σ, B; τὰ τότε L, vulg. 3. ὑμῶν τότε V6.

§ 133. 3. ἐν οὐ δέοντι (neut.), *unseasonably, just when it should not*: cf. ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, III. 28.—συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα, *seeing that it had occurred (or. obl. M.T. 904)*.—ἐπέζητησε, i.e. *ordered a new (ἐπ-) investigation of the man's case*. The Areopagus in these later times seems occasionally to have revived a part of its ancient power of directing the general welfare of the state. It could act through a rescript (ἀπόφασις) addressed to the Assembly, either on its own initiative (αὐτὴν προελομένην) or by special authority of the Assembly: see Dinarch. I. 50, ἀνάγκη τὴν βουλήν τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου κατὰ δύο τρόπους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποφάσεις πάσας. τίνας τούτους; ἤτοι αὐτὴν προελομένην, ἢ ζητήσασαν τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος αὐτῆ. Meier and Schömann suggest that in this case the Areopagus acted under its regular jurisdiction in cases of incendiarism (πυρκαϊά).

4. συλλαβοῦσα shows that the Areopagus itself ordered Antiphon's arrest: Plutarch (Dem. 14) says that Demosth. arrested him and brought him before the Areopagus.—ὡς ὑμᾶς, i.e. before the court, which passed the sentence of death (6). But ἐπανήγαγεν implies that the Areopagus brought him back to some place, and this must be the Assembly. See the Scholia: κυρίως εἶπε τὸ ἐπανήγαγεν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον αἰθῆς κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἢ βουλή ἐξ οὐ σέσωσται πρότερον. He was probably sent back

to the Assembly with an ἀπόφασις, providing that he should be brought before the court for trial. This is the view of Meier and Schömann (p. 424, note) and Westermann.

5. δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς: all notice the intentional alliteration.—ἐξεπέπεμπτ': this slight change from ἐξεπέπεμπετ' gives a form symmetrical with ἐξήρπαστ': ἂν would generally be omitted here (M.T. 226).

6. σεμνολόγου: see note on § 35<sup>7</sup>.—νῦν, *as it was*.—στρεβλώσαντες: torture (βάσανος) could not legally be inflicted on an Athenian citizen; but Antiphon was now disfranchised. On the liability of others to the βάσανος, see Meier and Schömann, pp. 896—898. In Ar. Ran. 628, Dionysus, disguised as a slave, claims exemption from examination under torture as an immortal God: ἀγορεύω τι ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'.

7. ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον (sc. ἀποκτείνειν), *as you ought to have dealt with this man (Aesch.)*.

§ 134. 3. σύνδικον...Δήλω: about 343 B.C. the Delians contested the ancient right of Athens to administer the temple of Apollo on their island. The case came before the Amphictyonic Council, probably in the spring of 343, when Demosth. was one of the Athenian delegates to Delphi (xix. 65). The Assembly chose Aeschines as their counsel; but the Areopagus, to which the people



ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προίεσθε  
 τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε κάκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος  
 κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην.  
 Ὑπερείδης δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε· καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ  
 272 φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη  
 τῷ μιαρῶ τούτῳ. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων 135  
 τοὺς μάρτυρας.

## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας Σουμειὺς,  
 Ζήνων Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθῶνιος, ὅτι τοῦ 5  
 δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
 τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν  
 Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ  
 ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλή 10

4. ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ Σ, L, F, Φ; ἀγν. ἥσπ. ἔνεκα ΑΙ; ἀγν. ἀφ' ἥσπερ Β, vulg.  
 προίεσθε vulg.; προίεσθε (over προίεσθε) L (γρ); προίεσθε ΑΙ; πρέιεσθε Α2; προίεσθε Σ  
 (ει over ι), Φ. 5. προείλεσθε MSS., West.; προείλεσθε H. Wolf, Dind., Bk., Lips., Bl.  
 καὶ (before τοῦ) om. Υ. 7. Ὑπερείδης Σ, F, ΑΙ; Ὑπερίδης L, Α2, Β1; Ὑπερίδην  
 vulg.; Ὑπερείδην Β (so Lips.). 8. ἐξηνέχθη Φ.

§ 135. 1. κάλει Σ, L, Α2, Β, Υ, Φ, Ο; κάλει μοι vulg. τούτων τούτων Σ.  
 10. μέλλοντος λέγειν L, vulg.; μέλλοντος (corr. from λέγοντος?) w. λέγειν added, Σ;  
 λέγοντος Β, F, Φ, Dind. αὐτὸν (after ἀπήλασεν) vulg.; om. Σ, L. 7.

had given authority to revise the election, rejected him and sent Hyperides in his place. This showed that the tide had turned against Macedon. Hyperides then delivered his eloquent λόγος Δηλιακός at Delphi, and gained the case for Athens. See Hist. § 54.

4. ἀπὸ...ἥσπερ (see G. 1025): cf. XXI. 155, ὅτε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦν ἦν (for καθ' ἦν) ἐγὼ νῦν, and XXII. 30, περὶ τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῦ οὐ (sc. περὶ) τιθείη τὸν νόμον. (West.)

5. ὡς προείλεσθε κάκείνην, i.e. when you had previously associated it (the Areopagus) with yourselves in the case, i.e. giving it the right to revise your choice (lit. when you had previously chosen it also, and given it power, etc.). καὶ in κάκείνην, which seems awkward, must refer to the association of the two bodies

in power: in H. Wolf's emendation, προείλεσθε, προσ- would have the same force as καί. The ἀπόφασις of the Areopagus here was of the second kind mentioned by Dinarchus (quoted in note on § 133<sup>3</sup>), τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος αὐτῆ. See ἀπέφηνεν, § 135<sup>12</sup>.

7. λέγειν προσέταξε: i.e. as the σύνδικος of Athens.—ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most solemn form of voting, here on a religious question. See XLIII. 14, λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον καιομένων τῶν ἱερείων, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου. Cf. Hdt. VIII. 123; Plut. Them. 17; Cic. pro Balbo v. 12.

8. ἠνέχθη: like φέρουσα (above).

9. τούτῳ: cf. ἐμοὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἤνεγκαν, Isae. XI. 18.

§ 135. 10. τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν, when he was to be the speaker, i.e. after

καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

**136** Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε—οὐ γάρ;—οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέ-  
5 πεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαι' οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς  
10 ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τάναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

**137** Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον

II. εἶναι om. Φ.

§ **136.** I. τοιοῦτο om. V6. 3. ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι (αι corr. to ε) Σ. 4. αὐτοῦ Σ; αὐτοῦ L; αὐτοῦ most MSS. πάντων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1; ἀπάντων L<sup>2</sup>, B, vulg. 5. αἰσχινῆ Σ<sup>1</sup> (ι ch. to υ), O<sup>1</sup>. 7. οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα L, B, F; οὐκ ὑπεχ. Σ (cf. §§ 101<sup>11</sup>, 118<sup>2</sup>); οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα vulg.

§ **137.** I. ἀλλὰ Σ, L, A1. 2, B, F; ἀλλὰ καὶ vulg.

his election: τούτου λέγοντος would be when he was the speaker (elect), but this use of λέγω may well be questioned.

12. ἀπέφηνεν, declared him to be so by its ἀπόφασις.

§ **136.** I. νεανίου: this sometimes (as here) expresses wantonness or insolence, like νεανικός. See Eur. Alc. 679, ἄγαν ὑβρίζεις, καὶ νεανίας λόγους ῥίπτων ἐς ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.

2. οὐ γάρ; this sarcastic question (after γε) implies a self-evident absurdity, which is heightened by calling this affair with Antiphon a πολίτευμα of Aesch. and so comparing it with the πολιτεύματα of Demosth. (see next note). West. quotes XXI. 209, XXII. 73, XXIII. 162, 186.—οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ: probably = τοῖς ἐμοῦ πολιτεύμασιν οἷς κατηγορεῖ.

3. Πύθωνα: this eloquent orator was sent to Athens by Philip 343 B.C., to

quiet apprehension and to repeat assurances of the king's friendly spirit. Python was a scholar of Isocrates and an accomplished writer: see Anon. Life of Isocrates, p. 257<sup>3</sup> (West.) and Aesch. II. 125, ἐπὶ τῷ γράφειν μέγα φρονῶν. See Hist. §§ 55—57.

6. θρασυνομένῳ, with his insolent manner.

7. πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, rushing upon you with a flood (of eloquence). See Thuc. II. 5, ὁ Ἄσωπος ποταμὸς ἐρρῶη μέγας, and Ar. Eq. 526 (of Cratinus), ὃς πολλῶ ῥέυσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳ ἐρρει. All quote Hor. Sat. I. 7, 28, salso multoq̄ue fluenti, with the preceding ruebat flumen ut hibernum. See § 199<sup>1</sup>, πολὺς ἔγκειται.—οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, did not retreat (before the flood).

10. συμμάχους: i.e. the τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις of l. 5.

Ἄναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν  
 273 ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι  
 μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε  
 τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ ὅτι  
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος  
 Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενοι 10  
 νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογοῦμενον Ἄναξίνῳ, ὃς  
 ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ  
 μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἰσταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. 138  
 καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πόλλ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι  
 δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς  
 ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα  
 παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ 5  
 δεδώκατ' ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ  
 τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζει καὶ  
 συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λαιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος

2. ἀναξίνῳ Σ, L; Ἄξείνῳ Y; Ἀξίνῳ F and Φ (γρ); Ἄναξίνῳ all edd.

4. συνῆει Σ. 6. ἀληθὲς L.

§ 138. 1. τοίνυν om. L. ἕτερ'...αὐτοῦ om. Φ<sup>1</sup>. 2. ἐγὼ νῦν vulg.;  
 νῦν om. Σ, L. 4. πείθεται (τι over πει) L. 7. τι περὶ τῶν Φ.

§ 137. 2. Ἄναξίνῳ: Aeschines (III. 223, 224) charges Demosthenes with causing the arrest and death of Anaxinus, and even with twice torturing him with his own hand, though he had once been the man's guest at Oreus. Aesch. reports the oft-quoted reply of Demosth. to the charge of violation of hospitality: ἐφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. Anaxinus is said to have come to Athens (probably in 341—340) to make purchases for Olympias, Philip's queen.

4. αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε...κατάσκοπος, he was to be assumed to have the nature of a spy himself. See note on § 95<sup>1</sup>.

§ 138. 2. οὕτω πως, somewhat as follows, where earlier writers would use ὡδε.

3. ὧν: assimilated to τούτων from ἄ, cognate object of ὑπηρετῶν and ἐπηρεάζων: for the latter see ἐπήρειαν, § 12<sup>3</sup>.

5. ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν (with εἰς): τίθεται εἰς ὀργήν naturally follows the familiar τίθεται εἰς μνήμην.

7. ὑποσκελίζειν, trip up (cf. σκέλη).

8. τῆς...ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος: abusive language (λαιδορία) not only pleased the populace, but also gratified their whims and low tastes. A good example of both ἡδονή and χάρις is the scene in the Assembly when the second embassy re-



τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι  
 10 καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν  
 ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώως συναγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ,—πῶς γὰρ οὔ;—  
 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότ' αὐτῷ τοῦτο. 274  
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώως ἤδη τὰ πλοῖ' ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος  
 5 ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν  
 ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος,  
 ὃ τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος

9. ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι ΑΙ, Υ, Φ (γρ). 10. αἰεὶ Σ, Λ.

§ 139. 4. ἐσύλητο V6. 5. ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρ. F, Φ; ἐπορευετό ἄνθρ. Σ;  
 ἐπορ. ὁ ἀρῶς L. 6. ἦν om. Υ. ἐνειστήκει (i.e. ἐνειστ.) V6. 7. τῷ  
 ποτ' ΑΙ. οὗτος Σ, Λ, ΑΙ, Β; οὔτοσι vulg.

ported in July 346 B.C., described in XIX. 44—46. Demosthenes was insulted and jeered at by Aeschines and Philocrates, to the delight of the people: notice the single sarcastic remark of Demosthenes (46), καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγέλᾳτε.

11. τὴν...πολιτεύεσθαι is to serve the state as a patriot, opposed to τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν.

§§ 139—159. Next follows the account of the conduct of Aeschines in stirring up the Amphissian war in 339 B.C. (See note on §§ 126—226.) §§ 139—144 are introductory, and §§ 158, 159 are a peroration.

§ 139. The first sentence depreciates the acts already mentioned, done in time of nominal peace, to heighten the enormity of helping Philip in time of war: cf. δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο (3).

1. πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώως: this implies that the preceding peace was really a state of war. See IX. 19, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέιλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. Cf. φανερώως in l. 4.

3. κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος: not connected in construction with δεινὸν, but an independent exclamation, justifying the assertion in δεινὸν μὲν.

4. ἐπειδὴ...ἐπορθεῖτο, after your ships

had been openly seized (§ 73) and the ravaging of the Chersonese was going on: for ἐσεσύλητο see note on § 42<sup>b</sup>. The ravaging of the Chersonese was the outrage of marching an army through the Athenian territory there to enable his fleet to pass the Hellespont for the siege of Perinthus without molestation from the Athenians on the shore. See Schaefer II. 499, 500, and Hist. § 66 (end). The passage may refer also to the attack on the Chersonese after the siege of Byzantium: Hist. § 67 (end).

5. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ': Philip's action at the Hellespont, if it had not been checked, would have opened the way for him into Attica and the whole of Greece. Demosth. had repeatedly warned the people of this peril: even in the First Philippic (351 B.C.) he had said (50), κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. See especially VI. 35 (344 B.C.), Πύλας...ῶν καταστάς ἐκείνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, and further τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον ἐπειδὴν παρῆ, γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. See § 143<sup>b</sup>.

6. ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος: cf. ὁ ἐνστάς πόλεμος, § 89<sup>3</sup>. These words end the clause with ἐπειδὴ.

ιαμβειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμ' οὐδὲν λίσχινῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' 10 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ

8. *ιαμβειογράφος* Σ, Ο (corr.), vulg., Vöm., West., Lips.; *ιαμβιογράφος* Φ, V6; *ιαμβογράφος* Α1; *ιαμβειοφάγος* Σ (γρ), L (γράφος over φάγος), Dind., Bk., Bl. For *ιαμβοφάγος* see Hermog. (III. pp. 241, 242, 344 W.), Etym. Magn. p. 463, Bekk. Anec. p. 265; *ιαμβειοφάγος* and *ιαμβειομάχος* Β (γρ). See Vömel's note. οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι Α1. 9. ὑπὲρ Σ, L; περι vulg. 10. ἐν Α1, Dind., Bk., West., Bl.; ἐπὶ Σ, L, Β, F, Α2, Φ, Ο, Vöm. (see his note), Lips. 11. ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν Α1, Υ.

8. *ιαμβειογράφος*, *writer of iamproons* (*ιαμβεῖα*), probably refers to verses written by Aeschines in his youth, to which he perhaps alludes in I. 136, *περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν φασιν οὗτοί με πεποιηκέναι*. This reading was restored by Vömel (see his elaborate note), on the best ms. authority, in place of *ιαμβειοφάγος*, *cater* (or *mouther*) of *iambics*, which was and is the common reading. If we read *ιαμβειοφάγος*, we must refer it to the career of Aeschines as an actor, not to his *λοιδορία*, to which the ancient interpreters generally referred it. See Etym. Magn. Ἰαμβοφάγος, *λοιδορός*: ἐπειδὴ ἱαμβος ἔμμετρος ἐστὶ *λοιδορία*. ὁ φαγὼν οὖν, ἐν τῷ στόματι ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ἱάμβους, τοῦτέστιν ὁ ἔχων διὰ στόματος τὴν φιλολοιδορίαν...τάχα καὶ παραπαίζων εἰς τὸν λίσχινῃ, ὅτι τὰ ἱαμβεῖα τῆς τραγωδίας ἔλεγεν ὑποκριτῆς ὧν. Cf. Bekk. Anecd. p. 265<sup>31</sup>. Weil quotes the Patmos Schol.: λέγουσι τοὺς ἀσαφῶς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας τρώγειν τὰ λεγόμενα (*stallo* *their words*). Bekk. Anecd. p. 190<sup>9</sup>, *ιαμβοφάγον τὸν πταίοντα λέγουσιν*, probably refers to bad delivery: cf. § 267<sup>3</sup>, *ρήσεις ἄς ἐλυμαίνου*. West. denies that any of these interpretations of *ιαμβειοφάγος* suits the present passage; and finds support for *ιαμβειογράφος* in the following οὐδ' ἔστιν...*συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει* (8). Much may be said for both readings. The forms with *ιαμβειο-* and those with *ιαμβο-* are equally good.

9. *λίσχινῃ*, dat. of possession: *he has none to show*.

10. ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι, *in my time*: this general formula and ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὕδατος are often used when a speaker offers part

of his own time to his opponent to prove something which he believes cannot be proved. It is a mere challenge, made with no idea of its being accepted. For the genitive with ἐπὶ see LVII. 61 (end). The best mss. have here ἐπὶ...ὕδατι, which Vömel adopts. Shilleto (note on XIX. 57, p. 359<sup>5</sup>) says of this passage, "read ἐν." "ἐπὶ genitivum postulare," says Dindorf. The time allotted to each speaker in most cases was measured by the clepsydra or water-clock (Dict. Antiq. under *Horologium*), a fixed number of ἀμφορεῖς of water being poured in according to the importance of the case. Thus Aeschines (II. 126) says, πρὸς ἕνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι, eleven ἀμφορεῖς (about 100 gallons), allowed each speaker in cases of παραπρεσβεία, being the largest amount mentioned. In some cases, as the γραφή or δίκη κακώσεως, called δίκαι ἄνευ ὕδατος, no limit was set (see Harpocr. under κακώσεως). The term διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα is explained in Aesch. III. 197. In important public suits, like the γραφή παρανόμων, the day was divided into three parts, and the clepsydra was filled three times, the first measure of water being given to the accuser, the second (of equal amount) to the accused, and the third (in ἀγῶνες τιμητοί, if the accused was convicted), a smaller measure, to the τιμησις, or consideration of the amount of the penalty, ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

11. δυοῖν...θάτερον: there is no infinitive or other verb to be supplied. See Gerth-Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.* § 406, Anm. 10. δυοῖν θάτερον (or θάτερα), ἀμφοτέρον

μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

140 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὡσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκ' ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν ἦν ἐτέρω. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύνασθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 5 τοιοῦτον ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων [τῶν Λοκρῶν]

14. τὸ μέσον A2, Y.

§ 140. 2. κακόν Σ, L, B, F<sup>1</sup>, Φ<sup>1</sup>; κακὸν ὑμᾶς vulg. (ἡμᾶς A2). εἰπεῖν ἦν Σ<sup>1</sup>, L; ἦν εἰπεῖν Σ<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; εἰπεῖν om. B. 3. ἠδύνασθ' Σ. ὡς om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 4. καὶ...λανθάνειν Σ<sup>1</sup>; ἀ...ἐλάνθανεν Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg. ἐξεργάσατο A2. ἄνδρες Σ, L, A1, F, O; ὦ ἀνδρ. vulg. 6. Ἀμφισσέων Σ (but Ἀμφισσεις § 150<sup>2</sup>). [τῶν Λοκρῶν] so West., Lips., Bl.; om. Y; καὶ Λοκρῶν A2.

or ἀμφοτέρα, οὐδέτερον, and similar expressions, may stand emphatically, as adverbial phrases, before ἢ...ἢ, καὶ...καὶ, τε...τε, and in other cases where we simply say *either...or*, *both...and*, etc. See Plat. Theaet. 187 B, εἰδὼν οὕτω δρώμενα, δυοῖν θάτερα, ἢ εὐρήσομεν ἐφ' ὃ ἐρχόμεθα, ἢ ἦττον οἰησόμεθα εἰδέναι ὃ μηδαμῆ ἴσμεν. So II. III. 179, ἀμφοτέρον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς τ' αἰχμητής. Cf. II. IV. 145, Od. XV. 78; Aesch. III. 234; and below § 171<sup>6</sup>. In English these expressions are usually included in our *either* or *both*. In such cases we must not ascribe to the *untemporal* Greek infinitives (here γράφειν and φέρειν) the definite time which we are obliged to give them when we translate them by finite verbs. With ἀνάγκη supply ἦν, *he was obliged*.

12—14. μηδὲν...ἔχοντ' and τὸ...ζητοῦντα are causal.—παρὰ ταῦθ' expresses opposition, not mere addition. Fox (p. 149) thus states the dilemma: "Aeschines konnte oder wollte mit keinem Eintrag einkommen."

§ 140. ἄρ' οὖν...ἔγραφεν; οὐδ'...οὐδ' correspond to καὶ...καὶ in positive expressions of this kind (West.). We cannot express such negatives: the meaning is, *as he proposed no measures, so did he also abstain from talking* (so neither did he

*talk*). The sins of omission just described set these of commission in a stronger light.

2. οὐ μὲν...ἐτέρω, *why, nobody else could get a chance to talk!*

4. ἐπεξεργάσατο: the idea of *addition*, which ἐπί (like πρὸς) expresses, is further extended by ἐπέθηκε τέλος, *capped the climax*.

5. τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους, *his many words*, referring to the long and brilliant passage (III. 107—129) in which Aeschines describes his doings at Delphi when he stirred up the fatal Amphissian war. Cf. Aeschyl. Ag. 1456, μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ'.

6. τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, *the decrees* (of the Amphictyons) *about the Amphissians*, like τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, *the Megarian decree*, Thuc. I. 140, called in I. 139 τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. So τούτων ψήφισμα, XX. 115.—[τῶν Λοκρῶν]: the forms οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς (Aesch. III. 113), οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς Λοκροὶ (like οἱ Ὀζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ, Thuc. III. 95), and Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς (like Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν, *ibid.*) are all justified (see Vömel's note). V. retains the MS. text here, but explains it as the genitive of οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς οἱ Λοκρῶν. Two MSS. omit τῶν Λοκρῶν, which West. brackets.



διεξιῶν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοι-  
οὔτόν ἐστι. πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψει σὺ τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα  
σαντῶ· οὐχ οὕτω πόλλ' ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς **141**  
ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν,  
καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῆ πόλει, καὶ  
ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ  
275 εἶπον καὶ τότε εὐθύς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ **5**  
τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γὰρ,  
εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς  
ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ,  
πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως σφοδρῶς; **142**

7. διαστρέφων O<sup>1</sup>. 8. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ (after πόθεν;) Σ (γρ), vulg.; om.  
Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>, B, F. ἐκνίψη (or -η) MSS.  
§ 141. ἄνδρες Σ; ὦ ἄνδρ. vulg. 2. πάντας Υ. 5. καὶ τότε Σ, L, Φ;  
καὶ vulg. τούτων A<sup>1</sup>; τουτοῖ (corr. to τουτονὶ) Σ. 7. εὐθύς O. 8. εἵνεκα  
L. 9. ἀνόνητον A<sup>2</sup>, O<sup>1</sup>. με γενέσθαι V<sup>6</sup>.

7. τὸ δ', but in fact: this τὸ δέ, with no correlative τὸ μὲν, is common in Plato, introducing an adversative statement. See Apol. 23 A, οἴονται με...εἶναι σοφόν· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει. So Rep. 340 D (end), 357 A.—οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, i.e. this cannot be done (the case is not of such a nature, that etc.), referring to ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές.

8. πόθεν; cf. § 47<sup>5</sup>.—ἐκνίψει: cf. Act. Apost. xxii. 16, ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, wash away thy sins. For the form of ἐκνίψει, see note on § 119<sup>1</sup>.

§ 141. The solemn invocation in this chapter, resembling those which begin and end the exordium (§§ 1, 8), calls attention again to the gravity of the charge about to be made, and to the supreme importance of the events which led to the fatal issue on the field of Chaeronea. He defends his invocation and his general earnestness in §§ 142—144.

3. πατρῷος: Apollo was the paternal God of Athens, not only as the great Ionic divinity, but as the father of Ion

(according to Athenian belief). See Harpocr. under Ἀπόλλων, and Schol. on Ar. Av. 1527, πατρῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ Ἴων, ὁ πολέμαρχος Ἀθηναίων, ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ξούθου ἐγένετο. So in the Ion of Euripides.

4. εἰ ἀληθῆ εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον, lit. in case I should speak the truth to you now and did speak it then on the spot: a double condition combining a future and a past supposition (M.T. 509). We should rather invert the order and say, if I then spoke the truth and (shall) speak it again now.

7. πρὸς ἔχθραν, with a view to enmity: cf. διὰ...ἔχθραν in § 143<sup>9</sup>.

8. φιλονεικίας, contentiousness (against an enemy).

9. ἀνόνητον: cf. XIX. 315, ὥστε ἀνόνητον ἐκείνον ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

§ 142. 1. ἐπήραμαι: referring to the whole invocation of § 141, but especially to the imprecation in the last clause. τί ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι; is why have I made this imprecation? while τί διετεινάμην οὕτως

ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἔξ ὧν ταυτ'  
 ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύ-  
 σοντας, ἐκείνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν  
 5 ὑποληφθῆ οὗτος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς  
 ταλαιπώρους Φωκίας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δευρ'  
**143** ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς  
 Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων  
 ἡγεμῶν ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν  
 ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ μεγίστων αἴτιος  
 5 κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθύς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος  
 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις,  
 Αἰσχίνῃ, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρα-  
 κλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον

§ 142. 2. ὅτι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ὅτι καὶ vulg. 3. μνημονεύσοντας Σ, Φ; -εῦοντας L.  
 4. εἰ αὐτῷ (for αὐτῷ) A 1. 5. ὑποληφθῆ οὗτος ἐλάττων Σ, L; οὗτος ἐλάττων  
 ὑποληφθῆ vulg.; ὑπολειφθῆ V6.

§ 143. 2. Ἐλατιαν (i ch. to ει) Σ. ὁ Φίλ. A2. δι' ὧν O. 3. τὰ Ἑλλήνων  
 πράγματα A1; τὰ τῶν Ἑλλ. ἀνέτρεψε L. ἐστιν (after οὗτος) om. L. 4. κατα-  
 σκευάσας A1. τῶν μεγίστων vulg.; τῶν om. Σ, L, B, F, Φ. 5. κακῶν  
 γεγενημένος A1. 2. διαμαρτυρομένου O. 6. ἄγεις B, F, Φ, O; εἰσάγεις  
 after πόλεμον A2.

σφόδρως; (aor.) is *whē did I express myself with all this vehement earnestness?* (relating to the whole passage from § 140).

2. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, *in the public record-office*: this was in the *Μητρώων* (see Aesch. III. 187, Paus. I. 3, 5).

4. μὴ...ἐλάττων, i.e. *lest Aesch. may be thought too small a man to work so great mischief*.

5. ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη: this allusion to a former time when Aesch. caused the ruin of the Phocians by bringing home false reports, can refer only to the return of the second embassy in 346 B.C. (see §§ 32—36). This distinct statement that Aesch. was then thought "too insignificant to do so much harm," with the apprehension that the court may make the same mistake again in the present case, is one of the strongest confirmations of the opinion that the case against Aeschines really came to trial, that the speeches de Falsa Legatione were actually spoken, and that Aeschines was acquitted

by a small majority. (See Essay IV.)

§ 143. 1. τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον: for this and the seizure of Elatea, see § 152<sup>7</sup> and note. The words τὸν... Ἐλάτειαν form a dactylic hexameter, followed by part of another; but see Blass's note.

2. ἠρέθη ἡγεμῶν ὃς, *a man was chosen leader, who* etc. (i.e. Philip): so West. Bl. brackets καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη.

6. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, i.e. in the meeting in which Aesch. made his report of his doings in the Amphictyonic Council (Hist. § 74).—εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν: Demosth. saw at once the full meaning of the Amphictyonic war, and knew that it must end in bringing Philip into Greece as the Amphictyonic general (see note on § 139<sup>5</sup>).

7. οἱ...συγκαθήμενοι, *those who sat together by his summons*, i.e. his *παρακλητοί*, with whom he had packed the meeting.

8. οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, i.e. *would not*

καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν μ' ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονεν 144  
τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότ' ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλ' ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὄση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ 145  
276 Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε

9. καινὴν L. μ' om. Σ<sup>1</sup>.

§ 144. 1. ἄνδρες Σ, L, AI, O; ὦ ἄνδρ. vulg. 2. εἵνεκα Σ, B (cf. §§ 120<sup>7</sup>, 175<sup>3</sup>). 3. ὑπακούσατε Σ, L, B, Φ; ἀκούσατε AI. 2, vulg. 4. γὰρ om. Y. 6. ἡ (for ἦν) L<sup>1</sup>. θεάσεσθε L, O; θεάσασθε Σ, vulg. Vöm.

§ 145. 1. ἡμᾶς A I.

*let me go on speaking* (after my warning). —οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον: the ordinary citizens were amazed at anyone who dared to object to the pious and (apparently) patriotic speech of Aeschines. The decree of Demosthenes forbidding Athens to take any part in the future action of the Amphictyonic Council against Amphissa (Aesch. 125—127) was passed at a later meeting, after the people had opened their eyes.

§ 144. 2. εἵνεκα: see note on § 120<sup>7</sup>.

3. ὑπακούσατε: most edd. reject this reading of the best MSS. for the vulg. ἀκούσατε or Rauchenstein's ἐπακούσατε, on the ground that ὑπακούω means *listen*, not *hear attentively*. But see Plat. Theaët. 162 A, πάντως καὶ νῦν δὴ μάλ' ἐμμελῶς σοι ἐφαίνετο ὑπακούειν, and 162 D, ταῖς οὖν δημηγορίας ὀξέως ὑπακούεις. (See Vömel.) The general meaning is, *now take your opportunity to listen to the story, since you were kept from hearing it at the right time*.

4. εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν, *that the plan was well concerted*.

5. πρὸς ἱστορίαν, *for gaining a knowledge*. The real history of these events must be disentangled from the long story of Aeschines (106—131), supplemented

and often corrected by the briefer account of Demosthenes (145—159). See Hist. §§ 70—75. Fox analyzes the argument of Demosthenes skilfully in pp. 151—156, pointing out that it has all the merits which the ancient rules demand of a good narration (διήγησις): it is brief (σύντομος), perspicuous (σαφηνής), vivid (ἐναργής), ethical (ἠθική), i.e. showing the moral purpose (προαίρεσις) of the actors (Aristot. Rhet. III. 16, 8), and credible (πιθανή).

§ 145. 1. οὐκ ἦν...εἰ μὴ ποιήσειε: see M.T. 69b and the examples. The protasis depends on an apodosis implied in οὐκ ἦν...Φιλίππῳ, the real meaning being *Philip felt that he could not end or escape the war unless he should make the Th. hostile to our city*. This involves indirect discourse; and we might therefore have had εἰ μὴ ποιήσῃ here for εἰ μὴ ποιήσειε. See Thuc. VII. 59, τᾶλλα, ἦν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, where the condition really depends on the idea *to be ready* implied in παρεσκευάζοντο, and εἰ...τολμήσαιεν might have been used. Compare Thuc. VI. 100, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρον, *they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out, i.e. to meet them in that case; the thought being ἦν ἐπιβοηθῶσιν*.



τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ, ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 5 πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρί' ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰσήγετο  
 146 ὧν ἐδειτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δ' οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων  
 ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν  
 ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ  
 τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὅποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε  
 5 στρατηγοὺς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ

5. χρηστῶν (for ληστῶν) V6. 6. ἐσήγετο Σ.

§ 146. 1. τότε κρείττων Σ, L, A1; κρ. τότε vulg.; τότε om. A2. 2. ἐλθεῖν  
 om. Y. 3. τε (for δὲ) A1.

3. ἀθλίως...πολεμούντων: Chares and Phocion were the Athenian commanders at the beginning of the war, while Philip was besieging Byzantium. Chares was much censured for inefficiency: for the conflicting opinions concerning his military operations, see Hist. § 67, note 6. For Phocion's generalship there is only praise. But the operations here mentioned are probably those of the later part of 340—339, when Philip was in Scythia (Hist. § 70), of which we have little information.

4. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. by the mere state of war, as explained in lines 5—7.

5. ληστῶν: a state of war naturally encouraged pirates and plunderers.

6. τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων: the common πρόληψις for τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγν., caused by ἐξήγετο. See §§ 44<sup>3</sup>, 213<sup>10</sup>.

7. αὐτῷ, with εἰσήγετο.

§ 146. 2. μήτε...διέντων, i.e. εἰ μήτε Θετταλοὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν μήτε Θηβαῖοι διείεν: Philip depended on Thessalian troops to fill his army, but he would have been satisfied with Thebes (under the circumstances) if she had merely made no objection to his marching through Boeotia to attack Athens. There was probably a coolness already between Thebes and Philip, which appears later when Thebes refused to attend the Amphictyonic meeting in

the autumn of 339 B.C. (See Aesch. III. 128.) See Hist. § 70, for the relations of Philip to Thessaly and Thebes.

4. ὅποιουσδήποθ': here relative, while generally relative forms with οὖν and δήποτε are indefinite. See τοὺς ὅποιουσι τιμασοῦν in VIII. 20, and ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα in § 21<sup>8</sup> (above). See Krüger, § 50, 8, 16, for the article prefixed to "relative clauses used adjectively," as here; cf. XIX. 254, τοὺς οἷος οὗτος ἀνθρώπους.

6. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις, of the relative resources of each, i.e. of his own inferiority in resources, especially in naval power. For a similar use of this vague expression in a definite sense, see Thuc. I. 141<sup>8</sup>, where Pericles speaks of the comparative resources of Athens and her enemies: τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν.

§ 147. This is closely connected in thought with the beginning of § 145. How, thought Philip, can I induce the Thessalians and Thebans to join me? He remembered their zeal in the Phocian war: see XIX. 50, τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι... ποίοις; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ. A new Sacred war, or any war for the rights of the Amphictyonic Council, would be sure to rouse their interest again.

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς 147  
 ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους  
 συμπίθῃ βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἡγείτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ  
 τὸν νοῦν· εἰ δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν  
 ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῆ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζεν τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ 5  
 δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον  
 ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχῆν·  
 εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι.

§ 147. 3. συμπίθῃ A2. οὐδένα (without ἄν) L, A1; οὐδέναν Σ; οὐδένα ἄν  
 B, A2; οὐδέν' ἄν V6; οὐδέν ἄν vulg. ἡγείτο om. A1. προσέχειν A1.  
 αὐτῷ Σ; αὐτῷ L, vulg.; αὐτῷ Bk. 4. εἰάν Σ, L; ἄν vulg. 5. ηρεθῆ (αι  
 over η) Σ; αἰρεθῆ (over ηρεθῆ) B. ἤλπιζεν Σ, Vöm., West., Bl. παρακρούσασθαι  
 V6. 8. αὐτοὺς om. A1. αὐτοῦ Bk.; αὐτοῦ Σ; αὐτοῦ L, vulg.

1. εἰ μὲν...συμπίθῃ, i.e. *if he were to join in an attempt to persuade them etc.*: συμ- implies that he would depend greatly on the influence of his friends in Thebes and Thessaly.

3. οὐδέν' ἡγείτο προσέξειν: I omit ἄν before ἡγείτο, with L, A1, and most recent editors, because its insertion is accounted for by the v. l. προσέχειν, with which it would be required, while προσέξειν ἄν would be a rare expression. (See M.T. 197, 208.) The simple προσέξειν is also supported by the following παρακρούσεσθαι and πείσειν and by the infinitives in § 148. For the conditional forms in this section and the following, see note on § 148<sup>4</sup>.

4. εἰάν...αἰρεθῆ, i.e. *if he should adopt (as his own) some grounds common to both Thebans and Thessalians, on which he might be chosen general*. See τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, opposed to τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς (the real κοινὰς), in § 158<sup>1</sup>. The actual result of the scheme is seen in §§ 151, 152.

5. τὰ μὲν...πέσειν, i.e. *to succeed sometimes by deception, sometimes by persuasion*. For the tense of the infinitive with ἐλπίζω, see M.T. 136.

6. θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, see *how craftily*: cf. § 144<sup>5</sup>.—πόλεμον ποιῆσαι (not ποιήσασθαι), *to get up a war*, i.e. to get the Amphictyons into a war.

7. τὴν Πυλαίαν: the meeting of the Amphictyonic Council was so called,

because twice in each year (in the spring and the autumn) the Council met first at Thermopylae in the sanctuary of Demeter Amphictyonia at Anthela, and afterwards proceeded to Delphi, where the regular sessions were held. See Hyper. Epitaph. § 18, ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν, θεωροὶ γενήσονται τῶν ἔργων κ.τ.λ., with Hdt. VII. 200, and Harpocr. under Πύλαι: Aesch. III. 126, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις, and Strab. p. 429 (of Thermopylae), Δήμητρος ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ πᾶσαν Πυλαίαν θυσίαν ἐτέλουν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. Records of meetings at Delphi in the spring as well as the autumn are found in inscriptions: see C. I. Att. II. No. 551, ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυλαίας ἑαρινᾶς, and Dittenberger, Syll. Inscr. Gr., No. 185<sup>1</sup>, ἐπὶ Στράτωνος, ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυλαίας ὀπωρινῆς. See Essay v.

8. εἰς ταῦτ'...δεήσεσθαι, *would need him for these*, especially for the war, as the only available commander.

§ 148. Having made up his mind (1) that he must have the support of Thebes and Thessaly (§§ 145, 146), and (2) that he can secure this only by an Amphictyonic war (§ 147), he now (3) determines to find some Athenian to instigate the war, to disarm all suspicion in advance. For this important work he hires Aeschines (§ 148).

- 148 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν  
 5 ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη.
- 149 πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότης, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλά- 277

§ 148. 1. τοῦτο Σ, L, A1, O; τοῦτον B, vulg. ἑαυτοῦ Σ, vulg.; αὐτοῦ B; αὐτου L. 2. εἰσηγοῖτο A1, F (corr.), Y, most ed.; εἰσηγείτο Σ, L, vulg., Vöm. 4. ἅπαντας A1, B, Y. φυλάξεσθαι Σ, L, A2, F, O; φυλάξασθαι A1, Y. 5. εὐκόλως A2.

§ 149. 1. μηδενὸς (om. δέ) A2. 3. παρ' ὑμῶν O, F. προβληθεὶς δὲ A2. πυλαγορος Σ<sup>1</sup>; πυλαγορας Σ (corr.), L, vulg. (see Vömel's prolegomena, p. xvi.).

1. ἱερομνημόνων: these were the regular members of the Amphictyonic Council, two from each of the twelve tribes. Other delegates, called *πυλάγοροι*, who had the right to speak in the Council but had no votes, were chosen by the several states belonging to these tribes. Thus Athens in the spring of 339 B.C. sent her one Hierommemon and three Pylagori. See Hist. § 72, and Essay v.

2. ἐκείνου, *his*, from the orator's point of view, just after ἑαυτοῦ, *his own*, from Philip's: cf. Xen. Mem. IV. 7, 1, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολούντας αὐτῷ.

3. τοὺς...Θετταλοὺς: subj. of ὑπόψεσθαι.

4. ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ: we have the same antithesis here between ἂν...ἢ and the preceding εἰ...εἰσηγοῖτο which we had in § 147 between ἂν...αἰρεθῆ (4) and εἰ συμπεῖθαι (1). It is commonly assumed that ἂν with the subjunctive expresses greater probability or likelihood that the supposition may prove true than εἰ with the optative; and this double antithesis is often cited as a strong confirmation of this view. It seems to be overlooked that all four suppositions are in *oratio obliqua* after past tenses, and (if we read *προσέξειν* without ἂν in § 147<sup>3</sup>) would all be expressed in the *oratio recta* (i.e. as Philip conceived them) by subjunctives, ἂν συμπεῖθω, αἰρεθῶ, εἰσηγήται, Ἀθηναῖος

ἢ, which would all be retained if the leading verb were present or future. If then these forms now show any inherent distinction between subj. and opt. as regards probability, this has been introduced by the *oratio obliqua* after a past tense. I have long maintained that in such antitheses the subjunctive is a more distinct and vivid form than the optative, and is therefore chosen to express the supposition which was uppermost in the mind of the one who made it. Here the two subjunctives express the plans which Philip had most at heart, and the two optatives express the opposite alternatives. If his plans had failed, we cannot suppose that the moods would have been interchanged. We have a somewhat similar case below in § 176<sup>1,7</sup>, where the more vivid εἰ προαιρησόμεθ' expresses the supposition against which the speaker is especially eager to warn his hearers, but which proved to be false, while the weaker ἂν πεισθῆτ' ἐμοί is made less emphatic, though it refers to what is desired and what actually occurred. See M.T. 447, 690; and note on § 176<sup>1</sup> (below). I have nothing to change in the views of these passages expressed in the Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc. for 1873, pp. 71, 72, and the Engl. Journ. of Philol. vol. v. No. 10, p. 198.

§ 149. 3. προβληθεὶς, *nominated*:



γορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετ' 5 εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τ' ἄλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδῶν ἐπέβαινε ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεῖς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περι- 150 ἐλθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσειῶν σφῶν αὐτῶν οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἧτιᾶτ' εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν

9. ἀπείρους λόγους V6.

§ 150. 2. αὐτῶν V6.

4. ὑμῖν A2.

the *πυλάγοροι* were chosen by hand vote (*χειροτονησάντων*), while the *ἱερομνήμων*, the higher officer, was chosen annually by lot (*λαχῶν*, Ar. Nub. 623).

4. *τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων*: this small vote shows how little the Assembly understood the importance of the election.

5. *ἀξίωμα*, *prestige*, *dignity* (of a delegate of Athens).

6. *εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας*: this was the meeting in the spring of 339 B.C., described by Aeschines (III. 115—124).

7. *εὐπροσώπους*, *plausible* (*fairfaced*; cf. *barefaced*).

8. *μύθους*, *tales*, referring to the eloquent account of the first Sacred war in the time of Solon (Aesch. III. 107—112). —*ὅθεν... καθιερώθη*, *from the time when the plain of Cirrha was consecrated*: cf. Aesch. III. 61, *λέξω ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε*. We see by this passage that Aeschines repeated to the Amphictyons his story of the consecration of the plain of Cirrha, with all the terrible curses which were imprecated against those who should cultivate the devoted land. The consecration was made at the end of the first Sacred war, about 586 B.C.

9. *ἀπείρους λόγων*: "to the comparatively rude men at Delphi, the speech of a first-rate Athenian orator was a rarity." (Grote.) The Amphictyonic Council was composed chiefly

of representatives of obscure and uncultivated states. It was, in fact, a mere relic of antiquity, which had outlived its right to exist; and in the time of Philip it was merely galvanized into an unnatural vitality, which proved fatal to Greece and helpful only to the invader. See Grote's remarks at the beginning of Chap. 87.

For the account of this Amphictyonic meeting see Hist. §§ 72, 73.

§ 150. 1. *περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν*: *to make an inspection* (*περίοδος*) *of the land*. An inscription of 380 B.C. records an order of the Amphictyons for official *περίοδοι* of the consecrated land, and a fine was to be imposed on any who should be found encroaching on it; failure to pay the fine was to be punished by exclusion from the temple and even by war. See Blass, and C. I. Att. II. No. 545, 15—18.

3. *ἧτιᾶτ'*, *alleged* (in his accusation).

4. *οὐδεμίαν... ἐπαγόντων*: Aesch. (I16) says the Amphissians *intended to propose* a decree in the Council (*εἰσέφερον δόγμα*) fining Athens fifty talents for hanging up on the temple walls some old shields, relics of Plataea, with the restored inscription, *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο*. Renewing this taunting inscription (which was natural and proper in 479 B.C.) after

5 οὗτος προφασίζεται λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκείθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἶπέ τὸν εἰδότα, δείξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῆ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ  
**151** καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιούτων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ  
 5 πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

5. οὗτος προφ. λέγων Σ, L, A2; προφ. οὔτ. λέγ. A1; οὔτ. λέγ. προφ. B, vulg.; οὗτος om. Y. γνώσεσθαι Σ. 6. προκαλέσασθαι A1, F, O, B (προσ over προ). 7. τελέσασθαι Σ, L, A1; συντελ. B, vulg. 8. ἡμᾶς Σ, L, A1. 2, B, O; ὑμᾶς vulg. ἀπὸ Σ, L, B, vulg.; ἐπὶ A1. 2, O (mg.). 9. καινῆ προφ. Σ, A1.

§ 151. 2. ἐφήγησιν (eu corr. to v) Σ. 3. μικροῦ Σ, L; μικροῦ μὲν vulg. κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας L, A1, Σ (corr.); ἅπαντ. κατηκ. vulg. 5. Ἀμφισσῆς V6. ἐτάχθη A1.

the lapse of 140 years was, to say the least, not a friendly act, and it shows the bitter enmity against Thebes which was still felt by Athens. Demosthenes does not seem to understand by δίκην ἐπαγόντων what Aeschines means by εἰσέφερον δόγμα. An intention to introduce a decree would not need a previous summons; which δίκην ἐπάγειν, and still more δίκην τελέσασθαι, to make a suit ready for trial, would require. It is most likely that the cautious language of Aeschines which now stands in his speech (116) is not what he actually used in court. And the further remark of Demosthenes, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, seems to imply that Aeschines had told a different story about the intentions of the Amphissians when he made his report of the meeting at Delphi (125) from that which he told in court. It is therefore difficult to judge the argument of Demosthenes about the want of a legal summons. Certainly no summons was thought necessary when the Council a few hours later voted to make a raid upon the new buildings of the Amphissians at Cirrha; but here there was no pretence of any judicial proceeding, but

only a περίοδος of the sacred land (§§ 150<sup>1</sup>, 151<sup>1</sup>), which became a mob.

8. ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; from what authority did the summons come? West. quotes with approval Weil's interpretation of ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; "devant quelle autorité athénienne la citation fut-elle notifiée?" Witnesses to a summons were required at Athens when the defendant was in Attica. These were called κλητῆρες, which same name was given to the officers of the law who served a summons on persons outside of Attica: see Ar. Av. 147, 1422. ἐκλήτευσεν (7) refers to the act of such an Amphictyonic κλητῆρ.—δείξον: cf. δείξον, XXIX. 41. The comma must follow εἰδότα.

9. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις: so § 76<sup>3</sup>.

§ 151. 1. περιούτων: cf. περιελθεῖν, § 150<sup>1</sup>. See Aesch. 122, 123.

3. μικροῦ (M.T. 779<sup>b</sup>), almost, belongs to κατηκόντισαν: cf. Aesch. 123, εἰ μὴ ἐξεφύγομεν, ἐκιδυνεύσαμεν ἀπολέσθαι.

4. ἐγκλήματα... ἐταράχθη: we have πόλεμον ταράσσειν, like *proelia miscere* or *confundere*, Plat. Rep. 567 A, and ἐγκλήματα ταράξειν, Plut. Them. 5 (Bl.).

ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν· ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἔλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόν' ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους **152** εἰλήφεσαν· ἥ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν **278** ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἥ 'κείνον αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ 5 παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ **153**

7. οἱ δ' ἔλθόντες om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (add. mg.), L<sup>1</sup> (add. mg.). 9. κατασκευασμένοι V6.

§ 152. 5. εὐθέως Σ, L, A1. 2; εὐθὺς vulg.; εὐθέως ὁ Φίλιππος A1. 2. 6. κερραίων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; κερραίων I<sup>2</sup>; κερραίων V6. ἐρρῶσθε Σ. πολλὰ φράσας A1. 7. καὶ Κιρραίοις vulg.; καὶ om. Σ, L, A1. 2. ἐπὶ τὴν O<sup>1</sup>.

6. **Κόττυφος**: the president of the Council, a Thessalian of Pharsalus (Aesch. 128).

7. **οὐκ ἦλθον**: e.g. Thebans and Athenians, and doubtless others.—**οὐδὲν ἐποίουν**: see Aesch. 129.—**εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν... ἦγον** (sc. τὰ πράγματα), *took measures at once, against the coming meeting* (autumn of 339), *to put things* (i.e. the war) *into the hands of Philip as commander*. See IX. 57, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

9. **οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι** (pass.), *those with whom arrangements had been made*.—**πάλαι πονηροὶ**: cf. § 158<sup>7</sup>, ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν.

Demosthenes distinctly implies that Cottyphus was made general at the spring meeting, but that, after a mere pretence of war, intrigues at once began for superseding him by Philip at the autumnal meeting (*εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν*). Aeschines, on the contrary, whose whole object is to show that a real Amphictyonic war was intended, with no help or thought of help from Philip, and to represent Philip's final appointment as commander as a remote afterthought, states that no action was taken against the Amphissians in the spring, but that a special meeting was

called before the regular autumnal Πυλαία, to take such action (124). At this special meeting, which Athens and Thebes refused to attend (Aesch. 126—128), Cottyphus was chosen general (according to Aesch.), while Philip was "away off in Scythia"; and after a successful campaign the Amphissians were fined and their offending citizens were banished. But they refused to submit; and finally, "a long time afterwards" (*πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον*), a second expedition became necessary "after Philip's return from his Scythian expedition":—he does not even then say that Philip was actually made general! See Hist. §§ 74—76.

§ 152. 2. **αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν... δεῖν**, *they must themselves* (ipsos) *pay taxes*, etc.

3. **ἥ 'κείνον αἰρεῖσθαι**: this alternative was one of the *προφάσεις εὐλογαί* (§ 151<sup>10</sup>) for choosing Philip.

6. **παραελθὼν** (sc. εἰσω Πυλῶν): cf. § 35<sup>3</sup>.—**ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ**, *bidding many farewells* (a long adieu): so XIX. 248. Cf. ἐρρωσο, vale.

7. **Ἐλάτειαν**: when Philip had passed Thermopylae, he hardly made a pretence of entering into the war with Amphissa, for which he was chosen commander;



μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο  
τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης  
5 ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἑν'  
ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς  
χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγμαθ'  
154 ἢ μιὰρὰ κεφαλὴν ταραξασ' αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. λέγε  
μοι τὰ δόγματα.

§ 153. 2. εὐθέως Σ, L, A1; εὐθὺς B, vulg. ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Σ, L, A1. 2, Φ (γρ); om. B, vulg. 3. καὶ (before μεθ') om. A1. 4. τό γ' Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Φ, F (corr. to τότ'); τότε A2, B, Y; τότε γ' vulg.; τοῦτό γ' A1. 5. αὐτὸν om. A1, B<sup>1</sup>, Φ<sup>1</sup>. 7. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα A2. 9. πράξασα L.

§ 154. 1. καὶ μοι λέγε A1.

and soon appeared at the Phocian town of Elatea, which commanded the pass into Boeotia and "the road to Athens." This move left no further doubt as to his real intentions. In 344 B.C. there had been a report that Philip was about to seize and fortify Elatea, and thus threaten Thebes: see VI. 14. Aeschines says (140) of Philip's sudden movement, τὸν πόλεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτῶν (i.e. the Phocian war), τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον (i.e. a similar sacred war) ἐπήγγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας. As the spurious decree of Demosthenes (§§ 181—187) no longer disturbs the chronology, we see that Philip must have been made general in the early autumn of 339 B.C., and probably seized Elatea in the late autumn or early winter; so that the campaign lasted about eight or nine months until the battle of Chaeronea in August or September 338. A "winter battle" is naturally mentioned in § 216<sup>b</sup>. The startling effect of the news from Elatea at Athens is described in §§ 169 ff.

§ 153. 3. μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, *joined you*.—ὥσπερ χειμάρρους, *like a winter torrent*: most of the rivers of Greece are nearly or quite dry the greater part of the year, and in the winter and spring are often filled by rushing torrents. Many of these, when dry, still serve as

paths over the mountain passes. Similar simple comparisons are ὥσπερ νέφος, § 188<sup>b</sup> (cf. νυκτὶ εὐκίως, II. I. 47); ὥσπερ πνεῦμα, § 308<sup>g</sup>; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμένον, § 214<sup>d</sup>; ὁ συμβᾶς σκηπτός, § 194<sup>1</sup>. (See Bl.)—ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα: we might say *this whole thing*, but with far less dignity.

4. νῦν, *as it was, in fact*, opposed to εἰ μὴ μετέγνωσαν (2): cf. § 133<sup>b</sup>.—τό γ' ἐξαίφνης, *for the moment*.

6. εἶτα...δι' ἐμέ, *lit. but besides, and so far as depended on any one man, also through me*: the former καὶ connects ὅσον...ἄνδρα to εἶτα. Dindorf, Vömel, and Westermann understand μέντοι καὶ, ὅσον κ.τ.λ., making the first καὶ=*also*, which the second καὶ merely repeats.

7. δὸς: see note on § 28<sup>2</sup>.—δόγματα ταῦτα are Amphictyonic decrees about the Amphissian affair.—τοὺς χρόνους: we see from § 155<sup>13</sup> that this was an official statement from the records, showing that these decrees were passed when Aeschines was *πυλάγορος*.

9. ἢ μιὰρὰ κεφαλῇ: cf. XXI. 117, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἢ μιὰρὰ καὶ ἀναιδῆς αὕτη κεφαλῇ ἐξεληλυθὺς κ.τ.λ., and XIX. 313.—ταράξασ': we should naturally express ταραξασα by the leading verb, and δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν by *without being punished*. With πράγματα ταραξασα cf. § 151<sup>d</sup> and note.

## ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν 5 Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλα- 155  
279 γόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων 5 συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν 10 ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν 10 στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος· λέγε.

## ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.]

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι. 156  
πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμαχούς ὁ Φίλιππος.

§ 156. 1. δὴ μοι vulg.; μοι om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1.  
οἱ om. O.

ὑπηκουον (-ον for -σαν?) Σ.

2. ὁ om. B.

§ 156. 1. οὐχ ὑπήκουον: this must refer to a refusal of the Thebans, before the seizure of Elatea, to join Philip in an expedition against the Amphissians. When he entered Greece, he professed to be marching against them: see § 152<sup>b</sup>, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν.

2. συμμαχούς: i.e. the Arcadians, Eleans, and Argives. See Isocr. v. 74, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ συμπολεμεῖν (sc. ὑπάρχουσί σοι ἔτοιμοι), and Dem. ix. 27. See Hist. §§ 51, 52.

ἴν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους 5 καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

280

**157** [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμυλοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλω 5 λωϊος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὄπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ 10 Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεί χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένους] ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

**158** Ὅραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστ' αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; 5 μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιμόντες ὡς ὑφ'

5. ἡμᾶς O. τινὰ (for κοινὰ) A2. 7. προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν L; πρ. αὐτῷ παρασχὼν Σ<sup>1</sup> (οὗτος ἦν αὐτῷ below the line), Φ (γρ); πρ. παραδοῦς οὗτος ἦν αὐτῷ A1. 2; πρ. παραδοῦς αὐτῷ οὗτος ἦν B, vulg.

§ 158. 1. μὲν after φεύγει vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A2. 2. παρασκευάσας A1; κατασκευάσας A2. 5. λέγετε om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (add. mg.). 2. περιμόντες O<sup>1</sup>.

5. κοινὰ: cf. κοινὰς προφάσεις, §§ 147<sup>4</sup>, 158<sup>1-3</sup>.—τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα, *Amphictyonic decrees*, ἃ τοῖς Ἀμφ. ἔδοξεν. Cf. III. 14, τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τὰ γε δόξαντα. The older Athenian decrees began with ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

6. ὁ...παρασχὼν: cf. § 158<sup>3</sup>.

§ 158. 2. Ἀμφικτυονικὰς: see §§ 147, 156<sup>9</sup>.—καταφεύγει, *takes refuge*, opposed to φεύγει (1), *shuns*: "spielende Paronomasie." (Bl.)

3. προφάσεις ἐνδούς: cf. Thuc. II. 87<sup>33</sup>, οὐκ ἐνδῶσομεν πρόφασιν οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι.

5. μὴ λέγετε περιμόντες, *do not go about and tell*.—ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, i.e. by Philip: cf. εἰς ἀνὴρ (of Philip), XIX. 64. Philip (he says) could never have accomplished his purpose, had he not had such accomplices as Aeschines. Notice the effective collocation in ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου. (Bl.)



ένος τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἢ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἰς οὐτοσί, ὄν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθες 159 εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων 281 κακῶν αἴτιος. ὄν ὅπως ποτ' οὐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστρά- 5 φητε θαυμάζω. πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶν παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ 160 πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως

7. τῶν om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (add. mg.). ὧ γῆ καὶ ἄλλοι θεοὶ πάντες (??) late mg. Σ; ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ Σ, vulg.

§ 159. 1. οὐτοσί Σ, L<sup>1</sup> (ἐστὶν add. L<sup>2</sup>); οὗτος ἐστὶν vulg. εἰ om. V6.  
2. ἀλιτήριον (ι corr. from η?) Σ; ἀλητήριον O<sup>1</sup> (φθορέα mg.); ἀλειτήριον West., Bl.  
4. οὗτος ἦν A2, O (mg.). φύντων κακῶν Σ, vulg., Vöm., West.; κακῶν om. L<sup>2</sup>, B, Y, O, Bk., Dind., Lips., Bl. 6. ἐστὶν before ὡς Y.

§ 160. 1. τότε (for τούτῳ) V6. 3. ἀφίχθαι Σ (corr.). ἕνεκ' ἂν Σ, L; ἕνεκα vulg.

§ 159. 1. μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα, *with-  
out reserve.*

2. κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον, *a common curse and destroyer.* An ἀλιτήριος is a man who has sinned against the Gods and is thereby under a curse, which curse he transmits to others with whom he has to do; also an avenging divinity: cf. Aen. II. 573, Troiae et patriae communis Eriinnys (of Helen). See Andocides I. 130, 131: κληδὼν... ὅτι Ἰππώνικος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀλιτήριον τρέφει, ὃς αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέπει... οἰόμενος γὰρ υἱὸν τρέφειν ἀλιτήριον αὐτῷ ἔτρεφεν, ὃς ἀνατέτροφεν ἐκείνου τὸν πλοῦτον, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἅπαντα. Demosthenes has the word also in XIX. 226, τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις (of Aeschines and his party), and 197, τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων. Ἀλάστωρ is similarly used in both senses: see below § 296<sup>d</sup>, XIX. 305; see also Aeschyl. Eum. 236, δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα (one who has already been purified); Pers. 354, φανεῖς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν. Aeschines twice

(131, 157) calls Demosthenes τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος (see Blass).

4. τῶν φύντων κακῶν, *of the harvest of trees*: without κακῶν, which many omit, we should have the common saying about the harvest. Cic. Phil. II. 22. 55 perhaps supports κακῶν: ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti.

5. ὄν: object of both ἰδόντες and ἀπεστράφητε: the latter becomes transitive in the passive, like φοβέω, ἐκπλήσσω, etc.

7. πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας: i.e. so as to conceal the truth from you.

§§ 160—226. The orator now passes to his own agency in opposing the joint plot of Aeschines and Philip. See introductory note on §§ 126—226. After speaking of the enmity between Athens and Thebes, which men like Aeschines had encouraged (§§ 160—163), he gives a graphic account of the panic excited at Athens by Philip's seizure of Elatea, and

ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 5 Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων  
 161 ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν  
 γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου  
 φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν  
 ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν  
 5 Φίλιππον ἔαν ἀυξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν  
 φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις

4. ἀκούσαιτε Υ, Φ (corr.); ἀκούσετε Σ, L, B, vulg.; ἀκούσατε ΑΙ. 2; ἀκούετε Ο.  
 (See note below.) 5. ἡμῶν Ο.

§ 161. 2. ἡμᾶς Ο. τὰ τοῦ Φ. V6. 3. φρονούντων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ (corr.),  
 Α2, Ο (mg.), Φ (γρ); πραττόντων L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. 4. πολλ. φυλακ. V6. 5. ὁρᾶν  
 (for ἔαν) V6.

of the manner in which he took advantage of this emergency to bring Athens and Thebes to a better understanding and even to an alliance against the common enemy (§§ 168—226). Into this account he introduces (§§ 189—210) a most eloquent and earnest defence of the whole line of policy in opposition to Philip which Athens had followed chiefly by his advice. He pleads that Athens, with her glorious traditions, could have taken no other course, even if she had seen the fatal defeat at Chaeronea in advance. This is the most eloquent and impassioned passage in the oration; and it is addressed not merely to the court, but to the whole people and to future ages.

§ 160. 4. ἀκούσαιτε: this reading, though it has slight MS. authority, is necessary here, with ἐνεκ' ἄν in Σ and L, unless we admit ἀκούσετε ἄν. Σ often has ε for αι or αι for ε, from their identity in later pronunciation: see §§ 58<sup>8</sup>, 69<sup>2</sup>, 136<sup>3</sup>, 150<sup>5</sup>, 152<sup>6</sup>.

5, 6. τὰ ἔργα... τοὺς λόγους: *the actual labours*, contrasted with merely listening to the *account of them*. Cf. λόγῳ and τὰ ἔργα, Thuc. I. 22.

The orator introduces this continuation of his political history in an apologetic way, as in § 110 he had left it doubtful whether he should speak at all of these later acts, τὰ μέγιστα.....πεπραγμένων.

This is a part of the skilful device by which he divides the long account of his public life, while at the same time he reminds the court that the brilliant passage which follows is over and above what is needed to defend Ctesiphon (see § 126<sup>4</sup>), and asks their attention to it as a personal favour to himself.

§ 161. The orator recurs to the critical moment in the relations of Athens and Thebes, when both were astounded by the sudden seizure of Elatea, and the great question was whether Thebes should join Philip against Athens or Athens against the invader.

1. ὁρῶν: with παρορῶντας (5), φυλαττομένους, and ἔχοντας (M. T. 904).

2. ὑπὸ τῶν... διεφθαρμένων: expressing the *agency* by which the condition described in παρορῶντας etc. was effected, as if the participles were passive.

3. παρ' ἑκατέροις, i.e. in both Thebes and Athens. For Athens the great danger was that her old enmity against Thebes might prevent her from taking the only safe course, union with Thebes. For Philip's way of working, in such cases, see § 61. Dissen contrasts παρ' ἑκατέροις, apud utrosque seorsim, *in each city*, with ἀμφοτέροις (4), utrisque simul, *both*.

4. τὸ...αυξάνεσθαι: appositive to the omitted antecedent of δ (3), which is the object of παρορῶντας etc.

ετοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέ-  
 λουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν  
 ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον **162**  
 πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν,  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ'  
 ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεί. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὦ κίναδος,  
 κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατη- 5  
 γορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἑμοῖ, ἐκείνων πολὺ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἑμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν  
 συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν **163**  
 ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπερανα-  
 μένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους  
 282 ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἔνεκα

7. μὴ τοῦτο O. γένοιτο Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; γενήσῃται L<sup>2</sup>; γενήσεται vulg. 8. μόνον om. A2.  
 § 162. 3. καὶ (before περὶ) om. A2. πολλάκις om. V6. ἑαυτοῖς om. Σ<sup>1</sup>;  
 ἑαυτοῖς εἰς A1. 2. 4. ὁμολογοῦντας A2. ὡς (for ὦ) A1. κίναδος A1.  
 5. αἰσθάνει Σ; αἰσθάνη L; αἰσχύνη vulg.  
 § 163. 2. τούτους (corr. to τούτου) Σ. 3. Θηβαίους Σ, L, A1; τοὺς Θη. vulg.  
 4. ἡμᾶς V6.

7. ὅπως τοῦτο (τὸ προσκροῦεῖν) μὴ  
 γένοιτο: most MSS. have the more com-  
 mon γενήσεται (M. T. 339, 340).—παρα-  
 τηρῶν διετέλουν, *I kept continual watch.*

8. ταῦτα: the policy of friendship  
 with Thebes (ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, § 162<sup>2</sup>),  
 implied in ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο.

§ 162. 1. Ἀριστοφῶντα (see § 70<sup>4</sup>),  
 a leading statesman of the earlier period  
 and a strong friend of Thebes. Aesch.  
 says of him (III. 139), πλείστον χρόνον  
 τὴν τοῦ βουλευτικῆς ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν.—  
 Εὐβουλον (§ 70<sup>4</sup>): see Hist. § 12; Grote  
 XI. 387; Schaefer I. 186.

2. βουλομένους and ὁμογνωμονοῦντας  
 (4) are imperfect, past to εἰδὼς and διε-  
 τέλουν; but ἀντιλέγοντας (3), *though they*  
*opposed one another*, is present to ὁμογν.,  
 to which it is subordinate.—ταύτην  
 τὴν φιλίαν: the friendship for Thebes  
 during the oppressive Spartan supremacy,  
 which appeared in the aid privately sent  
 by Athens to Thebes when she expelled the  
 Spartan garrison from the Cadmea in

379 B.C. This friendship was broken after  
 Leuctra in 371. See § 98<sup>5</sup> and note.

4. οὓς: object of κολακεύων.

5. παρηκολούθεις is more than *you*  
*were one of their followers*; it means *you*  
*followed them round or hung on to them*  
*in a servile way.* Eubulus was one of  
 the *συνήγοροι* who supported Aesch. at  
 his trial for *παραπρεσβεία* (see Aesch. II.  
 184). The anonymous Life of Aeschines  
 makes him a clerk to both Eubulus and  
 Aristophon.

6. ἃ...ἐπιτιμᾶς: the charge of favour-  
 ing Thebes in the terms of the alliance in  
 339—338 B.C. (Aesch. 141—143).

§ 163. 1. ἐκεῖσ', i.e. *to the main*  
*point.*

2. ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων: συμ-  
 implies that, while Aesch. got up the  
 Amphissian war by himself, he had active  
 helpers in stirring up enmity at Athens  
 against Thebes. When all was ready,  
 Philip appeared at Elatea (ἐλθεῖν ἐφ'  
 ἡμᾶς, 4): cf. § 168<sup>3</sup>.



5 τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν  
 μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω  
 προήγαγον οὗτοι. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτ' ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
 τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων  
 εἴσεσθε. καὶ μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβῶν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

164 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἕκτη φθίνον-  
 τος, φυλῆς πρυτανευοῖσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν  
 γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἄς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων,  
 τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται  
 5 παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαινὼν τὰς  
 κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν  
 αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοϊαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς  
 10 συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει  
 καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἠρέθη-  
 σαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φυλάσιος,  
 Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

5. προεξανέστημεν (προσ- corr. to προ-) Σ. 6. οὐδ' ἂν F. ἂν om. V6.  
 ἀναλαβεῖν Σ, I<sup>1</sup>, A1; ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς (or αὐτοὺς) vulg. 7. οὗτοι. Σ (γρ), A1;  
 οὗτοι τὴν ἐχθραν Σ, A2, Φ (γρ), B (γρ); οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα L<sup>2</sup>, Bk; τὸν Φίλιππον δὴ  
 (λ over δὴ) L<sup>1</sup>, w. οὗτοι in mg. In mg. Σ: "γρ οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον  
 οὗτοι· οὐ προσγράφοντες τὴν ἐχθραν, ὡς εἶναι τὸ νόημα, προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸν  
 Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν ἐχθραν ὡς ἡ γραφὴ αὐτῆ ἐχει." 8. τούτων V6. 9. καί...  
 λαβῶν om. A1; λέγε (alone) V6.

For titles here and before § 165, Σ has ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ and ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ; and before  
 §§ 166 and 167 ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ twice (for ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ).

5. εἰ μὴ...μικρὸν, if we had not roused  
 ourselves a little too soon (for the success  
 of the plot): μικρὸν chiefly affects προ-.

6. ἀναλαβεῖν, to recover (intrans.): cf.  
 Plat. Rep. 467 B, ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 πόλιν ἀδύνατον ἀναλαβεῖν.—οὕτω with  
 μέχρι πόρρω, so far.

7. προήγαγον, carried it, i.e. the  
 quarrel with Thebes. I follow Σ (γρ) in  
 omitting τὴν ἐχθραν, though for a different  
 reason (see critical note): τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 would give the right sense, but no object  
 is needed.

8. ψηφισμάτων, ἀποκρίσεων: as

these documents were quoted to show  
 the enmity between Thebes and Athens  
 at the time of Philip's invasion, the ψη-  
 φίσματα were probably Athenian decrees  
 enacting measures hostile to Thebes, and  
 the replies were remonstrances or retali-  
 atory measures on the part of Thebes.  
 Nothing could be more absurd than the  
 two decrees against Philip and the two  
 letters of Philip which appear in the text.  
 See § 168<sup>2</sup>, where Philip is said to have  
 been elated (ἐπαρθεῖς) by the decrees and  
 the replies, i.e. by the evidence of hostility  
 which they showed.

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνηχιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, 165  
πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ παντὶ  
τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι  
283 τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, 5  
δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ  
πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι  
τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευθήται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν  
οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς  
Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κήρυξ Εὐνόμος 10  
Ἄναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

166

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεσιν, οὐκ  
ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι 5  
Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν  
φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς  
ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν  
μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημ- 10  
μελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατιθεμαι  
τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν  
περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς  
προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.]

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 167  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι  
284 τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὄντως ἐμοὶ ποιεῖτε.  
πυθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται  
φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν 5  
παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεργίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ  
μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ  
προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν  
εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθη καὶ

10 μάλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι  
περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ  
οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε  
τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

168 Οὕτω διαθεῖς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ  
τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀπο-  
κρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέ-  
λαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν  
5 καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντ' ἐν τῇ  
πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσαθ' ὅμως  
[αὐτὰ τὰ] ἀναγκαιότατα.

169 Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς

§ 168. 1. ἀλλήλους Y. 4. συμπνευσόντων all MSS.; συμπνευσάντων Elmsl.,  
Dind., Vöm., West., Lips., Bl. (See note below.) ὑμῶν (w. ἡ over ὑ) F, V6.  
5. ἐν om. A1. 7. αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκ. vulg.; αὐτὰ τὰ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>1</sup>; τὰ om. L<sup>2</sup>.

§ 169. 1. ἀγγέλλων O; ἀπαγγέλλων B.

§ 168. 1. οὕτω: i.e. as the docu-  
ments showed.

4. ὡς οὐδ' ἂν...συμπνευσάντων ἂν, i.e.  
*feeling* (ὡς) *that under no possible circum-*  
*stances would the Thebans and ourselves*  
*become harmonious*: συμπνευσάντων ἂν  
represents συμπνεύσαιμεν ἂν. The MSS.  
all have συμπνευσόντων ἂν, which Bekker  
retains. There would be no more ob-  
jection to the future participle with ἂν,  
representing the fut. indic. with ἂν,  
than to the latter, or to the fut. infin.  
with ἂν. It is generally allowed to stand  
in Plat. Apol. 30B; Dem. IX. 70, and  
XIX. 342. But here it would represent  
the future optative with ἂν, for which  
there is no recognized authority. More-  
over, the future of πνέω is not πνεύσω,  
but πνεύσομαι or πνευσοῦμαι, and this  
should be decisive (see Veitch). See  
M. T. 216; and for the repetition of ἂν,  
223.

6. μικρὰ ἀναγκαιότατα: see § 126<sup>4</sup>  
and note. Most MSS. give αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγ-  
καιότατα here, perhaps correctly.

§§ 169—180. Here follows the  
famous description of the panic in Athens  
when the news of the seizure of Elatea

arrived, and of the meeting of the As-  
sembly which was suddenly called to con-  
sider the alarming situation. This is a  
celebrated example of *διατύπωσις*, *vivid*  
*delineation*.

§ 169. 1. The succession of tenses,  
ἦν, ἦκε (*had come*), and κατείληπται (the  
direct form for the indirect), makes the  
narrative lively and picturesque at the  
outset. Much would have been lost  
if he had said ἦλθε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις  
ὡς κατελιημένη εἶη.—ὡς τοὺς πρυτά-  
νεις: the message came to the Prytan-  
es, the fifty senators of one of the ten tribes,  
who for their term of one-tenth of the  
year represented the authority of the  
State. Their office was the *θόλος* or  
*σκιὰς*, a round building with a cupola in  
the ἀγορά, adjoining the Senate house and  
the *μητρώων* with its record-office. There  
the *ἐπιστάτης* of the Prytan-  
es was expected to spend his whole day and night  
of office, with a third of the Prytan-  
es whom he had selected (Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>5</sup>), so  
as to be accessible in emergencies like  
the present; and there the State provided  
meals for all the Prytan-  
es. The *θόλος* is  
distinct from the ancient Prytaneum or



πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν 5 ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ

5. τοὺς om. O.

σαλπικτὴν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, F, Y, Φ; σαλπικτήν vulg.

City Hall. where certain privileged persons (*ἀείσιτοι*) had their meals at a public table, to which ambassadors and other guests of the State were sometimes invited.

3. τοὺς...σκηνῶν: cf. § 44<sup>3</sup>.

4. τὰ γέρρα, probably the wicker-work with which the booths (*σκῆναι*) in the market-place were covered. The word can mean also anything made of twigs, and is used of a wicker fence which enclosed the *ἐκκλησία* (see Harpocr. under *γέρρα*, and LIX. 90). But the close connection of the two clauses, *drove out those in the booths and burnt the γέρρα*, shows that the *γέρρα* which were burnt were taken from the booths. Otherwise there is no reason for driving the poor hucksters out at all. If it is said that this was done to prepare for the "monster meeting" the next morning, we must remember, first, that the Assembly was held in the Pnyx, not in the *ἀγορά*; and, secondly, that there was to be a meeting of the Senate before that of the Assembly, which would give time enough to make all necessary preparations after daybreak. To suppose, further, that the booths were torn to pieces and burnt on the spot after dark, merely to clear the *ἀγορά*, when there was no pressure of time, even if the place needed clearing at all, is to impute to the Prytanes conduct little short of madmen. Such a panic as this senseless proceeding would have caused was surely the last object which these guardians of the State could have had, when they left their supper unfinished and hastened into the market-place. Their

first object certainly was to secure a full meeting of the Assembly the next morning. It will be noticed that while some (*οἱ μὲν*) of the Prytanes were engaged in clearing the booths, others (*οἱ δὲ*) were summoning the ten Generals. The Generals and the Prytanes had the duty of calling special meetings of the Assembly (*ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτους*): see Thuc. IV. 118<sup>52</sup>, *ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις*, and II. 59<sup>11</sup> (of Pericles), *σύλλογον ποιήσας (ἐπι δ' ἐστρατήγει)*. There can, therefore, be hardly a doubt that the two acts were connected with summoning the Assembly. To do this effectually it was necessary to alarm the whole of Attica immediately; and the natural method for this was to light bonfires on some of the hills near Athens, which would be a signal to distant demes to light fires on their own hills. A fire on Lycabettus could thus give signals directly and indirectly to the whole of Attica, and probably this was understood as a call of the citizens to a special Assembly. As material for lighting signal fires might not always be on hand, it is likely that the dry covering of the booths struck the eyes of the Prytanes as they came out of their office, and that they took them in their haste for this purpose. Their high authority was needed to prevent resistance on the part of the owners of the booths.

5. σαλπικτὴν: to give signals with his trumpet.

7. τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν: see Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>7</sup>, *ἐπειδὴν συναγάγωσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἢ τὸν δῆμον*.

βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ <sup>285</sup>  
 πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος  
**170** ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλή καὶ  
 ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελέμεν' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν  
 ἤκουτα παρήγαγον κάκεινος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ τίς  
 ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; παρήει δ' οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ  
 5 κῆρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἀπάντων  
 μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων,  
 καλούσης δὲ τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ  
 σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνῆν ἀφήισι,  
**171** ταύτην κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι  
 εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,  
 πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ  
 βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβού-

8. ἐπορεύεσθε (αι over final ε) Σ; ἐπορεύεσθαι O<sup>1</sup>. 9. πᾶς ὁ δῆμος om. V6.

§ 170. 1. ἦλθεν Σ, L, Φ, A1. 2; εἰσῆλθεν vulg. 2. αὐτοῖς A1.  
 4. πολλάκι Y. 6. ἀπάντων om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. τῶν om. O. 7. καλούσης...  
 φωνῇ A1. 2; καλ. δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῇ Σ; τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς L,  
 vulg.; τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ Σ (γρ), Φ (γρ), Bk., Bl. with τῇ κ. φωνῇ in [ ]; τῇ  
 κοινῇ πατρίδος φωνῇ Vöm. 8. κατὰ τοὺς νόμους om. V6. 9. ἐστιν om.  
 F, O.

§ 171. 4. οἶδ' ὅτι Σ; εὔ οἶδ' ὅτι L, vulg. ἡβούλεσθε A1, V6.

9. χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι, proceed to business and pass a vote (προβούλευμα).

10. ἄνω καθῆτο, i.e. the people in their impatience were already seated in the Pnyx: ἄνω shows that the Assembly sat on a hill, probably in the place now known as the Pnyx. See xxv. 9 and 20, τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβαίνειν. For the identity of this famous place, see Crow in Papers of the American School at Athens, IV. pp. 205—260.

§ 170. 1. ἦλθεν ἡ βουλή, i.e. when, after the adjournment of the Senate, the senators entered the Assembly. The common reading εἰσῆλθεν wants the best ms. authority.

2. ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις: the fifty Prytanes were still the chief men in both Senate and Assembly, though at this time (certainly since 377 B.C.) the duty of presiding in both bodies was given to nine

πρόεδροι, who were chosen by lot each day from the senators of the other nine tribes by the ἐπιστάτης of the Prytanes (Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>7-9</sup>). The πρόεδροι had an ἐπιστάτης of their own, called ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων (Aesch. III. 39). This is the office held by Demosthenes in the last meeting of the Assembly before the departure of the second embassy in 346: see Aesch. III. 74; Hist. § 38.—τὸν ἤκουτα, the messenger who had brought the news: cf. § 28<sup>5</sup>.

3. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; the regular formula for opening a debate: cf. § 191<sup>2</sup>. Aeschines (III. 2 and 4) laments the omission of the additional words, τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, the Solonic form.

7. τὸν ἐροῦνθ' = ὅς ἐρεῖ, the man to speak (M. T. 565): cf. § 285<sup>3</sup>.

λεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς 5  
 ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ  
 πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς 172  
 καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἕκεινη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρ'  
 ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς,  
 καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ  
 Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' 5  
 ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν οὐτ' εἰ  
 πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι  
 οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ 173  
 286 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν  
 ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε  
 ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς

7. ἐπιδιδόντες A2. 8. ταῦτ' V6.

§ 172. 3. ἐξ ἀρχῆς (repeated before ὀρθῶς, l. 4) Σ, L; erased in l. 4 in Σ, in l. 3  
 in L. 5. μηδ' Σ, L, A1; μήτ' vulg. 6. πόρρωθεν Σ<sup>1</sup>; πόρρ. ἐπιμελῶς Σ<sup>2</sup>,  
 L, vulg. εἰ (before εὐνοὺς) om. B. 7. εἴσεσθε (αι above) Σ; ἔσεσθαι O.

§ 173. 1. οὗτος L; om. O. 2. πρὸς (above εἰς) B. ἡμᾶς O. ἅμα  
 (for ἅ μου) B. 3. προσσχόντες Φ, Bk., Dind., Lips., Bl.; προσχόντες Σ, L,  
 Vöm., West.; προσέχοντες vulg.

§ 171. 5. οἱ τριακόσιοι, *the Three Hundred*: see note on § 103<sup>3</sup>.

6. ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα: see note on § 139<sup>11</sup>.

7. τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις, *the large contributions*, made after the battle of Chaeronea (Hist. § 80): μετὰ ταῦτα refers to the events which ended in that battle.

§ 172. 3. παρηκολουθηκότα, *one who had followed the track of events*. See XIX. 257 (end), and Ev. Luc. i. 3 παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς (with ἄνωθεν here cf. πόρρωθεν in l. 6, below).

7. οὐδὲν...εἴσεσθαι, i.e. *was none the more likely to know*. I retain ἤμελλεν here and in § 192<sup>4</sup>, and ἔμελλον in § 101<sup>4</sup>, with the best MSS. and most editors. Cf. XIX. 159, οὐ συστρατεύσειν ἔμελλον (so the best MSS.), lit. *they were not going to join him* (in that case): so hoc facturum, nisi venisset (M. T. 428).

§ 173. 1. οὗτος, *that man*, whom

ὁ καιρὸς...ἐκάλει (§ 172<sup>1</sup>): cf. § 282<sup>9</sup>, οὗτος εὐρέθης.

2. ἅ...ἀκούσατε: relative as obj. of imperative, as we say *which do at your peril*. For this in οἶσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον; and similar expressions, see M. T. 253, and Postgate in Trans. of Cambr. Philol. Soc. III. 1, pp. 50—55.

3. προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, *attentively*, cf. *animum advertere*.

4. τὴν...ἔλιπον, *I did not desert my post of devotion to the state*, i.e. I was never guilty of *λιποταξία* here. This military figure was a favourite of Demosthenes. See III. 36, μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἢν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς... κατέλιπον (see Westermann's note); XV. 32, 33 (with the figure often repeated); XIX. 9, 29; XXI. 120, λελουπέναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν. The same figure is seen in ἐξηταξόμην (l. 6), in ἐξήτασαι (§ 197<sup>9</sup>), ἐξητάζετο (§ 217<sup>6</sup>), ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (§ 277<sup>6</sup>), and in ἐξέτασις, *a mustering* (as



5 εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.

174 Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι

“Τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἠγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν  
5 ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατεία ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἴν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσεται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς

175 ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει” ἔφην “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατήσαι ἐνήην, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῶ

5. ἐξέλιπον V6. 6. ἡμῶν O. 8. τῆς πάσης ἄλλης πολιτ. A2; πάσης τῆς πολ. Φ; τῆς πολ. V6.

§ 174. 2. τῶν Θηβαίων A2, B (corr.). φίλων Θηβαίων L; Φιλίππῳ φίλων A1; φίλων Φιλίππῳ vulg.; φίλων om. Σ. 3. δ' (for γὰρ) V6. 5. νῦν ὄντα A1. 6. ποιήσεται Σ (αι over ε), L (τε erased), O. τὰ ἐν Θήβαις Σ, A1, B (mg.); τὰ ἐν Θηβαίοις vulg.; θήκαις (for Θήβαις) L<sup>1</sup>. 7. ἔφην ταῦτα Σ; ταῦτα ἔφην vulg., Bl.

§ 175. 3. εὐτρέπισται Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ἠυτρέπισε O (mg.).

of troops), a call for (§§ 310<sup>2</sup>, 320<sup>9</sup>). Here there is always an idea of being *counted in* on one side or the other of some contest.

See Jackson's note on *εὐνοια* in *Trans. of Cambr. Philol. Soc.* II. p. 115, where he explains the word in *Arist. Pol.* I. 6 (1255<sup>a</sup>, 17) as “loyalty, i.e. the willing obedience which an inferior renders to a kind and considerate superior.” He refers to *Xen. Oec.* VII. 37, IX. 5, 12, XII. 5—8, XV. 5, *Hdt.* v. 24, *Polus Pythag.* in *Stob. Flor.* IX. 54 (Mein.), *οἰκετᾶν δὲ ποτὶ δεσπότης εὐνοια, δεσποτᾶν δὲ ποτὶ θεράποντας καδεμονία*, and other passages, especially *Arist. Eth.* IX. 5, §§ 3, 4, ὅλως δ' εὐνοια δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιείκειάν τινα γίνεται, ὅταν τῷ φανῆ καλὸς τις ἢ ἀνδρείος ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. These examples show that εὐνοια may mean *devotion* based on any superiority or merit, including *loyalty* of a subject to a prince or of a servant to his master (even of a dog to his mistress), *devotion* to a benefactor, and even enthusiasm for the success of a contestant

in the games (felt even by a stranger). Above it means a good citizen's loyal devotion to the state.

5. λέγων...ἐξηταζόμεν (see last note), *I was found ready* (at my post), when the test came, *speaking and proposing measures*. See West. and Bl. Fox (p. 162) thinks that the military figure may refer to the charge of *λιποταξία* at Chaeronea, which Aeschines repeatedly makes against Demosthenes: see *Aesch.* 152, 159, 175, 176, 244, 253.

7. πολλῶ...ἐμπειρότεροι, *far more experienced for the future in the whole administration of the state* (πολιτείας).

§ 174. 1. εἶπον ὅτι: introducing a direct quotation (M.T. 711).

2. ὡς...Φιλίππῳ, *in the belief* (ὡς) *that Philip can depend on the Thebans*: cf. §§ 95<sup>4</sup>, 228<sup>2</sup>.—θορυβουμένους, *disturbed*: cf. *θορύβου*, § 169<sup>6</sup>.

6. ἴνα...ποιήσεται, i.e. to prepare Thebes for his appearance there as a friend: cf. *εὐτρέπισται* (i.e. *εὐτρεπεῖς πεποιήται*), § 175<sup>3</sup>.

καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. τί οὖν  
 βούλεται, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον 5  
 δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ  
 φίλους ἐπάραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους  
 καταπλήξαι, ἵν' ἡ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ  
 ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' 176  
 ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται  
 Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς  
 ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὗξαιτο  
 Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν 5  
 287 νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππι-  
 σάντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφοτέροι. ἂν μέντοι  
 πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονικεῖν  
 περὶ ᾧ ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν

5. εἵνεκα Σ, L (cf. §§ 120<sup>7</sup>, 144<sup>2</sup>). ἵνα πλησίον Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Φ, Vöm.; ἵνα om. vulg.  
 6. αὐτοῦ V6. 7. ἐπαραί Σ; ἐπάραι (as opt. w. ἵνα) L; ἐπάραι vulg. ποιῆσαι  
 Σ, L, vulg.; ἐπ. καὶ θρασ. ποι. Σ, L, A1. 2; θρασ. ποι. καὶ ἐπ. vulg. 8. κατα-  
 πλήξαι om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added below the line).

§ 176. 1. τοίνυν Σ; οὖν L, vulg. προαιρηθησόμεθα O, V6. 3. ὑμᾶς V6.  
 4. ἃ ἂν MSS.; ἂν Vöm., West., Bl. εὗξετο (αι over ε) Σ. 6. αὐτῷ  
 (-ον over -ω) B. πάντων om. A2. 8. πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ L; πεισθήτεμοι Σ;  
 πεισθήτέ μοι vulg. φιλονικεῖν O. 9. γενήσεσθε Y, Φ. τὰ (before δέοντα) om. L.

§ 175. 5. εἵνεκα: see note on § 120<sup>7</sup>.  
 —πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας, by making a  
 display of force in their neighbourhood,  
 Elatea being near enough to Thebes to  
 make Philip's presence there alarming.

7. ἐπάραι (cf. ἐπαρθεῖς, § 168<sup>2</sup>), with  
 ποιῆσαι and καταπλήξαι, depends on  
 βούλεται understood, this answering τί  
 βούλεται; as the following ἵν'...βιασθῶσιν  
 answers τίνος ἕνεκα;

§ 176. 1. εἰ μὲν...προαιρησόμεθ':  
 this most vivid form of future supposition  
 here expresses what the orator wishes  
 to make especially prominent by way  
 of warning and admonition, though it  
 happens that this is not what he wishes  
 or what actually occurs. It is an ex-  
 cellent case of Gildersleeve's "minatory  
 and monitory conditions" (see Trans. of  
 Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1876, p. 13, and

M.T. 447, with footnote). On the other  
 hand, ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ (7) happens  
 to express what he most desires and what  
 actually occurs. This example shows the  
 mistake of supposing that the indicative  
 in protasis expresses more "reality" than  
 the subjunctive. Compare the antithesis  
 of subjunctive and optative in §§ 147, 148,  
 with notes.

2. δύσκολον, unpleasant, euphemistic:  
 cf. § 189<sup>b</sup>.

4. ὡς ἐν...μερίδι, looking at them (ὡς)  
 in the light of enemies (M.T. 864): cf.  
 § 292<sup>b</sup> and III. 31, ἐν ὑπηρέτων...μέρει.

6. μιᾷ γνώμῃ, uno consensu.

7. ἀμφοτέροι, Thebans and Philip.

8. πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένησθε, devote  
 yourselves to considering: cf. VIII. 11, πρὸς  
 τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι.

9. δόξειν...διαλύσειν: sc. ἐμέ.

177 καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν  
 φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντ' ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα  
 μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ  
 τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστίν  
 5 ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία  
 καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις  
 ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερ' ἐξ ἴσου  
 γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι,  
 ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοη-  
 10 θήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεία, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθή-  
 178 σετ' ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴη. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω  
 δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν

10. τῇ πόλει κίνδυνον B.

§ 177. 1. τί οὖν φημι; δεῖν πρῶτον vulg. 2. δεῖν om. V6. 4. ἡμῶν Σ,  
 Φ (γρ), ΑΙ; ὑμῶν V6; om. L, vulg. ἐστίν Σ, Φ (γρ); ἐσθ' ΑΙ; om. L, vulg.  
 5. Ἐλευσινάδε Σ; Ἐλευσινάδε L<sup>1</sup>. 6. ἡμᾶς Α2. 7. ἡμέτερα ΑΙ, Σ  
 (corr. from ὑμ-?). 8. παρρησιάζεσθαι Σ, -αι by corr. from ε(?), as in ἐπανεῖναι (2)  
 and μεταθέσθαι (3). ἰδοῦσιν Σ, L, V6; εἰδόσιν vulg.; εἰδοῦσιν ΑΙ, Υ, Φ.  
 9. παρέστη ἢ Α2. 11. βοηθήσητε Σ; om. L. 12. ἐάν Σ, L; ἄν vulg.  
 § 178. 1. κελεύω O (only in mg.). 2. κατὰ τῶν V6.

10. τὸν...τῇ πόλει: for this order of words see §§ 190<sup>2</sup>, 197<sup>8</sup>, 220<sup>3</sup>; VIII. 21, XXI. 63, XXV. 40; and for the common order §§ 179<sup>6</sup>, 188<sup>4</sup>. See West., who notices "die so passend gewählten Composita," ἐφ-εστηκότα and δια-λύσειν.

§ 177. 3. μεταθέσθαι, to turn about, explained by φοβεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων.

4. ἡμῶν and ἐστίν are omitted by West. and Bl., though they are found in Σ. They are not needed.

5. Ἐλευσινάδε, to the plain of Eleusis, "but no further, lest a friendly demonstration should pass for a menace at Thebes" (Simcox). See note on § 178<sup>3</sup>. This was a convenient place for the army to encamp, and they would be within an easy march of Thebes. The mountain road to Thebes by Phyle was more direct, but rougher and with no good camping place.—τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία: this term properly included all citizens between 18 and 60: see Arist. Pol. Ath.

42, 4—6 and 34—37. But those between 18 and 20 always remained at home as φρουροί; while those between 50 and 60 were not regularly called into service and served as *δαιτηταί*, or *public arbiters* (Arist. Pol. Ath. 53, 20—37). Here the 1000 ἰππεῖς are excluded from οἱ ἐν ἡλικία. See also Lycurg. 39: αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονόσι καθειστήκεσαν, i.e. when the news of the defeat at Chaeronea came, showing that those above fifty were not in the battle.

7. ἐξ ἴσου, on an equality with Philip's friends.

9. τοῖς πωλοῦσι, to those who would sell (conative): M. T. 25.

11. ὑπάρχεθ' ἔτοιμοι, you are ready at hand.

§ 178. 2. ποιῆσαι...στρατηγῶν, i.e. to give the envoys (by decree) concurrent authority with the board of generals.



στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκείσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. 5 μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς). ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δ' ἄμεινον ἢ ἑκεῖνοι προορωμένων· ἵν' εἰάν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ 288 βουλόμεθ' ἄμεινον διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου 10 τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν,

3. δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκείσε Σ, L, A1; ἐκ. δεῖ βαδ. O; δεῖ ἐκ. βαδ. vulg. 4. χρήσασθαι Σ, L, A1; χρήσεσθαι F, O; χρήσεσθε vulg. 5. παραινῶ· τούτῳ Σ, L, B, V6; τούτῳ παραινῶ· πάνυ vulg. προσέχετε (σ erased) Σ. 6. δεῖσθαι Σ (w. + over αι), L, F, Φ, O; δεῖσθε vulg. 7. ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Σ, L, F, Φ; ἐπαγγέλλεσθε A1; ἐπαγγείλασθε vulg. ἂν Σ, L; εἰάν vulg. ἐκείνων μὲν A1; ἐκεῖνων ὄντων L. 8. ἐσχάτοις Σ, L; ἐσχ. κινδύνοις vulg. κείνοι Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Φ; ἐκείνοι A1, B<sup>2</sup>; κείνων L<sup>2</sup>; ἐκείνων F, B<sup>1</sup>. τὸ μέλλον before προορωμένων L, vulg.; om. Σ; after προορ. Σ (γρ). 10. βουλόμεθα Σ. σχήματος A1. 11. ἂν Σ, L; εἰάν vulg. κατὰ

3. **πότε...ἐκείσε**; this question is made a genitive with τοῦ. The subject of βαδίζειν is ὑμᾶς, the Athenian army (West. makes it πρέσβεις). The embassy probably departed for Thebes at once, so as to lose no time in securing the confidence of the Thebans; but the army could not march further than Eleusis until it was invited by Thebes to cross her frontier. This was done in due time (§ 215<sup>1</sup>), after negotiations at Thebes (§§ 211—214). To facilitate this movement when the summons should come, the people were asked to empower the embassy at Thebes, in concurrence with the generals at Eleusis, to order a march to Thebes at any moment, and to decide all questions about the march itself (τῆς ἐξόδου).

4. **χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι**, to manage the (diplomatic) business.

5. **τούτῳ...νοῦν**: this special call for close attention was made to excite the audience with the expectation of hearing just what the embassy was to ask of the Thebans, and to impress them the more by the unexpected answer, μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν. It was indeed an unheard of thing for an embassy to be sent to a semi-hostile state in such an emergency, with no demands or even

requests, but with an unconditional offer of military help whenever it might be asked for. Aeschines does not fail to misrepresent this noble act of Demosthenes, and to criticise the course of the embassy: see III. 145, τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος, καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν.

8. **ἡμῶν...προορωμένων** (also with ὡς), on the ground that we foresee (the course of events) better than they (τὸ μέλλον is omitted with Σ): cf. τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι προορᾶν, Plat. Theaet. 166 A.

9. **ἵν'...ᾧμεν διωκημένοι**, that we may (in that case) have accomplished what we wish: the perfect subjunctive here and in l. 13 (ἢ πεπραγμένον) expresses future-perfect time, in contrast to the simple future time of πράξωμεν and ἐγκαλῶσιν (M.T. 103).

10. **προσχήματος**, ground of action: πρόσχημα is what appears on the outside, which may be either mere show or (as here) an honest exhibition of the truth. Cf. the double meaning of πρόφασις, ground of action or pretext; and see πρόθυρα and σχῆμα in Plat. Rep. 365 C.

11. **κατατυχεῖν**, to succeed (= ἐπιτυχεῖν, Hesych.), acc. to Bl., is not elsewhere

ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.”

- 179** Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, 5 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. καὶ μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.
- 180** Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην

τυχήν A2, F; καὶ κατατυχεῖν B (γρ); κατατύχην L<sup>1</sup> (w. γρ ἀτυχεῖν above), B<sup>1</sup>; κατατυχεῖν L<sup>2</sup>. 12. αὐτοῖς Σ, L; ἐαυτοῖς vulg. ἐάν V6. ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν Σ, L; ἐξαμάρτωσιν vulg. ὑμῖν A2. 13. μηδὲ ταπεινὸν om. V6.

§ 179. 5. ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων L, vulg.; διὰ πάντων om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 6. ὑμῖν om. A1.

§ 180. 1. σέ L; σε vulg. ὦ Αἰσχ. A1.

found in classic writers; but κατατυχεῖν occurs in Arist. Pol. IV. (VII.) 11, 1, in a similar sense.

12. αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, *may have themselves to blame*.

13. ἢ πεπραγμένον: see note on l. 9.

§ 179. 1. καὶ παραπλήσια: we have here only a single passage of what must have been one of the most eloquent speeches of Demosthenes.

3. οὐκ εἶπον μὲν...Θηβαίους: a most famous example of *climax* (κλίμαξ, *ladder*), in which the antitheses of μὲν and δὲ give a wonderful effect. Each of the three leading negatives (οὐκ, οὐδ', οὐδ') introduces a pair of clauses of which the second is negative, and which *as a whole* it negatives. Thus the first οὐκ negatives the compound idea, *I spoke, but proposed no measures*; then the positive conclusion thus attained, *I did propose measures*, is taken as an assumption in the next step. Without the help of μὲν and δὲ the mixture of negatives would have made hopeless confusion. Quintilian (IX. 3, 55) thus translates the passage, skilfully using *quidem* for μὲν and *sed* for δὲ: *non enim dixi quidem sed non scripsi, nec scripsi quidem sed non obii legationem, nec obii quidem sed non persuasi Thebanis*.

6. ἀπλῶς, *without reserve, absolutely*. — τοὺς...κινδύνους: for the order see note on § 176<sup>10</sup>.

7. τὸ ψήφισμα...γενόμενον: cf. Aesch. III. 25, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι, and II. 160, ποῖον (νόμον) γενέσθαι κωλύσας.

§ 180. While the clerk is preparing to read the decree, the orator interrupts his argument and (as frequently happens in such cases) amuses the audience by a few jokes at his opponent's expense.

1. τίνα βούλει...θῶ; (M. T. 287), *whom will you that I shall suppose you, and whom myself, to have been on that day?* εἶναι is imperfect infinitive (= ἦσθα) with θῶ, which in this sense takes the infinitive of indirect discourse: cf. Aesch. III. 163, βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι; We see from Plat. Rep. 372 E, εἰ βούλεσθε καὶ φλεγματούσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν, that βούλει or βούλεσθε was the principal verb in this construction, and not parenthetical (like *κελεύετε* in εἶπω κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε; Dem. IX. 46), though it may have been the reverse when such expressions were first used. We have, in fact, a *parataxis* of two independent sentences, not yet quite developed into a leading and a dependent sentence, like *cave facias, visne hoc videamus?* etc. So soon as the

τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδο-  
 ρούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἦρω  
 τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρε-  
 σφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῶ ποτ' Οἰνόμαον κακῶς 5  
 ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς  
 ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος  
 ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος

2. λυδορούμενος (οἱ over υ) Σ. 3. Βάτταλον Σ (but Βάταλος l. 7); Βάταλον (ππ  
 by corr.) and Βάταλος L; Βάτ. vulg. ἦρω (a erased) Σ; ἦρω (a over ω) L;  
 ἦροα O; ἦρω A1. 5. κακὸς κακῶς A2; καὶ κακῶς Y; ὑποκρινόμενος (after κακῶς)  
 vulg., om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 7. ἐγὼ om. A2. Βάτταλος, see l. 3. 8. σοι (for σὺ) A1.

language allowed a conjunction to connect the subjunctive to βούλει (or θέλεις), we find, for example, θέλετε εἶπω; developed into θέλετε ἵνα εἶπω; as in the New Testament: from this comes the modern θέλετε νὰ εἶπω; and perhaps the common future θὰ (=θέλετε νὰ?) εἶπω, *I shall say*.

2. βούλει ἑμαυτὸν: sc. θῶ εἶναι;—ὃν ...καλέσαις, i.e. *as you would call me*, etc.

3. Βάτταλον: this nickname of Demosthenes, which the orator said was given him by his nurse (Aesch. I. 126), probably referred to his lean and sickly look in childhood and youth; and the attempts of Aeschines to give it an opprobrious or even obscene meaning (as in I. 131) are probably mere jibes. See Plut. Dem. 4, which gives the most explicit account.—μηδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, *not even a hero of the common kind*: see note on ὢν ἐτυχεν, § 130<sup>3</sup>.

4. ἀλλὰ...σκηνῆς, *but one of those (great) heroes of the stage*.—Κρεσφόντην, in the Cresphontes of Euripides, in which Merope has the chief part: cf. Arist. Eth. III. I, 17.

5. Κρέοντα: Aeschines played Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles as τριταγωνιστής: see XIX. 247, ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρέτων ἐστὶν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.—Οἰνό-

μαον: i.e. this part in the Oenomaus of Sophocles, which represented the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaus, by which Pelops won the hand of Hippodameia. This was the subject of one of the pediment-groups of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.—κακῶς ἐπέτριψας, *you wretchedly murdered* (as we say of a bad actor): the object ὃν may be understood of either Oenomaus himself or the part. The anonymous life of Aeschines (7) gives a story, told by Demochares, a nephew of Demosthenes, that Aeschines fell on the stage in acting this part: ὑποκρινόμενον Οἰνόμαον δῖσκοντα Πέλοπα αἰσχρῶς πεσεῖν. As Oenomaus was finally killed, there is probably a double meaning in κακῶς ἐπέτριψας. See Hor. Sat. I. 10, 36: *turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona*, with Dissen's note, "cuius caedem ille miseris versiculis narravit." In the deme of Collytus dramas were performed at the Lesser (or country) Dionysia: ἐκ Κολλυτῶ is an additional slur on the tragic performance of Aeschines. See Aesch. I. 157, *πρώην ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις κωμῶδων ὄντων ἐν Κολλυτῶ*. See Ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, § 242<sup>5</sup>.

6. τότε refers generally to time; κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν to a critical moment.

7. Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου: Aeschines was of the deme Κοθωκίδαί. The order is chiasitic with Παιανιεὺς Βάτταλος.



ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην  
 10 ἔπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

- 181** [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρελη- 289 λυθῶτι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας  
 5 πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βία καὶ  
**182** τῇ ὀμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε  
 5 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ  
**183** καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζόμενας, τὰς δὲ ἀνα-  
 5 στάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἠγείται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταδουλουμένους.  
**184** διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἤρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν

9. δ' ἅπαντα ΑΙ.    ᾧ (for ὅσα) ΑΙ.    10. ἔπραττον om. Υ.    μοι Σ, L, ΑΙ; om. vulg.

§§ **181—187** contain the spurious “decree of Demosthenes.” Its date, the 16th of Scirophorion (June or July), brought hopeless confusion into the chronology of the campaign before Chaeronea. See Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* II. under 338 B.C., and his attempt to reconcile impossible dates in Appendix XVI. The real decree was passed in the autumn or early winter of 339—338 B.C., the year of the Archon Lysimachides. The style of the document is a ridiculous parody of that of

Demosthenes (see § 182), and its length was perhaps suggested by the remark of Aeschines (III. 100) on another decree of Demosthenes, *ψήφισμα μακρότερον τῆς Ἰλιάδος*. Lord Brougham’s remarks on this document, written of course in full faith in its genuineness, are now interesting. He says (p. 181): “The style of this piece is full of dignity, and the diction perfectly simple as well as chaste, with the solemnity of a State paper, but without the wordiness or technicality.”

290 χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς,  
 διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατη-  
 ρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν 5  
 καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ  
 τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἰππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσινιάδε  
 ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας,  
 πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν  
 Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν κατα- 185  
 πλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν  
 μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ 5  
 ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐσιν Ἕλλησι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου  
 ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ 186  
 ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον  
 οὔτε τῆ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκειται δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας·  
 καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοπον- 5  
 νησίων τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες  
 τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν  
 Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα  
 291 πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλόανθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους·  
 διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε 187  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.  
 πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάν-  
 δρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης 5  
 Σωφίλου Φλυεὺς, Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ 188  
 κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ

§ 188. I. ἐγίνετο Υ, Φ; ἐγίνετο Σ, L, AI; ἐγένετο vulg.

§ 188. I. Αὕτη...πρώτη, *this was the first step taken and the first settlement effected in our relations with Thebes: ἐγίνετο*, if we take this rather than the Vulg. ἐγένετο, refers to the progress of

the business in coming to a settlement. See Weil's note: "κατάστασις est ici le contraire de παραχῆ." Cf. xx. 11, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐν ἤλθε καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐκείνα κατέστη (after the rule of the Thirty),

ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν  
 5 ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου  
 τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν  
 189 ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν  
 ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέ-  
 ρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται,  
 καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ

4. τὸν τότε περιστάντα τῇ πόλει B.

6. μὴ τοίνυν A1.

§ 189. 1. οὐδὲ Σ, L (γρ); οὐδενὶ Σ (γρ), A1; ἐν οὐδενὶ L, vulg. 2. οὐδὲν  
 (before εἰκότες) vulg., om. O; ουδενι or ουδεν Σ<sup>1</sup> (now nearly obliterated). 3. μὲν  
 γε Σ; μὲν γὰρ L, vulg. 4. ἑαυτὸν Σ, L, A1; αὐτὸν vulg. τῷ καιρῷ Σ, L;  
 τοῖς καιροῖς vulg.

and Ar. Ran. 1003, ἡνίκ' ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα  
 λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβῃς. Hermogenes,  
 περὶ ἰδεῶν I. 9 (III. p. 247 W.), quotes  
 this passage and § 299<sup>4</sup>, οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα  
 κ.τ.λ., as instances of ἀπόστασις and ἀναί-  
 ρεσις, with the remark, ἄλλως δὲ τὰ ἀσυνδέ-  
 τως εἰσαγόμενα, εἰ μακρὰ εἴη τὰ κῶλα, ποιεῖ  
 λαμπρὸν τὸν λόγον, ταῖς ἐννοίαις κᾶν ἀκ-  
 μαῖος ἦ.

4. παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ νέφος, *to pass by  
 like a cloud, or to vanish like a passing  
 cloud.* The simplicity of this simile was  
 much admired by the Greek rhetoricians,  
 who quote it nine times (see Spengel's  
 index). See Longinus on the Sublime, 39,  
 4: ὑψηλὸν γε τοῦτο δοκεῖ νόημα, καὶ ἔστι  
 τῷ ὄντι θαυμάσιον, ὃ τῷ ψήφισματι ὁ Δη-  
 μοσθένης ἐπιφέρει... ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας  
 οὐκ ἔλαττον τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ πεφώνηται. He  
 then discourses on the fatal effect which  
 would result from a change in the order  
 of the words, or from the omission or  
 addition of a single syllable (as ὡς νέφος  
 or ὥσπερ εἰ νέφος), though the sense  
 would not be changed: τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει,  
 οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ἔτι σημαίνει. Hermogenes  
 περὶ ἰδεῶν (III. p. 367 W.) censures the  
 introduction of τὰ πρὸ τούτων... ὑπὸ τούτων  
 between this clause and the preceding  
 αὐτῆ... πρώτῃ, which, he says, διέκοψε καὶ  
 ἦττον ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν λόγον) φανῆ-  
 ναι λαμπρὸν.

6. τούτων, i.e. *than my measures.*

In the last sentence of § 188, the orator

suddenly breaks off his narrative of the  
 negotiation with Thebes, and digresses  
 into a most eloquent defence of the policy  
 of Athens in resisting Philip, and of his  
 own conduct as her responsible leader.  
 See note on §§ 160—226.

§ 189. 1. σύμβουλος, *statesman.*—  
 συκοφάντης: no modern word, least of  
 all the English *sycophant*, gives the full  
 meaning of this expressive term, though  
 the same combination of malicious in-  
 former, dirty pettifogger, common slan-  
 derer and backbiter, is unhappily still to  
 be seen. Plutarch (Dem. 14) quotes a  
 reply of Demosthenes to the people when  
 they urged him to undertake a certain  
 prosecution: ὑμεῖς ἐμοί... συμβούλω μὲν  
 κᾶν μὴ θέλητε χρήσεσθε, συκοφάντη δὲ  
 οὐδ' ἐὰν θέλητε. The word must have  
 referred originally to the petty form of  
 prosecution for violation of the revenue  
 laws known as φάσις, in which half of  
 the penalty went to the informer. See  
 Ar. Eq. 300: καὶ σε φαίνω τοῖς πρυτά-  
 νεσιν ἀδεκατέτους τῶν θεῶν ἱρὰς ἔχοντα  
 κοιλίας. The relation of the word to  
 σῦκον is very doubtful. Perhaps the in-  
 significance of a fig as the basis of a  
 process at law may have suggested συκο-  
 φάντης as = σῦκα φαίνων: see φήγας κυνίδιον  
 Σεριφίων, Ar. Ach. 542.

4. ὑπεύθυνον, *responsible* in the full  
 Attic sense, e.g. liable to the εἶθναί and  
 to the γραφὴ παρανόμων.



καιρῶ, τῶ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἠνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν 5  
 τι δύσκολον συμβῆ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ 190  
 εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν  
 ποιούμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως  
 εἴ τι ἄλλ' ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. 5  
 εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἐόρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε  
 πραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ'  
 ἔστι μήτ' ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον,  
 292 τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ  
 ἐνόητων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ 191  
 κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;  
 οὐ τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; οὐδὲ  
 τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι; σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου  
 κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, 5  
 ἐγὼ παριῶν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον·

§ 190. 2. τοῦ τε ΑΙ; τοῦ τότε V6; τοῦ Ο. 4. δεῖσαι τί L; τι δεῖσαι Φ;  
 τι om. ΑΙ. ἦ (corr.) ὅλως Σ. 5. τι om. ΑΙ. 6. ἐστίν ΑΙ. ὅ τι τις Σ,  
 vulg.; ὅ τι τις L; ὅ τις Ο. ἐώρακεν all MSS., Bk.; ἐόρακεν later edd. (see note on  
 § 64<sup>9</sup>). 8. ἔχοι τις Α2.

§ 191. 1. ἐποίησα ἐγὼ ΑΙ. 3. αἰτιᾶσθαι Σ, L, ΑΙ; αἰτιάσασθαι vulg.  
 6. παριῶν ΑΙ; περιῶν L; περιων (i above) Σ; παρελλῶν vulg. ἐπει ΑΙ.

6. δύσκολον: cf. § 176<sup>2</sup>.—βασκαίνει: Harpocr. ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰτιᾶται καὶ μέμφεται καὶ συκοφαντεῖ· Δημοσθ. ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος.

§ 190. 1. ἦν μὲν οὖν resumes the thought of the last sentence of § 188.

2. τοῦ...ἀνδρὸς: cf. LVII. 49. For the order see note on § 176<sup>10</sup>.

3. τῶν δικ. λόγων: with καιρὸς (West., Bl.), or with φροντίζοντος.—τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιούμαι, i.e. I go so far beyond what could be asked of me.

5. ἐνῆν: used personally with τι ἄλλο: cf. ὅσα ἐνῆν, § 193<sup>4</sup>, and XXI. 41. So ἐνόητων (10): such participles are very often personal (M. T. 761).—ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην: cf. § 192<sup>5</sup>, τὴν προαίρεσίν μου τῆς πολιτείας.—ἀδικεῖν, in its so-called perfect sense (M. T. 27).

6. τότε πραχθὲν = εἰ τότε ἐπράχθη.

7. τοῦτ'...δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, I say this ought not to have escaped me (at the time): δεῖν...λαθεῖν represents ἔδει ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν.

7,8. εἰ δὲ...τήμερον: for this compound protasis with a present, a past, and a potential optative united in one supposition, see M. T. 509: notice the three negatives and the emphatic καὶ in μήτ' ἂν...τήμερον. See § 141<sup>4</sup>.—μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, not yet, even at this day.

9. τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόητων, of the plans which offered themselves to us and were feasible.

§ 191. 3. τίς...παρεληλυθότων; a question to be addressed to a συκοφάντης, not to a σύμβουλος (§ 189).

6. οὐ τότε: sc. ἔδειξας.—ἀλλὰ νῦν (M. T. 513).

εἶπε τίς ἢ λόγος, ὄντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πράξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει μ' ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

- 192** Ἄλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλον, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη  
5 παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῆ πάντων γίνεταί· ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῆ  
**193** τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἀδίκημ' ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως  
5 ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν,

7. εὐπορεῖν Σ; εὐρεῖν vulg. 8. ἢ τις πράξις Α2. 9. μᾶλλον om. Υ.

§ 192. 1. παρ' ἅπασιν Α1; περὶ πᾶσιν L. 2. ὑπὲρ τούτου V6. προστίθησιν V6. τὸ, τε μέλλον (δε over τε) Σ. 3. πράξιν Α2. 4. ἤμελλον MSS. 6. συμβάντα Σ, L, B<sup>2</sup>, Α1; συμβαίνοντα vulg. 7. αὐτῆ Σ; αὐτή vulg.

§ 193. 2. τῇ μάχῃ Σ, L, F, B (corr.), Α1. 2; τὴν μάχην vulg. 3. οὐκ ἐμοί Σ, L; οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί vulg.

8. τῇ πόλει: often taken with συμφέρων (see Bl.); better with παρελείφθη, as in § 107<sup>10</sup>, ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει.

9. μᾶλλον, rather than to my own.

§ 192. 1. ἀφεῖται (gnomic), is dismissed from consideration.

3. τὴν...τάξιν, i.e. the statesman at his post: τάξιν keeps up the military figure of § 173<sup>4-6</sup>.—τότε...παρῆν: application of the general principle to the case in hand; τὰ μὲν ἤμελλον referring to Chaeronea and its results, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν to Philip's presence at Elatea. Though these are now past, they were then future and present.

5. τὴν...πολιτείας: see note on § 190<sup>5</sup>. προαίρεσις implies the deliberate choice of a policy which a statesman should make: here and in τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει we have again the σύμβουλος and the συκοφάντης contrasted. For the precise mean-

ing of προαίρεσις, see Arist. Eth. III. 2 (especially § 17): ἀλλ' ἀρὰ γε τὸ προβουλευμένον (sc. τὸ προαιρετόν); ἢ γὰρ προαίρεσις μετὰ λόγου καὶ διανοίας. ὑποσημαίνειν δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τοῦνομα ὡς ὄν πρὸ ἐτέρου αἰρετόν. Dissen quotes Diod. XI. 11 on the heroes of Thermopylae: χρὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων κρίνειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προαιρέσεως: τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τύχη κυρία, τοῦ δ' ἢ προαίρεσις δοκιμάζεται.

7. ὁ δαίμων: cf. τῷ θεῷ § 193<sup>3</sup>.

§ 193. 2. τῇ μάχῃ: Chaeronea.—ἐν τῷ θεῷ...τέλος: cf. πέρασ and δαίμων in § 192<sup>6,7</sup>. See II. VII. 101, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθευ νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

3. οὐκ ἐμοί: many MSS. have ἐν ἐμοί.

5. φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, i.e. with greater labour than my strength warranted: cf. §§ 160<sup>5</sup>, 218<sup>8</sup>.

ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην  
καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου.  
εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς [ἢ χειμῶν] μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ 194  
293 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ  
ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία  
πράξαντα, καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε  
σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων 5  
αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας  
αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν (ὥσπερ

6. ὡς om. O.

§ 194. 1. ἢ χειμῶν MSS., Vöm., Bl.; om. Bk., Dind., Lips., West. μόνων O.  
ἡμῶν F. 2. πάντων om. A1. μείζων Y. 4. καὶ πᾶσι vulg.; πᾶσι om. Σ, L1.  
5. χρησάμενον καὶ φθαρέν O. 6. καὶ (after ἢ) om. V6.

6. ἐνεστησάμην, *undertook* (instituted):  
cf. § 4<sup>10</sup>.

7. καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, *and necessary too*,  
added after the verb for emphasis. Blass  
remarks that the orator has not yet at-  
tained the height from which he speaks  
in §§ 199 ff.

§ 194. 1. σκηπτὸς [ἢ χειμῶν]: most  
recent editors omit ἢ χειμῶν on the ground  
that the orator, after comparing the sud-  
den raid of Philip to a thunderbolt, would  
not weaken his figure by adding a com-  
mon storm. This holds good even when  
we admit that χειμῶν and σκηπτὸς are  
not the same thing; and this is plain from  
Voemel's note. Aristotle (*de Mundo*, 4,  
19), after describing κεραυνός, πρηστήρ,  
and τυφῶν, adds ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων κατα-  
σκήψαν εἰς τὴν γῆν σκηπτὸς ὀνομάζεται.  
σκηπτὸς, therefore, is not only a *stroke of*  
*lightning*, but also a *furious thunder-*  
*storm*; while χειμῶν is *winter*, a *winter-*  
*storm*, or a *storm* in general. Perhaps  
ἢ χειμῶν here was originally a marginal  
reference to χειμῶνι χρησάμενον (5).

2. τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (sc. ἡμᾶς), *what ought*  
*we to do?* Blass and Westermann under-  
stand, as the suppressed reply, "Nothing  
at all: least of all blame our leaders."  
But I think a much more precise answer  
is given in the two following sentences.  
The sense is: "What are we to *do*?  
We are to do just what a ναύκληρος  
would do if any one were to blame him,

etc. He would say 'I was not κυβερνή-  
της,' just as I can say 'No more was  
I στρατηγός.'" The apodosis to εἴ τις...  
αἰτιῶτο being suppressed (except ἂν),  
its subject ναύκληρος appears in the pro-  
tasis as ναύκληρον, and the implied ὥσπερ  
ἂν ναύκληρος ποιήσειεν appears in φήσειεν  
ἂν (7) with its quotation, ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρ-  
νων... τῶν πάντων. ἡμῶν (1) and ἐγὼ (8)  
show that the orator identifies the people  
with himself in the comparison with ναύ-  
κληρος.

3. ναύκληρον, properly a *shipowner*,  
who sails in his own ship (as ἔμπορος),  
but generally employs a κυβερνήτης or  
*sailing-master* to navigate the ship. In  
Plato's famous figure of the ship of State  
(*Rep.* VI. p. 488), the ναύκληρος is the  
honest old man Δήμος Πυκνίτης, who  
knows little of navigation, and is not  
skilful enough to keep a professional  
sailing-master in authority, and soon lets  
the command of the ship fall into the  
hands of the most artful and unscrupulous  
landsmen on board.

5. χειμῶνι χρησάμενον: the ναύκλη-  
ρος is said to have *met with a storm*.—  
πονησάντων σκευῶν, *when his tackling*  
*laboured* (as we speak of a ship as *labour-*  
*ing* in a heavy sea). But Blass quotes  
φιάλαι πεπονηκόται (!) from a Delian  
inscription (Dittenberger, *Syll.* No. 367,  
207), in support of the meaning *was*  
*broken*.



οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ), οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ'  
 195 ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ  
 Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν  
 προσδοκᾶν εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμαχοὺς ἀλλὰ Φι-  
 λίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκείνος πάσας ἀφῆκε  
 5 φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς  
 μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν  
 πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτο τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη,  
 προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν,

8. οὐδὲ (for οὔτε) Y.

§ 195. 2. τῶν Θηβαίων Y. χρῆν ρ, Markland (conj.); χρῆ Σ, L, vulg.  
 5. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττ. ὁδὸν Σ, Α2; ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττ. vulg. τῆς μάχης om. V6.  
 6. γενομένης Σ, L, Α1. 2; γεγενημένης vulg. τοσοῦτο L<sup>1</sup>. περιέσχε  
 (στη over σχε) B. 7. που πλησίον τῆς χώρας Α1. πάθους Α1. 8. οἴσθ'  
 L, V6; οἴσθα Α1; οἴσθε Y; οἴεσθ' Σ, O, Φ; οἴεσθε vulg.

§ 195. 2. τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν; this apodosis (like the similar one in lines 7, 8) has two protases, one simply past, the other past with the condition unfulfilled. The apodosis in each case conforms to the latter condition. But we have in line 2 τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν (without ἂν), but in 7 and 8 τί ἂν...προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν, the two sentences being in other respects similar. We certainly should not notice the difference in sense if the same form (either with or without ἂν) were used in both. And yet the distinction between the two is one of principle, and is generally obvious and important. In the form without ἂν the infinitive is the word on which the chief force falls, while in the form with ἂν the chief force falls on ἔδει, ἔξην, ἐνῆν, etc., to which the ἂν belongs. Thus ἔξην σοι ἐλθεῖν (in this sense) is *you might have gone* (but did not go), while ἔξην ἂν σοι ἐλθεῖν is *it would have been possible for you to go* in a certain case (but in fact it was not possible). In many cases (as here) it makes little difference to the general sense whether the chief emphasis falls on the infinitive or on the leading verb; and in these the effect of adding or omitting ἂν is slight. In the present case

we may translate τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν; *what ought we to have expected* (which we did not find ourselves expecting)? and τί ἂν προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; *what should we then have had to expect* (which in fact we did not have to expect)? I have discussed this construction at some length in M. T. App. v., and these two examples in p. 409. La Roche denies the existence of χρῆν or ἐχρῆν with ἂν, proposing to emend ἐχρῆν ἂν in Lys. XII. 48, but overlooking the present case.

4. πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς, i.e. *used all his eloquence*: cf. Eur. Hec. 337, πάσας φθογγὰς ἰεῖσα, and Plat. Rep. 475 A, πάσας φωνὰς ἀφιετε. See § 218<sup>4</sup>.

5. τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν, *three days' journey*, i.e. from Chaeronea (via Thebes) to the Attic frontier at Eleutherae, about 450 stadia. It was about 250 stadia from Eleutherae to Athens; and the whole distance from Chaeronea to Athens is given (§ 230<sup>2</sup>) as 700 stadia, about 80 miles. (See Bl.)

8. νῦν here and τότε in l. 10 refer only to opposite alternatives (*as it was*, and *in that case*), but to the same time. See § 200<sup>1</sup>. The ἀποσιώπησις after τότε δὲ is far more eloquent than any description.

ἀναπνεύσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει; τότε δὲ—οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ἅ γε 1, μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες 196 δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφῆς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ 5 τούτων, τότε ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ 294 ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ 197

10. ὦν (for ἄ) Ο (mg.). 11. εὐνοία ΑΙ, F, Φ; εὐνοία L(?), Ο; εὔνοια Σ, Β, vulg. τῷ Σ, vulg.; τὸ L. προβάλλεσθαι L, Φ; προβαλλεσθαι Σ.

§ 196. 3. τοῦτον Σ, Φ (γρ); τοῦτον αὐτὸν vulg. 4. ἐξήρκει μοι ΑΙ. 2. 6. ἔδει σε Β (corr.). προ λεγειν (letter erased) Σ. 8. ἐγὼ σοῦ Σ.

§ 197. 1. τοσοῦτω ΑΙ; τοσοῦτων Υ. ἐγὼ σοῦ Σ; ἐγὼ σου vulg.

9. ἀναπνεύσαι: cf. II. XI. 801, ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο.

10. ἅ γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε, which never gave us even a trial (of their horrors): ἐαυτῶν is omitted, leaving πείραν ἔδωκε absolute. See note on § 107<sup>5</sup>. The negative is μὴδὲ because the antecedent of ἄ is indefinite (M. T. 518).

11. τῷ προβάλλεσθαι... συμμαχίαν, by the state having this alliance to shield her (lit. holding it before herself). The present infin. emphasizes the continued protection; προσβαλέσθαι would mean putting it before herself: cf. § 300<sup>2</sup>, ταῦτα προὔβαλόμην πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

§ 196. 1. Ἔστι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, i.e. I intend it for you.—ταυτὶ πάντα τὰ πολλὰ, all this long argument (so West.): τὰ πολλὰ may, however, be adverbial, for the most part, chiefly, the sense being all this I intend chiefly for you.

2. τοὺς περιεστηκότας, the spectators, of whom great crowds were present: see Aesch. III. 56, ἐναντίον...τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ἐπακοῦειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως· ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους

παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένου.

3. βραχὺς καὶ σαφῆς λόγος: this he now puts into a dilemma, of which Hermogenes, de Invent. IV. 6 (p. 168 W.), thus speaks: τὸ δὲ διλήμματόν ἐστι τοιοῦτον οἶον...ἤδεις τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἢ οὐκ ἤδεις; εἰάν τε γὰρ εἶπη ἤδειν, ἀπαντᾶ τί οὖν οὐ προέλεγες; εἰάν τε εἶπη οὐκ ἤδειν, τί οὖν ἡμῶν ὡς εἰδῶτων κατηγορεῖς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤδεις, προειπεῖν ὤφειλες· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἤδεις, τί τῶν ἄλλων ὡς μὴ εἰδῶτων κατηγορεῖς, τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν μελλόντων κοινῆς οὔσης πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους;

4. ἐξήρκει, was enough for him; i.e. this would be a sufficient reply for him. ἐξήρκει sometimes has a force somewhat like that of δικαίον ἦν, ἴσον ἦν, καλὸν ἦν, etc. when they are classed with ἔδει, χρῆν, etc. (M. T. 416). So satis erat in Latin: see Cic. Lael. XXVI. 96, satis erat respondere Μαξιμῆς; Inquit, inquit. See Lane's Latin Grammar, 1496, 1497. Cf. θαυμαστόν ἦν, § 248<sup>6</sup>.

8. ταῦτα: the charge of ignorance which you bring against me.

σοῦ πολίτης γέγον' εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας 5 ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δ' οὐθ' ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ 10 Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημο- 198 σθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματ' ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὐτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἐτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συννενηόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἐνὶ τούτῳ εὖνον εἶναι τῇ

2. ταῦτα (without ἃ) Σ<sup>1</sup> (corr. to ταῦτ' ἃ); ταῦτα Α2. 5. οὐδ' (corr. to οὐδ') Σ. σὺ δ' οὐδέτερα Α1. 6. οὐδ' εἰς Υ. 7. σεαυτὸν Ο. 8. ἄνθρωπος Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Α1; ἄνθ. ποιήσεις vulg. 9. πεποιήκας Υ. 10. Ἀριστόλεως L, Α1; Ἀριστόλεος Σ; Ἀριστόλαος vulg.

§ 197. 2. ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω, i.e. the events which preceded Chaeronea.

3. τῶν ἄλλων, doubtless later matters.

4. τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα = ἃ πᾶσι ἐδόκει, with reference to votes of the people: cf. 274<sup>5</sup>.

5. ἴδιον, *personal*, e.g. the danger of a γραφή παρανόμων: cf. §§ 235<sup>9</sup>, 249.

6. οὐ...ἐχρῶντο: sc. εἰ ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίω. εἰς ταῦτα, i.e. in support of my measures.

7. ὅπερ δ' ἂν: sc. ποιήσειεν or ἐποίησεν.

8. τῇ πόλει: for the order see § 176<sup>10</sup>. —πεποιηκῶς...ἐξήτασαι, you are shown to have done after the events: cf. Hdt. I. 170, ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι, and § 284<sup>8</sup>.

9. Ἀρίστρατος, Ἀριστόλεως: these men and the condition of Naxos and Thasos at this time are known to us only from this passage. It appears that these islands were in the power of Alexander, and that the great success of his arms in Asia was having the same effect in them as in Athens, encouraging the Mace-

donian party to vex their opponents by prosecutions.

10. καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ, *outright enemies*.

11. καὶ Ἀθήνησιν...κατηγορεῖ: this brings out clearly the meaning of τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς (8).

§ 198. 1. ὅτῳ...ἀπέκειτο, *who found matter for glorification in the calamities of the Greeks: ἀπέκειτο, were laid up (as material)*.

2. ἐνευδοκιμεῖν occurs only here in classic Greek, acc. to Blass, who remarks on the ease with which such compounds with ἐν are made, to be used thus in the infinitive: see Thuc. II. 44, ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι and ἐντελευτῆσαι; II. 20, ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι; Hdt. II. 178, ἐνοικῆσαι; VI. 102, ἐνιππεῦσαι; Plat. Phaedr. 228 E, ἐμμελετᾶν. — Ἑλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο is a dactylic hexameter.

3. οἱ αὐτοὶ...ἐχθροῖς, i.e. *the same occasions in which also the enemies of the state have found their advantage*.

4. εὖνον, *loyal*: see note on § 173<sup>4</sup>.



πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύει 5  
καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων  
συμφέρειν· ἄφρονος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν  
οἶον οὐκ ἔδει· πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης. ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ  
τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί 199  
τι καὶ παράδοξον εἶπειν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν

§ 198. 5. δὲ καὶ Σ, L, A1. 2, B; δὲ vulg. 5, 6. πολιτεύη (bis) MSS., Bk., Bl.  
6. ἡμῖν A1. 7. συμφέρειν om. A2.

5. ἐξ ὧν ζῆς, *by the life you live*: cf. ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὧν βεβίωκεν, § 130<sup>2</sup>. ζῆν is the regular present to βεβιωκεῖναι, βιώ not being in common use. (See Bl.)—πολιτεύει (MSS. -εύη): see note on § 119<sup>4</sup>.

6. πράττεται...Αἰσχίνης and ἀντέκρουσε...Αἰσχίνης (7, 8): two paratactic conditional expressions,—*suppose something is done*, etc. See § 274. Disson quotes Cicero's imitation (Phil. II. 22, 55): *Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius.*

8. ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα, *ruptures and strains*: ῥήγμα is a *rupture*, either of the flesh or of a vein; σπάσμα is properly the state of *tension* which may lead to a rupture, though the two terms seem sometimes to be used in nearly or quite the same sense. Hippocrates, de Flat. 11 (Littre VI. p. 109), says of ruptures of the flesh: τὰ δὲ ῥήγματα πάντα γίνεται διὰ τὰδε· ὁκόταν ὑπὸ βίης διαστέωσιν αἱ σάρκες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐς δὲ τὴν διάστασιν ὑποδράμῃ πνεῦμα, τοῦτο τὸν πόνον παρέχει. And de Morb. I. 20 (Litt. VI. p. 176), of the veins: ὁκόταν τι τῶν φλεβίων σπασθὲν ῥαγῆ, ἢ σπασθῆ μὲν, ῥαγῆ δὲ μὴ παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ σπαδῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γένηται (σπαδῶν being the result of σπάω, apparently what Demosth. calls σπάσμα): further, ἐνίοισι δὲ, ὁκόταν γένηται τὰ σπάσματα ἐν τῆσι σαρκῶν ἢ ἐν τῆσι φλεβῶν, ... γίνεται ἀλγήματα πολυχρόνια, ἃ καὶ καλέουσι ῥήγματα. Again in § 22 (p. 184) he speaks of ῥήγματα πολλά τε

καὶ παντοῖα τῶν φλεβῶν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν παραυτικά ἐκδηλα γίνονται, τὰ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἀναφαίνεται.

Galen, de Meth. Medendi III. 1 (x. p. 160, Kühn), distinguishes *κάταγμα*, *fracture of a bone*, *ῥήγμα*, *rupture of the flesh*, and *σπάσμα*, *rupture of sinews*. See also de Morb. Differ. 11 (VI. p. 872, Kühn): τὸ δὲ ῥήγμα καὶ τὸ σπάσμα τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ γένους ἐστί. συνίσταται δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν σαρκῶδεϊ, τὸ δ' ἐν νευρώδεϊ μορίῳ, τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰνῶν διασπασθέντων ὑπὸ βίας τινὸς θλάσεως.

§ 199. 1. πολὺς ἔγκειται, *is severe* (*presses hard*) *upon*: cf. Thuc. IV. 22, Hdt. VII. 158, and note on πολλῶ ῥέοντι on § 136<sup>7</sup> (above).

2. τι καὶ παράδοξον: the orator now rises to a new height. Heretofore he has maintained vigorously (as in § 194) that the policy of Athens in opposing Philip under his lead was sound and hopeful, and that he cannot justly be censured now, even if events have shown the "mistake" of waging war against the Macedonian power. He now suddenly changes his ground, and declares that there has been no "mistake," that no other policy was possible for Athens with her glorious antecedents, even if the whole future, with Chaeronea and its baneful consequences, had been foreseen from the beginning. This is the final answer to the petty criticisms of Aeschines "after the events" (*ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν*, § 197<sup>8</sup>). Fox (Kranzrede, p. 172) says: "Niemand soll ihm irgend welche Verlegenheit anmerken, deshalb gesteht er

μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὁ λέγω  
 θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπανσι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενή-  
 5 σασθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνῃ,  
 καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ'  
 οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἶπερ ἢ δόξης ἢ 295  
**200** προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν γ'  
 ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν  
 ἀνθρώποις ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα  
 5 προεστᾶναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ  
 προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεἴτ'  
 ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ  
 πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως  
**201** γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν

§ 199. 3. ὁ ἐγὼ λέγω A2. 4. μέλλ. ἔσεσθαι A1. 5. πάντες Σ, L, Φ; ἅπαντες vulg. Αἰσχίνῃ Σ, L, Φ<sup>1</sup>; om. vulg. 6. διεμαρτύρω A1. 7. εἶπερ καὶ O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 200. 1. μὲν γ' Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1; μὲν γὰρ vulg. 4. τῶν Ἑλλήνων Σ (γρ), O (mg.), Φ, Dion. 6. ἀκονεῖτι Σ; ἀκονιτεῖ Bl. οὐχ ἕνα A1. ὄντιν' οὐχ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1; ὄντιν' οὐχ L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. 7. τίσι ἂν A1 (w. ἂν σου). ἂν σου MSS. (ἂν σου Σ); ἂν σοῦ Bk. γὰρ δὲ A1.

nicht nur das Paradoxe seiner Behauptung selbst zu, sondern macht auch die in der Hypothese εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπανσι πρόδηλα... liegende Concession durch Häufung der Ausdrücke so grossmüthig und rückhaltlos, dass jedermann die Zuversicht und Siegesgewissheit des Sprechers von vornherein mitempfindet."—καὶ μου... θαυμάσῃ: an instance of προδιόρθωσις, of which another case is § 221<sup>1</sup>, ἐπεκείσμη κ.τ.λ., both quoted as examples by Tiberius περὶ σχημάτων 8 (VIII. p. 535, W.).

5. καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες: the figure of Aeschines himself joining in the general warning adds greatly to the picture.

6. ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, you who did not even open your mouth.—οὐδ' οὕτως, not even then: οὕτως sums up in one word the whole of the preceding condition (4—6).

7. ἀποστατέον... ἦν = ἔδει τὴν πόλιν ἀποστῆναι.

8. τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, future ages.

§ 200. 1. νῦν μὲν... τότε δ' (3): see note on § 195<sup>8</sup>.

2. ἀποτυχεῖν, to have failed (in securing).—τῶν πραγμάτων, mere material objects, opposed to the high principles which would have been sacrificed in the other case (τότε).

3. ἀξιοῦσα (imperf.), while she had claimed, followed by the aorist ἀποστᾶσα, and then withdrew, both past to ἔσχεν ἂν. We might have had ἡξίου and ἀπέστη: cf. XV. 27, ὦν ἀπέστη.

6. ἀκονιτὶ, without a struggle, sine pulvere; cf. XIX. 77.—οὐδένα ὄντιν' οὐχ, emphatic equivalent of πάντα: the natural nominative οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ (= πᾶς) is illogically declined.

7. σοῦ (accented), with special emphasis.—μὴ γὰρ (sc. εἰπέ), don't say the state, nor me: πόλεως and ἐμοῦ continue the case of σοῦ.

§ 201. 1. τίσι δ'... ἐωρῶμεν ἂν; i.e. how should we now (dare to) look in the face, etc.?

τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν  
 πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος  
 ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ'  
 ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα 5  
 μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν  
 ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης.  
 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ 202  
 Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενο-  
 μένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ  
 πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι  
 βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον 5  
 ποιεῖν καὶ εἶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ 203

§ 201. 2. μὲν om. O<sup>1</sup>. 3. περιέστηκεν A1. 5. ἡμῶν vulg., Bk.,  
 Dind., Bl.; ὑμῶν Σ, L, Vöm., West. 7. ἡρημένης Σ<sup>2</sup>; αἰραμένης?? (cf. § 208<sup>3</sup>) Σ<sup>1</sup>  
 (ρ μενης alone legible).

§ 202. 2. καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι...Λακ. om. A2. γεγενημένων A1. 3. παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ A2. 6. μὴ εἶν V6 (γρ mg.).

2—7. εἰ τὰ μὲν...ἡρημένης: this elaborate protasis has three divisions; (1) εἰ τὰ μὲν...ἀπάντων, (2) τὸν δὲ...πεποιημένοι, (3) καὶ ταῦτα...ἡρημένης. The clause ἡγεμῶν δὲ...ἀπάντων belongs closely with the preceding εἰ μὲν περιέστη, and τὸν δ' (not ἡγεμῶν δὲ) corresponds to τὰ μὲν. The first division, εἰ...ἀπάντων, contains no unreal condition, except in combination with the second; but the protasis as a whole does express an unreal condition: see M.T. 511.

3. εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ, to the present state, explained by the following clause.

4. τὸν...ἀγῶνα, the fight to prevent this.

5. ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν: this pathetic picture of Athens sitting still and seeing others fight the battle for Grecian liberty becomes more effective when we remember (what Demosthenes never forgot) that Greece at this crisis had no state except Athens able or willing to take the lead, or any important part, in such a struggle. See §§ 304, 305, where the orator speaks freely and openly on this point.

5. καὶ ταῦτα, and this too, introducing the participial clause which completes the supposition.

§ 202. 1. τίς...βαρβάρων: cf. XIX. 312.—παρὰ Θηβαίων: in the time of Epaminondas.

2. παρὰ...Λακεδαιμονίων: after the Peloponnesian war, and before Leuctra.

3. παρὰ...βασιλέως, from Xerxes: see the order given to Mardonius before the battle of Plataea, reported to Athens by Alexander, king of Macedonia (Hdt. VIII. 140): τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἢν τινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι. Cf. Hdt. IX. 4, 5; Dem. VI. 11.

4. ὃ τι βούλεται...προεστάναι: i.e. to keep her own and receive anything she wanted, on condition of being subject to Persia. Logically the participles and infinitives would be interchanged, as τοῦτο, the subject of ἐδόθη, is not ποιεῖν and εἶν, but λαβούσῃ and ἐχούσῃ. But the present form gives greater emphasis to the disgraceful part of the proposition, which is in the infinitives.



ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἔδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι  
 5 προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν  
 204 αἰῶνα διατετελεκε. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα 296  
 τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς  
 5 ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς

§ 203. 2. τοῖς τότε Ἀθ. ΑΙ; τότε τοῖς L<sup>1</sup>; τότε over τοῖς Σ<sup>2</sup> (cf. § 205<sup>2</sup>); ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθ. τοῖς τότε, ὡς ἔοικε Α2. 6. δόξης καὶ Α Ι. 2, Ο (corr.).

§ 204. 2. ὑμετέροις Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2; ἡμετ. vulg. ἔθεσιν Ο. ὑπολαμβάνετε Σ, L, Β<sup>2</sup>; ὑπελαμβάνετε ΑΙ, Β<sup>1</sup>, vulg. 4. ἀγασθῆναι Cob. (conj.). τὰς ἀρετὰς (late corr. of τῆς ἀρετῆς) Σ. 6. ἐκβάντες V6. 7. μὲν γὰρ Α2. συμβουλευόντα Α2. 8. ἀποφ. τοῖς ἐπιτατ. Σ, L, ΑΙ; τοῖς ἐπιτ. ἀποφ. vulg.; τοῖς ἐπιτ. om. Harpocr. (under Κυρσίλον), Bl.

§ 203. 2. ὡς ἔοικε, spoken with sarcasm: cf. § 212<sup>5</sup> (Bl.).—πάτρια, i.e. *inherited from their ancestors*.—οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ implies that they revolted morally against the idea; οὐδ' ἔμφυτα that it was against their nature as Athenians.

3. ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, *from the beginning of time*, a rhetorical ὑπερβολή, as in § 66<sup>3</sup>; in § 26<sup>7</sup> it means from the beginning of the transaction in question.

4. μὴ δίκαια: μὴ, not οὐ, as we should say οἳ μὴ δίκαια πράττουσιν (G. 1612).

5. προσθεμένην, *taking the side of, attaching herself to*: cf. § 227<sup>3</sup>.—ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν: the same idea of *security in slavery* is found in the speech of Pericles, Thuc. II. 63 (end).—ἀγωνιζομένη, as partic. of manner, modifies κινδυνεύουσα διατετελεκε.

6. πρωτείων, τιμῆς, δόξης: cf. § 66<sup>7</sup>.

§ 204. 2. ἤθεσιν, *moral feelings*: see note on § 114<sup>2</sup>.

4. ἀγάσαιο: Blass accounts for this epic aorist by the rhythms of ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζο-

μένη (§ 203<sup>5</sup>), ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων, and τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαι(το), — — — — —. Cobet emends it to ἀγασθῆναι.

5. πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν refers to the time before the battle of Salamis when, by the advice of Themistocles, Athens was abandoned to Xerxes, and all was staked on a sea-fight: so VI. 11. See Cicero, Offic. III. 11, 48: *Cyrtilum quendam, suadentem ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus obruerunt*. Herodotus, IX. 5, tells a similar story of the stoning of a senator named Lycidas, with his wife and children, before the battle of Plataea, when Mardonius sent his second message to Athens (for the earlier message see note on § 202<sup>3</sup>).

6. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ... ποιῆσαι: ὑπὲρ with the gen. of the infin. for a final clause, as in § 205<sup>8</sup>, and in Aesch. III. 1, ὑπὲρ τοῦ... μὴ γίνεσθαι.

8. τὸν ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον, *who declared himself for obedience*: generally γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, see § 180<sup>3</sup>.

ἐπιταπτομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ 205 γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἠγείτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἠγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς 10 ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

9. Κυρσίλον L, vulg.; Κύρσιλον Σ.

§ 205. 3. δουλεύουσιν V6; δουλεύουσιν O. εὐτυχῶς (after δουλεύσ.) vulg., Dind., West., Bl.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Bk., Vöm., Lips. 4. αὐτοῖς (before ἐξέσται) vulg.; om. Σ, L. αὐτῶν Σ. 5. γενέσθαι V6<sup>1</sup>. 6. ὅτι om. A2. 11. τοῦ θανάτου Σ, L, F (γρ), Φ (γρ), vulg.; om. O.

9. καταλιθώσαντες: acc. to Bl., the only Attic example of καταλιθώω for καταλευώ.

10. αἱ γυναῖκες...αὐτοῦ: the vividness of the picture in the easy flowing narrative is heightened by the irregular insertion of a new subject, αἱ γυναῖκες, as if without premeditation. Aristides (46, p. 287) tells the story more grammatically, but far less forcibly: συλλεγέντες πάντες κατέλευσαν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐτὸν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.

With this and § 205 compare the speech of the Athenian envoy at Sparta more than a century earlier, Thuc. I. 73—75.

§ 205. 3. δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν: final relative. With δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς (sarcastic) cf. ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, § 203<sup>b</sup>. —εἰ μὴ ἐξέσται, if they could not (were not to be able): εἰ μὴ ἐξέσοιτο might be used (M. T. 694, 695).

5. οὐχὶ...γεγενῆσθαι: cf. Plat. Crit. 50D—51B; and Arist. Eth. I. 7, 6, τὸ δ' αὐταρκές λέγομεν οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι βίον μονώτην, ἀλλὰ (sc. τῷ ζῶντι) καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ τέκνοις κ.τ.λ., where αὐτῷ μόνῳ and γονεῦσι both depend on ζῶντι (living for himself alone, and living also for parents etc.), as πατρὶ, μητρὶ, and γονεῦσι in Demosthenes depend on γε-

γενῆσθαι. The passage of Aristotle is sometimes called ungrammatical!

7. τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης θάνατον, the death of Fate, i.e. death at an appointed time, opposed to voluntary death, as when one gives his life for his country (cf. ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, 9): τὸν αὐτόματον θάν. is natural (opposed to violent) death. The two are really the same, from different points of view (see West.). Aulus Gellius (XIII. 1) discusses the saying of Cicero (Phil. I. 4, 10), multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum, and decides that Cicero means the same by naturam and fatum, both being opposed to violentam et inopinatam mortem. After quoting the present passage of Demosthenes, Gellius thus concludes: Quod Cicero fatum atque naturam videtur dixisse, id multo ante Demosthenes τὴν πεπρωμένην et τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον appellavit. Αὐτόματος enim θάνατος, quasi naturalis et fatalis, nulla extrinsecus vi coactus venit. (See Dissen's note.)

8. καὶ τῇ πατρίδι: sc. γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων.—ὑπὲρ τοῦ...ἐπιδεῖν: cf. § 204<sup>b</sup>.

9. δουλεύουσιν: see M. T. 885. With the pres. partic. cf. μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανόνθ', not to see me killed, Eur. Orest. 746.

206 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον  
 ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν  
 εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς  
 τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ  
 5 ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημ' ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας  
 τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναι  
 207 φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ 297  
 πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς  
 μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμ' ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς  
 ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμι' ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ

§ 206. 1. ὡς ἄρα Α1. 2. προσήγαγον O<sup>1</sup>. 2. ἔσθ' Σ, L; ἔστιν vulg.  
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως Σ (γρ), vulg.; ὅτισανόν κανεικοτως (w. erasure after ὄν), Σ; ὅστις  
 ἂν οὐκ ἂν L; ὅστ. ἂν οὐκ εἰκότως O; ὅστις οὐκ ἂν οὐκ εἰκ. F, Y, Φ. 3. ἐπιτίμησε  
 Α1, Y, B (over ἐπιτιμήσειε), Dion., Bl.; ἐπιτιμήσειε Σ, vulg. 4. ἀποφαίνω  
 προαιρέσεις L. πρὸς ἐμοῦ O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 207. 2. γεγεννημένῳ (after πόλει) vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>. 4. τῶν λοιπῶν  
 χρόνων (ο over each ω) B.

§§ 206—210 conclude the digres-  
 sion which begins in § 188. The orator  
 here appeals to the judges not to convict  
 Ctesiphon, as this will be a condemnation  
 of the people of Athens for maintaining  
 the ancient glories of the state, the glories  
 of Marathon and Salamis.

§ 206. 1. εἰ...ἐπεχείρουν...ἐπιτιμή-  
 σειέ μοι: this combination of a present  
 unreal condition, *if I were undertaking*,  
 with a future conclusion, *everybody would  
 justly censure me*, is rare, and perhaps  
 strictly illogical. Several good mss. and  
 Dionysius (p. 1054) have ἐπιτίμησε, which  
 Blass adopts. But this past apodosis  
 would compel us to make εἰ ἐπεχείρουν  
 past also, *if I had been undertaking*,  
 which would greatly weaken the whole  
 sentence. We should expect an imperfect  
 with ἂν in the apodosis; and this is im-  
 plied, though not expressed, in the some-  
 what condensed form which we have.  
 The real meaning is, *if I were (now)  
 undertaking to tell you this*, the result  
 would be that *all would justly censure me*.  
 This could have been rather pedantically  
 expressed by οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὅστις, but οὐκ ἔσθ'  
 ὅστις is much smoother and more natural.

Our ambiguous *would* only conceals the  
 difficulty. (M.T. 504.)

5. διακονίας, i.e. what he terms the  
*menial service* is all that he claims for  
 himself. This is in striking contrast with  
 his claim for full recognition of his public  
 services elsewhere: cf. §§ 297—300. But  
 in this grand glorification of Athens and  
 her noble services to freedom, the more  
 he depreciates himself and exalts the  
 state, the stronger does he make his argu-  
 ment that the condemnation of Ctesiphon  
 now would be a condemnation of Athens  
 herself and of all her glorious history.

Notice the antitheses in this passage:—  
 first, the main one, εἰ μὲν and νῦν δέ:  
 then, within the latter, ἐγὼ μὲν and οὗτος  
 δέ (§ 207<sup>1</sup>), ὑμετέρας and καὶ ἐμαυτῷ,  
 προαιρέσεις and διακονίας.

§ 207. 1. τῶν ὄλων: opposed to τῆς  
 ἐφ' ἐκάστοις (διακονίας), § 206<sup>6</sup>.

2. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς: i.e. the  
 crown.

3. τὰ...ἐγκώμι': i.e. your glories of  
 the past will be lost for all future time  
 if they are condemned by your vote to-  
 day.

4. ἀφαιρεῖται is conative: cf. § 13<sup>1</sup>.



γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ κατα- 5  
ψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκένοι δόξετε, οὐ τῆ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη  
τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως 208  
ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας  
καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκιν-  
δυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παρατα-

5. οὐ om. O<sup>1</sup>. καταψηφίξεσθε A2. 6. τῆ om. O. Two letters erased  
before ἀγνωμοσύνη (-νη for -νη) Σ.

§ 208. 2. ἡμαρτήκατε A1. 2. οὐδ' ὅλως ἡμαρτήκατε, ᾧ Ἀθ. V6. 3. αἰρά-  
μενοι Σ (cf. § 201<sup>7</sup>). μὰ Σ; οὐ μὰ L, vulg. Μαραθῶνι Σ; ἐν Μαρ. L, vulg.  
4. Πλαταιαῖς (ais corr., and ai over ei) Σ; Πλαταιαῖ A1.

5. τουδὶ, Ctesiphon, like τουτονί in  
§ 15<sup>5</sup>.

6. ἀγνωμοσύνη, *harshness* (want of  
feeling): cf. § 252<sup>1</sup>. ἀγνωμονῶ may mean  
*to be thoughtless or inconsiderate*: cf. §§ 94<sup>2</sup>,  
248<sup>6</sup>.

7. τὰ συμβάντα, *what befell you*,  
including Chaeronea.

§ 208. The famous oath by the  
heroes of Marathon, Plataea, Salamis,  
and Artemisium here follows. The  
grandeur of this solemn invocation of the  
shades of the mighty dead, to support  
the orator in his last and noblest assertion  
of the true spirit of Athenian liberty, will  
strike the most indifferent reader. We  
do not envy one who is strong enough to  
read this passage without emotion. Lord  
Brougham says: "The whole passage,  
which ends here, and begins εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα  
προεῖτο ἀκονίτι (§ 200), is deserving of  
close study, being one of the greatest  
pieces of declamation on record in any  
tongue." See Longinus on the Sublime  
16: ἀπόδειξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν  
πεπολιτευμένων εἰσφέρει... "οὐχ ἡμάρτετε,  
ᾧ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα  
ἀράμενοι· ἔχετε δὲ οἰκεία τούτου παρα-  
δείγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἡμαρτον  
οὐδ' οἱ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κ.τ.λ." ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ,  
καθάπερ ἐμπνευσθεὶς ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
καὶ οἰονεὶ φοιβόληπτος γενόμενος, τὸν τῶν  
ἀριστεῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄρκον ἐξεφώνησεν,  
"οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, μὰ τοὺς ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας," φαίνεται δι'  
ἐνὸς τοῦ ὁμοτικῶδ' σχήματος, ὅπερ ἐνθάδε  
ἀποστροφὴν ἐγὼ καλῶ, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους

ἀποθεώσας, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς οὕτω ἀποθανόντας  
ὡς θεοὺς ὀμνύναι παριστάνων, τοῖς δὲ κρί-  
νουσι τὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ προκινδυνεύσαντων ἐν-  
τιθεὶς φρόνημα, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀποδείξεως  
φύσιν μεθεστακῶς εἰς ὑπερβάλλον ὕψος καὶ  
βάθος. Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν I. 9  
(III. pp. 246, 247 W.): ἔτι μεθόδου λαμ-  
πρᾶς καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐνδοξα ἐνδοξοτέρως λέγειν  
(*gloriosa etiam gloriosius extulit*, Dissen),  
ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνο εἴρηται τὸ οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι κ.τ.λ. Among the noted  
expressions of admiration in ancient  
writers cited by Reiske and other older  
editors are Aristid. Art. Rhet. I. 1, 7  
(IX. pp. 344, 345 W.), Clem. Alex. Strom.  
VI. 2, 20, Quint. XI. 3, 168.

1. οὐκ ἔστιν... ἡμάρτετε, *it cannot be  
that ye erred*: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως = οὐδαμῶς.  
See critical notes on §§ 47<sup>5</sup> and 52<sup>1</sup>.

3. ἀράμενοι: cf. πόλεμον ἀρασθαι,  
V. 5.—μὰ τοὺς: most MSS. prefix οὐ,  
which Σ omits, μὰ generally implying a  
negation.—τοὺς... προγόνων (*those of*) *our  
ancestors who bore the brunt of battle at  
Marathon*: προκινδυνεύω is here *stand  
forward* (as πρόμαχος) to face the foe;  
from its idea of *contending* it may take  
a dative like μάχομαι, as in Thuc. I. 73,  
φαμέν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνου προκινδυνεύσαι  
τῷ βαρβάρῳ, a passage which may have  
suggested προκινδυνεύσαντας to Demo-  
sthenes here. Further, προκινδυνεύω, like  
προμάχομαι and προμαχέω, may mean  
*incur danger* (or *contend*) for (προ-) any-  
one, as Xen. Hier. X. 8, προνοῦσι καὶ  
προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν; [Andoc.]  
IV. 1, προκινδυνεύειν τοῦ πλήθους; Simon.

5 ξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ'  
 Ἄρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέροισι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις  
 μνήμασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως  
 ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιόσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ  
 τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους.  
 10 δικαίως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασιν πέπρα-  
 κται· τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἦν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτη  
 209 κέχρηται. ἔπειτ', ὧ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ  
 μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστε-  
 ρῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαί' ἔργ'  
 ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖθ' ὁ παρῶν ἀγῶν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ,  
 5 ὧ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει

8. ἡ πόλις ὁμοίως A1. τιμῆς ἐθαύμασεν F (γρ). 9. αὐτῶν vulg.; αὐτοὺς Σ,  
 L<sup>1</sup>, Lips. 10. ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν V6. 11. ἔνειμεν Σ, L, A1; ἀπένειμεν vulg.  
 12. κέχρηται V6.

§ 209. 1. γραμματοκυφῶν Σ. 2. τούτων V6; τούτοις A2. 5. τὸν om. A2.  
 τῶν om. A1.

91 (Bergk), Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες; Ar. Vesp. 987, σοὺ προμάχεται. But the frequent use of ὑπὲρ with such genitives makes plain the other force of προ-; as Isoc. IV. 75, τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας, and Lys. XVIII. 27, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας προκεκινδυνεύκων, where the meaning is the same as in the present passage. See also II. XI. 217, ἔθελεν δὲ πολὺ προμάχεσθαι ἀπάντων, to fight far in the front of all, and XVII. 358, προμάχεσθαι Ἀχαιῶν ἔξοχον ἄλλων (cf. vss. 357—359), with the same force of προ-. In our passage προκινδυνεύω is used absolutely.—Μαραθῶνι: as the name of an Attic deme, this is usually a locative dative; but here all mss. except Σ, and most quotations, prefix ἐν.

5. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι: this battle was fought at Salamis; the other sea-fight was off (ἐπ') Artemisium. The two land-battles are mentioned first, and then the two sea-fights in the order of importance.

6. δημοσίοις μνήμασι: the public tombs were in the outer Ceramicus, on the road leading to the Academy: see Paus. I. 29, Thuc. II. 34. 'Those who

fell at Marathon were buried on the battlefield, as a special honour.

7. ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, in apposition with the preceding accusatives: this was by no means a weak term of praise with Demosthenes: cf. I. 10.—ὁμοίως and τῆς αὐτῆς mutually strengthen each other.

9. αὐτῶν: I adopt this partitive gen. rather than αὐτοῦς (found in Σ, L<sup>1</sup>), as I am not convinced that αὐτοῦς can have the force of especially (distinguished from others), ipsos solos (Rauchenstein): see Vömel's note. In defence of English, we may note that this renowned passage, perhaps the most effective ever spoken by an orator, has no less than fifty sigmas in sixty-seven words.

§ 209. The descent from the impassioned patriotic eloquence of the preceding passage to the personal vituperation of this is depressing.

1. γραμματοκύφων: ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκεκυφότες γράφουσιν (Etym. Magn.). Cf. § 261<sup>3</sup>.

3. τρόπαια...ἔλεγες: see Aesch. 181.

5. τριταγωνιστὰ: effectively chosen

παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξι' ἐρούντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέ- **210**  
 298 θανον. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τ' ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων  
 νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς 5  
 τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιόματ' ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμ-  
 βάνειν γ' ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ  
 τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσι'

6. ἀναλαβόντα ΑΙ. 7. τοῦ om. L<sup>2</sup>, F, Y, Φ. τὸ τοῦ|τοῦ των (in 2 lines) Σ.  
 § 210. 2. ἐπεὶ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ἔπειτα L (mg.), vulg. ὦ ἄνδρες O; ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ΑΙ.  
 5. ἔργ. καὶ νόμων O. 8. δεῖ om. O.

with reference to *πρωτείων*, which refers to Athens as competitor for the first prize in the political *ἀγών*, in which Demosthenes is her adviser.

6. τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ', *inspired by whose spirit?* Our language generally refuses to translate an interrogative or relative with a participle or infinitive: we may say *with whose spirit should I have been inspired when* etc.?

§ 210. 1. δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέθανον, *but* (in that case) *I should have deserved to die.* μέντ' by crasis for μέντοι ἄν: τοι ἄν becomes τ' ἄν, but whether μέν- should retain its accent is doubtful.

3. διανοίας, *spirit* (way of thinking). — *ἰδίας, δημοσίας*: this has no reference to the ordinary distinction of *γραφαί* and *δίκαι*, *public* and *private suits*, which correspond generally to our *criminal* and *civil* processes. Here *δίκη* has its widest legal sense of *lawsuit* in general, including both *γραφὴ* and *δίκη* (in its narrower sense). *ἴδιαι δίκαι* are those which concern individuals and their ordinary business relations (*συμβόλαια*), which of course must be judged *with reference to special statutes* (ἐπὶ ἰδίων νόμων, cf. ἐπ' ἀληθείας, § 22<sup>1</sup>), which may change from year to year, and *to special facts* (*ἰδίων ἔργων*), without regard to the general policy or the traditions of the state: even criminal suits (*γραφαί*) which involve nothing more than the rights or acts of

individuals would be included here. But *δημόσιαι δίκαι* are suits like the present one, which involve a judgment on the general policy of statesmen (*κοινὰς προαιρέσεις*), whose acts are not prescribed by special statutes, but must be governed to a great extent by general principles and traditions of state: these, the orator says, must be judged by reference to the glorious deeds of the past. Demosthenes insists here, as elsewhere, that the only real question involved in this case is that of his own statesmanship and his fidelity to the best traditions of Athens, while Aeschines constantly urges the court to treat it as a common *ἴδια δίκη* and settle it by reference to ordinary facts and petty details. (See Aesch. 199, 200.) Aeschines saw that here lay his only chance of success in his suit.

7. τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ, *his staff and his ticket*: each judge, who was appointed to sit in any court for the day, received in the morning a staff painted with the same colour as the lintel (*σφηνίσκος*) of the court house in which he was to sit; after entering the court, he gave up his staff to an officer, who gave him a ticket (*σύμβολον*), which entitled him to receive his fee of three obols (*δικαστικόν*) after his day's service. See Arist. Pol. Ath. 63<sup>7</sup> and col. 32<sup>3-15</sup>, with Sandys's notes; Meier and Schömann, pp. 160—162.—*φρονήμα*: see § 209<sup>6</sup>.



εἰσίητε κρινούντες, εἴπερ ἄξι' ἐκείνων πράττειν οἷεσθε  
 10 χρῆναι.

211 Ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμπροσθὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις  
 ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἅ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων.  
 ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν ὀπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φι-  
 5 λίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας  
 πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ'  
 ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος  
 ἕνεκ' ἐμαυτῶ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν

212 εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας  
 οὗτος κέχρηται ὥστ', εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν  
 καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως  
 συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι.  
 5 καὶ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου  
 καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῶ συναίτιος  
 εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν

9. εἰσίητε A1. οἷεσθαι Σ.  
 § 211. 1. ἐκπεσῶν A2. 3. ὀπόθεν Σ, Σ (γρ), L; ὅθεν vulg. ἐνταῦθ' Σ, L;  
 εἰς ταῦτα Σ (γρ), vulg. 4. κατελαμβάνομεν Σ, L, A1; καταλαμβ. vulg. 6. μὲν  
 om. V6. ὑμετ. V6. 7. ἐκείνων A2. θρασεῖς O.  
 § 212. 2. οὐτοσί O; om. V6. 3. γεγενῆσθαι (w. late +) Σ. 5. ὁ ῥήτωρ O<sup>1</sup>.  
 6. βουλευσασθαι Y. οὐδὲν Σ; οὐδενὸς L, vulg. 7. καὶ (before κατὰ) om. L.

§ 211. He now returns to the account of the embassy to Thebes, from which he digressed in § 188.

4. ἀφικόμεθ': i.e. the ambassadors.—Φιλίππου...πρέσβεις: see Plut. Dem. 18, ἐπεμψε δὲ (sc. εἰς Θήβας) καὶ Φίλιππος, ὡς Μαρσύας φησὶν, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέαρχον Μακεδόνας, Δάοχον δὲ Θετταλὸν καὶ Θρασυδαῖον, ἀντεροῦντας (sc. Δημοσθένει).

5. συμμάχων: see Philocth. frag. 135, Φιλίππου δὲ καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας Θετταλῶν, Αἰνιανῶν, Αἰτωλῶν, Δολόπων, Φθιωτῶν· Ἀθηναίων δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πρέσβεις ἀποστειλάντων τοὺς περὶ

Δημοσθένη, τούτοις συμμαχεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.  
 8. ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν: opposed to νῦν λέγω (7).

§ 212. These words were spoken while the clerk was preparing to read the letter: cf. § 180.

2. τὸν καιρὸν: see Aesch. 137—141 and 237—239; esp. ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος, καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης (141).

3. ὡς ἑτέρως: see note on § 85<sup>5</sup>.

4. τύχην: see Aesch. 157.

6. συναίτιος, partner, opposed to μόνος αἴτιος (8).

7. τῶν ... ἀτυχηθέντων = ἅ ἡτυχήσαμεν.

ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν.

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## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον **213** ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντί' ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον ἡξίου ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθησαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὦν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηνητο δίκη λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβalόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ζῶντο, ἐκ μὲν ὦν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα **10**

9. γένοιτο Σ, L; γένοιτ' ἂν vulg. καταρατώτερος A1, O. τούτου (after καταρ.) vulg.; om. Σ, L, A1.

§ **213.** 2. τὸ om. Y. 3. δὲ (for μὲν) A2. 4. πάνθ' Σ, L, A1; ἅπανθ' vulg. 5. πράξαντες Y. 6. εὖ πεπόνθησαν A1; ἐνπεπονθησαν Σ; εὖπεπόνθ. L. 7. αὐτοῖς A1, F. ἀποδιδόναι B. ὑφ' om. O. ἡμῶν A2. ἠδίκηνητο L; ἠδίκηνηται Σ<sup>2</sup> (ai corr.), vulg. δίκην above line, nearly obliterated, Σ. 8. βούλεται A1. διέντας Σ, L, Y, V6, F, Φ, B<sup>1</sup>; διέντας vulg. αὐτοὺς L, vulg.; αὐτοὺς Σ; αὐτοὺς Bk. ἡμᾶς Φ, A1. 9. συνεμβalόντας F<sup>1</sup>; συμβαλλόντας O; συμβαλλόντας A2. 10. ἐκ om. A2. αὐτοῖς F, (corr. to αὐτοὶ) B.

§ **213.** 1. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: i.e. at Thebes. The narrative is continued from § 211.

2. τῶν συμμάχων: i.e. of Thebes.

5. τὸ κεφάλαιον, adverbial, *in short*.

6. ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθησαν, *for the benefits they had received*, εὖ πάσχειν being the passive of εὖ ποιεῖν: this corresponds to ὦν δ' ἠδίκηνητο (7).

7. αὐτοὺς: the Thebans, while αὐτοὺς in 8 refers to the Macedonians.

8. ὁποτέρως βούλονται, *in whichever way they pleased*, in the mood and tense of the direct form, the exhortation being *take vengeance in whichever way you please*. ὁποτέρως βούλοντο might have been used: but this might stand for ὁποτέρως ἂν βούλησθε (future).—διέντας αὐτοὺς, i.e. *by letting them pass* through Boeotia into Attica. The aorists διέντας and συνεμβalόντας have the better authority here: when an aor. partic. denotes

that in which the action of a verb (usually aorist) consists, so that they really designate one act, the two may coincide in time, as in Plat. Phaed. 60 C, εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με, *you did well to remind me*. (See M.T. 150, with the examples.) One of the arguments used to persuade the Thebans is given by Aristotle (Rhet. II. 23<sup>b</sup>): καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους διείναι Φίλιππον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὅτι "εἰ πρὶν βοηθῆσαι εἰς Φωκεῖς ἡξίου, ὑπέσχοντο ἂν ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ διότι προεῖτο καὶ ἐπίστευσε μὴ διήσουσιν": i.e. if Philip had asked for a passage through Boeotia before he helped the Thebans against the Phocians (in 346 B.C.), they would have granted it; it would be absurd now for them to refuse it because he had thrown away that opportunity, trusting in their good faith (for the future). (See Cope's note.)

10. ἐκ μὲν...συνεβούλευον, *as a con-*

καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα, ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰν τῆ Βοιωτία διαρπασθησόμεν' ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα  
**214** δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ', ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων  
 5 ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε·

13. πολλὰ πολλά Σ. ταῦτα Σ; ταῦτα L, vulg.; ταῦτα A2, V6, Bk.

§ 214. 1. ταῦτα Σ<sup>1</sup>, εἵπομεν (above line) Σ<sup>2</sup>; ταῦτα εἵπομεν A1; ταῦτα ἀντίπομεν vulg., τ. ἀντίπαμεν F, Y, O; ἀντίπομεν πρὸς ταῦτα L. 2. ἀν τιμησαίμην Σ, L, vulg.; τιμησαίμην B<sup>1</sup>, τιμ. ἀν B<sup>2</sup>. 4. εἰ καὶ Σ; εἰ L, vulg. κατακλεισμόν O. 5. ἡγούμενοι before γεγενῆσθαι A2.

sequence of following their advice, opposed to ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν. The arguments here given are of the gross material kind which were generally supposed to have weight at Thebes. Demosthenes (§ 214) seems to imply that his own arguments were of a higher character.

§ 214. 1. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς: sc. ἐλέγομεν (see crit. note).—τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα, the details, with the subordinate ἐγὼ μὲν and ὑμᾶς δὲ, is in antithesis to ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν (i.e. the sum of what we accomplished) in l. 6.

2. ἀντὶ... τοῦ βίου, as we might say, I would give my life: cf. τιμᾶν and τιμᾶσθαι used of estimating the penalty in a lawsuit; and I. 1, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀν χρημάτων ἐλέσθαι. It is not hard to see why Demosthenes should be unwilling to repeat any part of this brilliant speech. The hope of brilliant successes of the allies against Philip, which he probably held out, had been disappointed by the crushing defeat at Chaeronea; and the destruction of Thebes three years later must have made the whole tone of this speech now sadly untimely. Plutarch (Dem. 18) gives a graphic account of the Theban assembly and of the address, which was probably one of the orator's greatest efforts: τὸ μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων

λογισμοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄμμασιν ἕκαστος εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινὰ, ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν τραυμάτων νεαρῶν παραμενόντων· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμις, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἐκρίπιζουσα τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεῖσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης. (The last sentence refers to the proposals for peace of which Aeschines speaks in III. 148—151.)

4. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ... ἡγούμενοι, as (you would think, ἐνομίζετε ἂν) if you believed (εἰ ἡγείσθε), etc. (M.T. 227, 868). Strictly we should have either ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἡγείσθε (impf.) or ὥσπερ ἂν ἡγούμενοι (= εἰ ἡγείσθε), since a conditional participle is not regularly preceded by εἰ (M.T. 472). But it would seem that the colloquial use of ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (or ὥσπερ ἀνεῖ), quasi, sometimes caused the true ellipsis to be overlooked and the εἰ to be irregularly added. Somewhat analogous is the use of οὐνεκα (οὐ ἔνεκα) as a preposition for ἔνεκα.—καὶ κατακλυσμὸν; i.e. also a deluge, as well as the lapse of opportunity (παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν): see West.—τῶν πραγμάτων, objective genitive after κατακλυσμὸν.



ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε.  
λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

### ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. **215**  
ἐξῆγτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως  
300 ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἕξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὄντων  
εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παιδᾶς  
καὶ γυναικᾶς καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρί' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ 5

6. ὅτι Σ, L (γρ mg.); ἃ L, vulg. καὶ ἃ ἡμῖν L, vulg. (V6 ὑμῖν); ἃ om. Σ.  
7. ταυτὶ Σ, L, Φ, V6; ταῦτα ΑΙ; τοῦτ' vulg.  
§ 215. 1. ἡμᾶς V6. 2. ἐξῆγτε Σ, L, F, Φ, V6, O<sup>1</sup>; ἐξῆγτε ΑΙ. 2. τὰν Σ,  
vulg.; τὰμ F, Bl.; τὰ Υ. παραλίπω L, F, Φ, Υ. 3. ἡμᾶς V6.

6. ὅ τι...ἀπεκρίναντο (omitting ἃ with Σ): ὅ τι ἐπέισαμεν and ὅ τι ἀπεκρίναντο are the same thing.

§ 215. 1. ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς: this is what Demosthenes provided for in § 178<sup>2, 3</sup> (see notes), when he proposed to give the embassy concurrent power with the generals over the movements of the army. This march to Thebes, after the answer of the Thebans had been sent to Athens (μετὰ ταῦτα), is commonly thought to be directly opposed to the account of Aeschines in III. 140: Dissen exclaims indignantly, "Haecce manifesta mendacia potuisse coram iudicibus dici!" But Aeschines says only that the march to Thebes took place πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Now that the decree of Demosthenes (181—187), which provided for συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν (!), is known to be a forgery, we have no reason for thinking that any formal treaty of alliance preceded the invitation of the Athenian army to Thebes. Certainly the reply (ἀπόκρισις) just mentioned implied no such treaty, which Demosthenes could have proposed only after his return to Athens. It appears from the criticisms of Aeschines on the terms of the treaty (141—144) that it was an elaborate document; and it is probable that it was not made and ratified until some time after the march to Thebes, which required no further legislation than

the decree appointing the ambassadors (§ 188). It must be remembered that Demosthenes (§ 178) proposed that the embassy should simply offer the Athenian army to Thebes without insisting on any formal terms, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν.

3. ἕξω...όντων: this is commonly referred to the Athenian army, who are supposed to have first encamped outside the city and afterwards to have been invited to enter Thebes and occupy the houses. It is surely far more natural and agrees better with the context to understand that, while the Theban infantry and cavalry (i.e. the whole army) were encamped outside the walls, ready for a march, the Athenian army was quartered in the town. The lack of a pronoun to designate which army is meant is felt in both interpretations: but as the subject is the Thebans, it is more natural to refer the absolute clause to them. Again, the emphasis given twice to παιδᾶς καὶ γυναικᾶς (4 and 11) implies that the men were absent; and ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες (12), as a testimony to the σωφροσύνη of the Athenians, implies this still more strongly. And yet the words in dispute are the only possible reference to this absence in the whole passage. Indeed, rather than refer ἕξω...όντων to the Athenians, we should almost feel justified in supplying some word like εαυτῶν or Θηβαίων (in 3).

ἡμέρα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν  
 τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον  
 δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ  
 10 δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ  
 γυναικάς, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ  
 216 ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ  
 γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀδίκως ὑμῖν  
 ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὔτω σῶφρονας παρέσχεθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς  
 5 τε συμπαταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

6. περὶ ὑμῶν ΑΙ. 2; περὶ ἡμῶν V6. 8. μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν (i.e. μᾶλλον to follow μεθ' ὑμῶν) Σ. 10. Φιλίππου Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2, Β; ἢ Φίλιππον vulg. 11. αὐτοῖς Σ; αὐτοῖς L, vulg.; αὐτοῖς Ω; αὐτοῖς Bk. αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐν ΑΙ (see Lips.); αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ἐν Ο; αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ἐν Σ.

§ 216. 1. πᾶσιν Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2; ἅπασιν vulg. 3. τοῦ στρατ. L, vulg., Bk. Anecd. 160, Bk., Dind., West., Lips.; τοῦ om. Σ, Vöm., Bl. 4. ἐκάλεσεν Ο. παρέσχετε Σ, L, ΑΙ; παρέσχεσθε vulg. ὑμᾶς αὐτούς Σ, V6 (also in line 6). 5. τὰς πρώτας μάχας vulg.; μάχας om. Σ. τὴν τ' Σ, L, ΑΙ; τ' om. vulg.

6. καθ' ὑμῶν, *υφρον γου*, as in VI. 9, καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, not in its common hostile sense. See Arist. Pol. III. 13, 14, κατὰ δὲ τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσι νόμος, *in respect to (?) such men there is no law, for they are a law unto themselves*. In the parallel passage of St Paul, Gal. v. 23, κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων is translated *against such, adversus* (Vulgate), *wider solche* (Luther), perhaps wrongly. See Rom. ii. 14, *ἐαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος*, where we have the rest of the passage of Aristotle.

10. δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιοῦν, *that you made juster claims on them*.

11. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ', *and indeed (καὶ) with all mankind*, parenthetically after παρ' αὐτοῖς.

13. ἔχοντες (representing ἔχομεν): *or. obl.* with ἔδειξαν.

§ 216. 2. ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες, *it appeared (later) that they had judged rightly (ἐγνωκασιν)*: cf. § 215<sup>13</sup>.— οὔτε...οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδ': a remarkable

accumulation of emphatic negatives: *οὔτε* corresponds to *τε* (5).

3. οὐδ' ἀδίκως (not) *even unjustly*.

4. δῖς τε...πρώτας, *when you twice stood in line with them in the earliest encounters*: some cognate object is implied in συμπαταξάμενοι: cf. §§ 208<sup>4</sup>, 287<sup>4</sup>. All mss. except Σ add μάχας, as if μαχεσάμενοι had preceded. The natural accus. would be παρατάξεις, following the meaning of συμπαταξάμενοι and so signifying *battle array or battles*. See Aesch. III. 151, ἐπὶ τὴν παρατάξιν ἔρμησαν. West. and Bl. follow Rehdantz, and take παρατάξεις (implied) in the sense of *military manœuvres or arrangements of troops*, by which Philip's advance into Boeotia was checked without pitched battles. But it is unlikely that thanksgivings would follow such manœuvres, unless some victory resulted. (See §§ 217, 218.)

5. τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *the river battle*, probably fought on the upper

καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ  
καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ  
προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντ'  
ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ **217**  
ἔγωγ' ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Λισχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ  
ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστὴ, πότερον  
συνέθνε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ  
στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. **5**  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ  
δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς  
τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν  
**301** ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ  
μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ **10**

9. ἡμῶν Y.

§ **217**. 2. ἐπράττετε A1. 3. ζήλων V6. ἡ πόλις ἦν Σ, L, A1; ἦν ἢ πόλις vulg.

4. καὶ συνευφραίνετο om. A2. "Laur S folium hoc (incipiens per καὶ στένων) 156<sup>b</sup> alio atramento et fortasse alia manu scriptum est." Vömel.

5. ἐπὶ τοῖς vulg.; ἐπὶ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 7. ὡς om. O<sup>1</sup>. ἀρίστων ὄντων A1.

αὐτὸς Σ, L, A1, B; αὐτοὺς vulg. 8. οὐκ ἄξια A1. 9. ὁμωμοκότας V6.

Cephisus, which flows through Phocis before it enters Boeotia near Chaeronea.

6. τὴν χειμερινὴν, the "winter battle," probably fought on some wintry day in the hilly parts of Phocis. Many editors still find chronological difficulties in this winter campaign, forgetting that the only trouble arose from the spurious decree in §§ 181—187, dated in midsummer. See Hist. § 78. This reference to two definite encounters seems to make the common interpretation of τὰς πρώτας (5) certain.

8. παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν is in strong (double) antithesis to παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν τοῖς θεοῖς.

§ **217**. 3. ζήλου, *pride, glory*: see note on § 120<sup>5</sup>.

6. μετὰ...ἐξετάζετο, *was counted in with the rest*, the same military figure which is common in this speech: see note on § 173<sup>4</sup>.

7. οὐδ' ὅσια, *even impious*.

7, 8. ὡς ἀρίστων...ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα: with reference to the words of Ctesiphon's decree, ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ (Aesch. 49).

If Aeschines joined in the thanksgivings, he declared before the Gods that the policy of Demosthenes was good: but he now asks the court to declare this not good by condemning Ctesiphon.

9. ὁμωμοκότας: of the Heliastic oath.

10. ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις: cf. XIX. 110, τρις οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος.

See Lord Brougham's note on this argument (p. 153). After speaking of "the beauty of the passage," and "the exquisite diction—the majesty of the rhythm—the skilful collocation—the picturesque description of Aeschines' dismay and skulking from the public rejoicings," he says of the argument: "It is not a complete dilemma: a retort is obvious. Aeschines has only to embrace the second alternative—the second horn—and it could never have transfixed him. 'I did remain at home, not mourning over the success of your measures, but their wickedness, etc.' Nevertheless, there are but very few complete dilemmas, and the one under consideration is quite good enough to pass with an audience in a speech.



ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτ' ἔλυπείθ' ὀρώων; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

- 218** Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσωσθαι νομίζουσιν, καὶ περιειστῆκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπίεσθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἢ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ τάλαιπωρίαὶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.
- 219** Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκείνος,

12. μοι om. A2.

§ 218. 2. τῆς βοηθείας V6, B (τοῖς over τῆς). 3. νομίζουσιν (for δοκοῦσιν vulg.) Σ, L (w. δοκοῦσιν above). αὐτοὺς Σ, L, A1. 2; αὐτοῖς vulg. 4. ἐπίεσθητ' ἐμοί L; ἐπίεσθητέ ἐμοί Σ; ἐπίεσθητέ μοι vulg. 5. ὡς (?) for οἷαις L<sup>1</sup> (see Vöm.). 7. ἔπεμπεν (ον corr. to εν) Σ; ἔπεμπεν (before εἰς Π.) L; ἔπεμψε L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. 8. εἰδῆτε ὅτι vulg.; ὅτι om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, L, A1. συνέχεια καὶ om. A2. πλάνοι Σ, L, A1, B<sup>2</sup>; πλάνη vulg. 9. ἀπειργάσατο (εἰ corr. from η?) Σ.

§ 219. 1. ἡμῖν Y (ὕ over ἦ) F. ὦ ἄνδ. Ἀθ. A2; ὦ Ἀθ. A1.

The whole passage would be of certain success in our Parliament." (This quotation is much abridged.)

§ 218. 1. ἐν τῷ...νομίζουσιν, in the belief, corresponding to ἐν θυσίαις, both denoting what occupied their minds.

2. τοῖς...δοκοῦσιν (impf.), to those who had seemed likely to need help, i.e. ourselves.

3. ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον, in antithesis to ἐξ ὧν ἐπίεσθητ' ἐμοί: cf. § 213<sup>10-12</sup>.—αὐτοῦς, ἴψος, i.e. ourselves: for the accus. see Xen. Oec. II, 23, συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι, where φίλοις would be more common (G. 928<sup>1</sup>).

4. βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις: subj. of περιειστῆκει, it had come about.—οἷας ἠφίει φωνὰς: cf. § 195<sup>4</sup>.

6. ἐπιστολῶν: for an earlier letter of Philip to Peloponnesus asking for help,

see § 156.

8. πλάνοι refers especially to his frequent journeys to Thebes while the negotiations were going on, and also to his other embassies (cf. § 244).

9. διέσυρε: see the general ridicule of his decrees in Aesch. III. 100<sup>1-3</sup>. This remark may perhaps refer to the fierce criticism of the terms of the alliance with Thebes (III. 141—143).—τί ἀπειργάσατο: the position of τί is emphatic: cf. σκέψασθε πῶς, § 235<sup>4</sup>. We should expect συνέχεια etc. to be in the accus. by the usual attraction; but they are far more expressive as they stand.

§§ 219—221 were spoken while the clerk was preparing to read the letters of Philip.

§ 219. 2. Καλλίστρατος: the famous orator whose eloquence is said to have

Ἄριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὁμῶς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, 5 ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ' εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας 220 ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπέισμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδοκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν 302 τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι εἰ μηδὲν; παραλείπων τις ἂ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπέισμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 221

4. πώποτε τούτων Σ, L, AI; τούτ. πώπ. vulg. δέδωκεν O. 6. ὑπέλειπε Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ὑπελείπετο L<sup>2</sup> (mg.), vulg. 7. γένοιτ' Σ, L, AI; γίγνοιτο vulg.  
 § 220. 2. τοὺς ἄλλους after τολμῇ L<sup>2</sup>, vulg., before ῥώμῃ AI; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. ταῦτα λέγω Σ, L; λέγω ταῦτα vulg. 3. κίνδ. τὸν κατειλ. O. 4. τῇ πόλει B. ὦραν (for χώραν) AI. 2; ὄραν (for ὦραν?) Σ (γρ). οὐδενίαν Φ (γρ). 6. παραλιπῶν AI, Y.

§ 221. 1, 2. ἐπεπέισμην...ὁμῶς δ' om. O<sup>1</sup>, u.

first inspired Demosthenes (as a boy) to devote himself to oratory: see note on § 99<sup>7</sup>.

3. Ἄριστοφῶν: see note on § 70<sup>4</sup>.—Κέφαλος: see § 251.—Θρασύβουλος, of Collytus, who served under his distinguished namesake in the Restoration of 403 B.C. (XXIV. 134). He was afterwards a warm friend of Thebes: see Aesch. III. 138, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος. Cf. also Lys. XXVI. 21—24; Xen. Hell. v. 1, 26. (West.)

4. διὰ παντός, *throughout*; like ἀπλῶς, §§ 88<sup>7</sup>, 179<sup>6</sup>.

5. οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν...ἔγραψεν: both iterative (M.T. 162): we often use *would* in such iterative expressions, with no potential force; as *he would often tell me stories* (see M.T. 249).

7. ῥαστώνην, *enjoyment of ease*.—εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν, i.e. *some retreat in case of accident*: εἴ τι γένοιτο depends on an apodosis implied in ἀναφοράν, something to which *he would retreat*; cf. Aeschyl. Sept. 1015, ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστατήρα...εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδῶν ἔσθη δορί (M.T. 480). The direct form, ἐάν τι γένηται, might have been used: see Aesch. II. 104, αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς

τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφοράν ἂν μὴ πείθωμεν. The meaning comes from the middle ἀναφέρεισθαι, *to carry oneself back*. But see Harpocr. ἀναφοράν, with reference to this passage: τὸ ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων ἐπ' ἄλλους.

§ 220. 1. ὑπερῆρας; *did you excel?* absolutely, or possibly sc. *τούτους*.

2. ῥώμῃ: i.e. so as to need no ἀναφορά (§ 219<sup>8</sup>).

3. οὕτως ἐπεπέισμην, *I had so thoroughly convinced myself*. If οὕτως is taken with μέγαν (Bl.), ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδοκει (4) seems out of place.

4. ἔδοκει is first personal (sc. ὁ κίνδυνος); then (without οὐκ) understood as impersonal with ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι.

5. ἀγαπητὸν...πράξειεν: in the direct form, ἀγαπητὸν ἐστὶν ἐάν τις...ἂ δεῖ πράξῃ, *we must be content (impers.) if we (shall) do our duty, sm̄llting nothing*. ἐάν τις πράξῃ might have been retained (see note on § 219<sup>7</sup>).

6. ἂ δεῖ=τὰ δέοντα, *our duty*: ἂ is here felt as a definite relative; but with a slight change in the view it might have been ἂ ἂν δέῃ or ἂ δέοι (Dobree's conjecture), with conditional force. A present indicative is seldom changed to

τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπέισμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα μήτε πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιο-  
5 τερον. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐν πάσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταπτον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

**222** Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφήκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἔστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνι, καὶ σὺ παρῶν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες,  
5 ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

2. ἀναισθητῶν (-ον over -ων) I.; ἀναισθητῶν η, some other mss. (see Vöm.), Thom. Mag., most edd.; ἀναισθητον (adv.) Σ, vulg., Bl. 3. ἀνευ ἐμοῦ Φ, B (ἀν in mg.); ἐμου μὴ Y, O. πράττοντά τι O, F. 4. πρεσβεύοντα om. O. μηδὲ (before δικ.) Σ, L; μήτε vulg. 5. πάσιν Σ, L, V6; ἅσασιν vulg. λέγε δὴ Φ. 6. τὰς τοῦ Σ, L, Φ, ΑΙ. 2; om. B, vulg.; τὰς O.

§ 222. 2. ἀφήκε δι' ἐμέ vulg.; δι' ἐμέ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. 3. τῇ πόλ. ἐπαιρ. λόγ. Σ, L, vulg.; τῇ πόλ. λόγ. ἐπαιρ. ΑΙ; λόγ. τῇ πόλ. ἐπαιρ. Α2. 5. Διώνδας ΑΙ. τὸ μέρος Σ, L; τὸ πέμπτον μέρος vulg. (See § 103<sup>2</sup>). 6. λαβε Σ; λάβε L<sup>1</sup>; λέγε L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. τὰ τότε μὲν Σ (by corr.), L, vulg., om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 7. οὐ Α2.

the optative in such definite relative clauses, as *ἂν δέοι* would naturally suggest *ἂν δέη* here as the direct form; but when no ambiguity can arise, the optative is sometimes found, as in Xen. Hell. v. 4, 8, *εἶπεν ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι*, where the antecedent of *ὃν* is definite.

§ 221. 1, 2. *ἐπεπέισμην* (repeated): see note on § 199<sup>2</sup> (end).

2. *τυχόν*, perhaps, accus. absol. (M.T. 851).—*ἀναισθητῶν*: I follow Vömél, Bekk., and West. in this reading, though *ἀναισθητόν* (adv.) has better ms. authority.—*ὅμως*, nevertheless, with reference to *ἀναισθητῶν*.—*μήτε... γράψαι*: the direct form would be *οὐτ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαιε βέλτιον οὐδεὶς*: for *μή* thus used with the infin. in *or. obl.*, see M.T. 685. See Plat. Ar. 37 A, and Liddell and Scott, art. *μή*, B. 5, c. *ἂν* belongs to *γράφαι*, *πράξαι*, and *πρεσβεῦσαι*, and *βέλτιον* to both *γράφαι* and *πράξαι*.

§ 222. 3. *ἐπαιρόμενος*: Harpocr.: *ἀντι τοῦ ἐπανατεινόμενος, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος*. Cf. XIX. 153, *οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερὸν* (of threats of Philip); and Eur. Iph. T. 1484, *παύσω δὲ λόγχην ἣν ἐπαίρομαι ξένους* (of a spear uplifted to strike). (Bl.) *ἐπαιρόμενος* is imperfect, as is shown by *τὰ πρὸ τούτων*.

4. *παρῶν*, though present: see §§ 83<sup>5</sup> and 117<sup>6</sup>.

5. *Διώνδας*: mentioned with contempt in § 249<sup>7</sup>. He is said (Vit. x. Orat., Dem. 72) to have indicted also the decree of Aristonicus (§§ 83, 223).—*τὸ μέρος*: see notes on §§ 103<sup>2</sup>, 266<sup>6</sup>.

6. *ψηφίσματα*: for the plural see note on § 223<sup>5</sup>.—*ἀποπεφευγότα*, acquitted (on the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*): *τὸ φεῦγον ψήφισμα*, XXIII. 58, is *the decree on trial*.

7. *γραφέντα*, indicted: cf. *γραφέντα*, proposed, § 86<sup>4</sup>. See note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.



## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς συλ- 223  
λαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει ἄπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος  
νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὕτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης  
οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν.  
καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν 5  
Ἵπερείδην, εἶπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν  
εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευεγ- 224  
κεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ  
303 τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέαι ταῦτὰ γραψάντων  
ἄπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' εἶαν περὶ τῶν  
οὔτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· τότε δ' 5  
αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνεται ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων

§ 223. 1. ὦ ἄνδρ. vulg.; ὦ om. Σ, L. 5. Δημομέλη Σ, F, Y, Φ, O, B<sup>2</sup>;  
Δημομέλην L, vulg. 6. Ἵπερείδην L. νῦν om. L.

§ 224. 1. ὅτι τῷδε Σ, L; ὅτι τῷ vulg.; τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν (without διὰ τί;) ΑΙ.  
ἐνεγκεῖν (ἀν- in mg.) ΑΙ. 2. ὑπ' (for ἐπ') O. 3. ταῦτὰ Σ, L; ταῦτα vulg.  
4. νῦν Σ, L, ΑΙ; νυνὶ vulg. 6. ἂν ἐκρίνεται Σ, L. X6; ἀνεκρίνεται ΑΙ. vulg.

§ 223. 1—3. For the questions concerning the decree of Aristonicus and δευτέρου κηρύγματος in § 83<sup>4</sup>, see notes on that passage and on § 120<sup>2</sup>.

4. **συγκατηγόρησεν**, *aided in the accusation* (as *συνήγορος*).

5. **Δημομέλη...Ἵπερείδην**: the two names probably indicate a decree moved by Demomeles (cousin of Demosthenes) and amended or enlarged by Hyperides. Such double or treble bills were common (see C. I. Att. II. Nos. 469 and 16); whence τὰ ψηφίσματα in § 222<sup>6</sup>.

6. **εἶπερ...νῦν κατηγορεῖ**: the simple present condition is correct here, and more effective than G. H. Schaefer's *κατηγορεῖ*. The following *μᾶλλον ἂν ἐδίωκεν* implies its own unreal condition, *εἰ ἐδίωκεν*, within itself. The meaning is, *if he is now accusing me honestly, he would have had more reason for prosecuting D. and H. then than he has for prosecuting Ctes. now*. The distinction of *κατηγορῶ* and *διώκω* here and in l. 4 is the same as in § 9<sup>1</sup>: cf. notes on §§ 14<sup>6</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>.

§ 224. 1. **τῷδε**, like **τόνδε** in § 223<sup>7</sup>,

is Ctesiphon, who is called *οὗτος* in 4; while Aeschines is *τοῦτον αὐτὸν* in 3.

4. **μηκέτ' εἶαν...κατηγορεῖν**: the principle that "no man can be twice put in jeopardy for the same offence" is distinctly stated in the Attic law: see XX. 147, *οἱ νόμοι δ' οὐκ ἐῷσι δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας οὔτ' εὐθύναις οὔτε διαδικασίαν οὔτ' ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἶναι*, and also XXIV. 55. This could here be urged by Ctesiphon as a moral, not as a legal, argument. Aeschines is prosecuting him now on the ground of charges against Demosthenes which were declared false by the acquittal of Hyperides eight years before,—charges for which he did not similarly prosecute H. then and for which he could not legally prosecute Dem. now. This is all an answer to *διὰ τί*; (which refers to § 223 (end)).—**τῶν οὔτω πραχθέντων**, i. e. *matters so settled* (as these charges against Dem.): see XXXVI. 60, *δικάζεσθαι τῶν οὔτω πραχθέντων*.

6. **ἐφ' αὐτοῦ**, *on its own merits*, i. e. before any judgment of the court had been passed upon the case.

- 225** προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε ὁ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἃ μῆτε προῆδει μηδεὶς μῆτ' ἂν ᾤθηται τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν  
 5 ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι  
**226** λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστ' ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγῶν νῦν  
 5 ἤκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν οὐχὶ τοῦ τῆ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

αὐτοῦ Σ, L; ἐαυτοῦ vulg. πρὶν τι τούτου προσλαβεῖν Σ<sup>1</sup>, τούτων and προλαβεῖν by corr.; προσλαβεῖν L<sup>1</sup>, A1; προλαβεῖν L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. (See Vömel.)

§ 225. 1. ὁ Σ, L, A1; ἃ vulg. ποιεῖν Σ; ποιεῖ L, vulg. 2. πολλῶν om. A2. 5. δοκεῖ τι (ν over τι) Σ.

§ 226. 1. ἐπὶ τῆς Σ, A1, Φ (γρ); ἐπ' αὐτῆς vulg. ἐγγὺς Σ, A1; ἐγγύς οὔσης L, vulg. 2. μονονουχὶ L<sup>2</sup>. 3. πάντες om. V6. 4. νῦν Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1; νῦν ὕστερον vulg. 5. ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ Σ, L; ὥς γέ μοι vulg.; ὥς ἐμοὶ A1. 6. ὑπολαμβάνων after ὑμᾶς vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 7. οὐχὶ Σ, L; οὐ vulg.

§ 225. 1. ὁ νυνὶ ποιεῖν: all MSS. except Σ have ποιεῖ for ποιεῖν. Either can well be understood; but here the appositives διαβάλλειν and δοκεῖν favour ποιεῖν.

2. παλαιῶν χρόνων: i.e. the time of the peace of Philocrates, in regard to which Aeschines introduced many decrees which had no real bearing on the argument (see III. 58—78).

3. μῆτ' ἂν...ῥηθῆναι, or thought would be mentioned to-day (ῥηθῆναι ἂν=ῥηθείη ἂν): see M.T. 220<sup>1</sup>. The negatives μῆτε etc. show that the antecedent of ἃ is indefinite.—διαβάλλειν, to misrepresent (cast reproach upon) the case.

4. προφάσεις, grounds for action, whether true or false. See note on § 178<sup>10</sup>.

Demosthenes still clings to his plea that the story of the peace is ancient history. See Essay I. § 4.

§ 226. 1. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας: cf. § 17<sup>2</sup>.

2. ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν: for the figure West. compares *mani-festus*.

3. πάντες οἱ λόγοι, i.e. the whole discussion.

4. τοὺς...φυγῶν: cf. § 15<sup>2</sup>.

5. ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα: cf. Thuc. III. 67<sup>23</sup>, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων. Weil quotes XIX. 217: οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥητόρων οὐδὲ λόγων κρίσιν ὑμᾶς τήμερον...προσῆκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων αἰσχρῶς καὶ δεινῶς ἀπολωλότων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αἰσχύνην εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀπόσασθαι.

6. λόγου...συμφέροντος: λόγου κρίσιν is a trial of eloquence. Cf. the verbal forms λόγον κρίνειν and τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον κρίνειν.

With § 226 the orator ends his grand comparison (begun in § 139) between the part played by Aeschines in rousing the Amphissan war and his own part in uniting Athens and Thebes against Philip.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν 227  
 ἦκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν  
 οἴομενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω λογιζήσθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν  
 αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῆ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ  
 τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς 5  
 σαθρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἦ  
 πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παρα- 228

§ 227. 3. λογιζέσθε Y, V6, Σ<sup>1</sup> (η in mg.). ἂν Σ, ΑΙ; κᾶν L (or κᾶν), vulg.  
 καθαιρῶσιν Σ<sup>1</sup> (αι over ω); καθαραὶ ὦσιν L, vulg. 5. προφαίν. V6. πρόσ-  
 θεσθε ΑΙ; προσθέσθαι O<sup>1</sup>. 6. ὃ τι μὴ δικαίως ἂν ἦ V6.

§§ 227—296. At § 226 the proper defence ends, with the account of the alliance with Thebes. The remainder of the speech, before the epilogue, is devoted to replies to three arguments of Aeschines, one comparing the trial of the case to an investigation of an account (§ 227—251), a second charging Demosthenes with being ill-starred (§§ 252—275), and a third charging him with being a crafty rhetorician (§§ 276—296).

In §§ 227—251 the orator refers to the exhortation of Aeschines to the judges (59—61) to cast aside any prejudices in favour of Demosthenes which they may have, and to proceed as they would if they were examining a long account, prepared to accept any result which the reckoning may bring out. Aeschines refers here only to the facts concerning the peace of Philocrates; but Demosthenes chooses to apply the remarks to his whole political life. While Aeschines referred only to the debit side of the account, Demosthenes speaks of both sides, and especially of what stands on the credit side of his own account with the state, including credit for preventing calamities by his judicious policy. He ends (§ 251) by turning against Aeschines the case of Cephalus, which had been brought up against himself.

§ 227. I. εἶτα σοφίζεται, *then he puts on airs of wisdom, or becomes very subtle*, with the same sarcasm as in σοφοῦ παραδείγματος, § 228<sup>1</sup>.

2. ἀμελήσαι: Aeschines (III. 60) says, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσθαι.

3. περιεῖναι χρήματά τω, *that one has a balance in his favour*.—λογιζήσθε: cf. Aesch. III. 59, καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογιζομένους.—ἂν καθαιρῶσιν...περιῆ, *if the counters are decisive and there is no balance remaining*. With most recent editors, I follow Σ<sup>1</sup> and read καθαιρῶσιν, the common text having καθαραὶ ὦσιν, which was referred to the counters being cleared off from the abacus (ἄβαξ or ἀβάκιον): cf. § 231<sup>2</sup>. This was a reckoning-board, on which counters (originally ψῆφοι, *pebbles*) represented units, tens, etc. according to their position. See the article *Abacus* in Smith's Dict. of Ant. Aeschines says (59), ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρή, *whatever the account proves* (cf. αἰρεῖν τινα κλέπτουτα), and there is a strong presumption that Demosthenes uses a similar expression in his reply. Blass adopts καθαιρῶσιν in the sense of αἰρῶσιν (*erweisen*) but knows no other example. Köchly quotes Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. VII. 36, ὃ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν (and again, slightly changed, in 39): here the meaning *determine* is beyond question.

5. προσθέσθαι, *acquiesce in*: cf. προσθεμένην, § 203<sup>5</sup>.

6. ἦ πεπραγμένον: see § 178<sup>3</sup>, and note on § 178<sup>9</sup>.



δείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπίθειν ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς 304

229 ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμὸς), ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστ' 5 ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβалеῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνων

230 κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἐπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὀρίοις γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ

§ 228. 2. νῦν γ' Σ, L; νῦν O; νυνὶ vulg.; om. A1. ἡμᾶς Σ, L; ἡμᾶς V6; ὑμᾶς vulg. 4. οὔσης τῆς om. Oxyrh. pap.

§ 229. 1. γ' οὐκὶ Oxyrh. pap. 2. τὴν om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, over ταύτην Σ<sup>2</sup>. ὑμᾶς (after ἀξιῶν) vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 5. τοῖς ἀκούουσιν om. A1. 7. συνεισβαλεῖν A1. 2. 8. ἔσεσθαι (after ᾤοντο) vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. ὑμῶν A2. συμπαρταξαμένους A1.

§ 230. 1. τὸν om. L<sup>1</sup>, O. 3. δὲ above line Σ. ἡμῶν (ās above) O.

§ 228. 2. ἡμᾶς (so Σ)...ἐγνωσμένους, that it is assumed that we (Aesch. and myself) have been thus judged (have this reputation): in the direct form ὑπάρχομεν ἐγνωσμένοι. See note on § 95<sup>4</sup>. It appears that ἐγνωσμαι is always passive (see Veitch): cf. Eur. H. F. 1287, ὑποβλεπώμεθ' ὡς ἐγνωσμένοι, and Thuc. III. 38<sup>12</sup>, ὡς οὐκ ἐγνωσται. For the active see Dem. IV. 29, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνωκεν. Baiter (see Dissen) translates thus: confitetur nunc nos esse cognitos (h. e. de nobis constare) me quidem verba facere pro patria, ipsum vero pro Philippo. The personal construction is like that of Ar. Nub. 918, γνωσθήσει τοί ποτ' Ἀθηναίους οἷα διδάσκει τοὺς ἀνοήτους, you shall be shown (for it shall be shown).

4. μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης = εἰ μὴ τοιαύτη ᾔην. The unique reading of the Oxyrh. papyrus, μὴ τοιαύτης ὑπαρχούσης, is suggestive.

§ 229. 3. οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (continuing the figure of § 227), i.e. not by

mere arithmetic or book-keeping.—οὐ γὰρ...λογισμὸς, for that is not the way to reckon affairs of state.

4. ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστ': he renders his account, not by setting his services against his sins, but by setting the positive gain from his public policy against the calamities which would have resulted from the opposite policy.

5. λογισταῖς: in the double sense of computers and comptrollers of accounts: see note on § 117<sup>7</sup>.—τοῖς ἀκούουσιν: addressed equally to the court and the spectators.

7. μετὰ and συν- emphasize one another.

9. κωλύειν: present, of the whole business of checking Philip; the aor. συνεμβалеῖν (7) of an incursion.

§ 230. 2. ἐπτακόσια στάδια, about 80 miles: see note on § 195<sup>5</sup>.

3. γενέσθαι: sc. ἐποίησε. By ὀρίους he means the further confines of Boeotia.—ληστὰς: see note on § 145<sup>5</sup>, and for

ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον 5 ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἄρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος 231 ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, 5 ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα 232 βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν

4. ἄγειν (ἄ by corr.?) Σ. ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐβ. Α2. 5. πάντα above the line Y.  
6. τὸν Φίλ. ἔχειν Α1. τοὺς om. Α1. 7. ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησεν Α1.  
§ 231. 2. ὁ ἐμὸς V6. 7. ἐπλάττετο Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλάττετο vulg.  
§ 232. 1. ταῦτ' Σ, L, Φ; τοῦτ' vulg.

pirates in general [VII.] 3, 4, 14, 15. The rescue of Oreus and Eretria from Philip (§§ 79, 87) prevented Euboea from being a nest for plunderers.—**φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν**: the common term for general plundering.

4. **ἐκ θαλάττης**, on the side of the sea, with reference to ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

5. **τὸν Ἑλλησποντον**: for the Hellespont and Byzantium in 340 B.C. see §§ 80, 87, 88, 93, 94, and Hist. §§ 66—68.

§ 231. 1. **ψήφοις ὅμοιος**: cf. *κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι*, II. XVII. 51.

2. **ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα**, to strike this off (the services of § 230) in balancing the account, as *ψήφοι* would be removed from the *ἀβάκιον*.

4. **οὐκέτι προστίθημι**, I do not go on (ἔτι) to add, i.e. to the credit side of the account.

5. **ἐν οἷς...κατέστη**: as in the cases of Olynthus, Thessaly, and Phocis.

6. **φιλανθρωπίας**: especially Philip's easy terms with Athens after Chaeronea, which were the indirect result of the firm

and dignified attitude of Demosthenes and his friends. See Hist. § 81.

7. **περιβαλλόμενος**: the common figure of *investing oneself* with anything (like a garment), hence *acquiring*.

8. **καλῶς ποιοῦντες**, by the blessing of Heaven: cf. I. 28, ὡν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι, and καλῶς ποιούσι, XXI. 212. This phrase sometimes means *fortunately* (as here), approaching in sense the more common εὖ πράσσειν, to be prosperous: sometimes *doing as one should*, as in XXI. 2, καλῶς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ὁ δῆμος οὕτως ὠργίσθη, and LVII. 6, καλῶς ποιῶντες τοὺς ἠδικημένους σεσώκατε. To show the distinction between καλῶς ποιῶν and εὖ πράσσειν, Dissen quotes XX. 110, ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιῶντες... ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε. The active expressions εὖ ποιεῖν and κακῶς ποιεῖν are entirely distinct from καλῶς ποιεῖν.

§§ 232—241. We have here an account of the power of Athens under the leadership of Demosthenes, compared with her earlier resources.

οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα πλάττων 305  
καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο  
5 — οὐχ ὄρας;— γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥήμα  
ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ  
233 δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει  
τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ  
πράγματ' εἰσῆειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ'  
ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν  
5 ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν  
ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει.  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε  
εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

234 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἢ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ

5. οὐχορᾶς Σ (ὦ over ρᾶ). πράγματα after Ἑλλήνων vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>.  
6, 7. δευρὶ (ι changed to ει) ... δευρὶ Σ. τὴν χεῖρα... δευρὶ om. F (text), add. mg.  
§ 233. 1. ἂν σκόπει A2. 3. εἰσῆειν Σ, vulg.; εἰσῆα B<sup>1</sup> (ut videtur, Lips.);  
εἰσῆει F, Y. συνήγον A2. 5. τὰ δίκηματα V6. ἂν om. V6; ὄν (for ἂν) A2.  
6. ἐδείκνυες Y, O<sup>1</sup>, F (corr.). ὄντα (for ὄν) V6. ἐσυκοφάντει O, Y, Φ, F (corr.).  
7. τοῦτο σὺ A2.  
§ 234. 1. ἢ πόλις εἶχεν Y.

§ 232. 3. τοιαῦτα: cognate (sc. κατηγορήματα).—παραδείγματα, like the illustration just discussed: cf. παραδείγματος in § 228<sup>1</sup>.

4. ῥήματα... μιμούμενος: besides the expressions (ῥήματα) repeated by Aeschines (probably with no little exaggeration) in III. 166, of which he asks (167), ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὧ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; we have in 209, ποῖ φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψατέ με· οὐκ ἐστίν ὅποι ἀναπτῆσομαι, quoted from Demosthenes. See other quotations in 71 and 72, especially ἀπορρηξία τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν. Imitations of gestures (σχήματα) are, of course, harder to detect; but there is a plain one in 167, κύκλω περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἔλεγες.—παρὰ τοῦτο γέγονε, defend on this. Dissen quotes Cic. Orat. 8, 27: itaque se purgans iocatur Demosthenes: negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hoc an illo verbo usus sit, et huc an illuc manum porrexerit.

5. οὐχ ὄρας; cf. § 266<sup>6</sup>.

6. μὴ τουτὶ: in the second member

of an alternative indirect question, μὴ can be used as well as οὐ.

§ 233. 1. ἐπ'... ἔργων; cf. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, § 226<sup>1</sup>.

2. ἀφορμὰς, means (for war): ἀφορμὴ is properly a starting-point, or something to set out from (ἀφ' ᾧν τις ὀρμάται), as in Thuc. I. 90, τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἰκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν.—δυνάμεις: here in the same general sense as δύναμιν in § 234<sup>1</sup> (see note).—ὅτ'... εἰσῆειν: before the renewal of the war in 340 B.C. Cf. § 60<sup>3</sup>.

8. εἰ... λόγῳ: cf. § 252<sup>8</sup>, and XXIII. 24, ὡς ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

§ 234. 1. δύναμιν here refers to sources of military power, like allies, even when no actual troops are included: see ὀπλίτην δ', ἱππέα οὐδένα (5). Both δυνάμεις and δύναμις, however, may denote troops: cf. § 237<sup>5</sup>, τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, and 247<sup>4</sup>; so Xen. An. I. 3, 12, ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν. Cf. δυνάμεις § 233<sup>2</sup>.



ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταυτ' ἦν προεξιλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ', ἵππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὁ δὲ 5 πάντων καὶ φοβερῶτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὔτοι παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν 235 τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ

3. ὑμῶν O. 4. προεξηλεγμένα O. 5. δ' ἢ ἵππέα vulg.; ἢ om. Σ, L, O, F, Φ, Vöm., West., Lips. Cf. § 94<sup>5</sup>. 6. καὶ (after πάντων) om. ΑΙ. 2.  
7. παρεσκευάκεσαν ΑΙ; -άκεισαν Σ, L, vulg., Bk., Dind.; παρεσκεύασαν Α2, V6, ἅπαντας ΑΙ. 8. Μεγαρεῖς all MSS., Bk. (see § 237<sup>3</sup>). Εὐβοέας Σ, L, vulg.; εὐβοας O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 235. 1. καὶ τὰ μὲν ΑΙ. 2.

2. οὔτε...ἦν: this refers to the early part of 340 B.C., when Chios and Rhodes were independent of Athens as the result of the Social War (357—355 B.C.), but Byzantium, which then followed Chios and Rhodes, had already renewed her friendship (§ 230<sup>6</sup>): see Hist. §§ 2, 63. Corcyra, the old friend and ally of Athens, had become hostile to her before 353 B.C. (see XXIV. 202; Diod. xv. 95).

3. χρημάτων σύνταξιν: Harpocr. says, ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοὺς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα, Καλλιστράτου οὕτω καλέσαντος, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος. (See Thuc. I. 96; Arist. Pol. Ath. 23<sup>20</sup>; Aesch. III. 258.) The payment of the original assessment made on the Delian confederacy by Aristides in 478—477 B.C. was first called φόρος from φέρω, as Thucydides explains it, οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἢ φορά. The First Athenian Empire made the name odious, so that, when the new federation was formed in 378, the term σύνταξις, agreement, was adopted for the annual payment.

4. πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα: this sorry amount of 45 talents shows the decline of the power of Athens after the Social War. The tribute of 460 talents of the time of Aristides was raised to 600 under Pericles (Thuc. II. 13<sup>23</sup>), and (if we

may trust Aesch. II. 175 and Plut. Arist. 24) to 1200 or 1300 after the Peace of Nicias, in large part by the allies commuting personal service for payments of money (Thuc. I. 99). The 45 talents mentioned here must be the minimum. We have uncertain accounts of the later increase. In [Dem.] x. 37, 38, the income of Athens is stated at 130 talents, which was afterwards increased to 400: Boeckh thinks that this may have referred to the annual tribute. Demosthenes is said (Vit. x. Orat. 851 B, decree) to have persuaded the allies to give a σύνταξιν χρημάτων of more than 500 talents. (See Boeckh, Staatsh. d. Ath. I. Bk 3, §§ 17, 19.) For the Second Athenian Confederacy see Grote x. ch. 77.—προεξιλεγμένα, collected in advance, probably by generals to pay their mercenaries. Aeschines (II. 71) speaks of τοὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μισθοφόρους, οἱ τοὺς μὲν τάλαιπῶρους νησιώτας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα εἰσέπραττον σύνταξιν. See Isoc. IV. 132.

5. ὀπλίτην δ', ἵππέα: for the *asyndeton* cf. § 94<sup>5</sup>: most MSS. have ἢ ἵππέα.

7. οὔτοι: Aeschines and his party.—παρεσκευάκεσαν ... ἐγγυτέρω: cf. τοὺς θεοὺς ἵλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν, Plat. Leg. 803 E.

§ 235. 2. οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, i.e. *this is what we had to depend on.*

ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν  
 ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολου-  
 5 θούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν  
 ἔστιν ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλ' εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεί·  
 ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἅ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ 306  
 προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ βουλευό-  
 μενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς  
 10 φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς  
 236 αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς  
 τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον)  
 τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον,  
 οὐ μόνου μετείχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου προὔτιθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ'  
 5 ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ ὅσ' οὔτοι περιγένοιτ'  
 ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρό-  
 237 φασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπήτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ'  
 ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμαχούς μὲν ὑμῖν  
 ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας,

3. ἦν om. A2. 4. σκέψεσθε O. ὑπῆρχε V6. ἀκολουθῶν V6.

5. αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν vulg.; ὢν om. Σ, L, F, Φ, B, Y. ὃ τῶν...πόλεμον Σ, L, F, Φ; τῶν...πόλεμον, ὃ Y. 6. ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶχον A1; εἶχον ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν A2.

9. οὐδ' ὑπὸ...κρινόμενος Σ (γρ), vulg., Vöm., West., Lips., Bl.; om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 11. ἀπάντων A1.

§ 236. 4. μόνου Σ, L, A1, B; μόνου vulg. προὔτιθεθ' L, V6; προὔτιθεσθ' Σ, Φ; προὔτιθετε vulg. 6. ταῦτα Σ, Φ; τοιαῦτα L, vulg. ἕκαστον (a over on) A2. 7. ἀπήτε Σ; ἀπήετε (or ἦ) L, O, vulg.

§ 237. 2. μὲν ἡμῖν συμμαχούς O. 3. Μεγαρέας MSS.

7. οὐ προλέγων...βουλευόμενος: two important advantages of a despotism in war. Athens is not the last free state which has suffered from the opposite evils. See Isoc. III. 18, 19.

9. οὐδ'...κρινόμενος was wanting in the original text of Σ, and possibly is a reading which Demosthenes himself replaced by the following οὐδὲ...παρανόμων. With the whole passage compare § 249 and I. 4.

§ 236. 3. πρῶτον, to begin with: cf. XX. 54, ὁ λόγος πρῶτον αἰσχροῦς.

4. μετ-εἶχον: μετ- implies the sharing of the right which the preceding clause states.—προὔτιθεθ': cf. IV. 1, εἰ προὔτιθετο λέγειν.

5. ὅσ'...περιγένοιτ' ἐμοῦ, i.e. as often as they got the better of me. The omitted antecedent of ὅσ' is seen in ταῦθ' (7).

6. τύχοι (M.T. 532): sc. γενόμενον.

7. ταῦθ'...βεβουλευμένοι, i.e. just so often had you taken counsel in the enemy's interest when you left the Assembly: ταῦθ' (cognate with βεβουλευμένοι) are the βουλεύματα in which περιγένοιτ' ἐμοῦ, and these counsels you always took in the enemy's interest. Cf. Andoc. III. 29, ἐν βούλευμα τοιοῦτον ἐβουλευσάμεθα; and Thuc. II. 44<sup>15</sup>, ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον (sc. βούλευμα) βουλεύεσθαι.

§ 237. 2. ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων, i.e. with such disadvantages at the outset.—συμμαχούς...ἐποίησα: this refers

Λευκαδίουσ, Κερκυραίουσ, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχί-  
 λιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖσ ἀνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων 5  
 συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθην ἐγὼ πλείστην  
 συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίουσ 238  
 δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίουσ ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέασ,  
 ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖσ ὅτι καὶ  
 πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων  
 τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰσ διακοσίας ἢ 5  
 πόλισ παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρί-  
 νουσα τοὺσ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντασ οὐδ' ἀγανακτοῦσ' ἐπὶ  
 τούτοισ ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχροὺν γὰρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖσ θεοῖσ ἔχουσα  
 χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖσ Ἑλλησι περιστάντοσ αὐτῇ  
 διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰσ τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. 10  
 307 εἶτα κενὰσ χαρίζει χάριτασ τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί 239  
 γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἱ' ἐχρήν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὧν ἐν τῇ

§ 238. 1. ἢ πρὸσ O<sup>1</sup>. 3. τῶν νήσων (for τῶν ἴσων) B (γρ), Reiske. διαλέγη  
 all MSS., Bk., Bl.; cf. xxxiv. 33, διαλέγει Σ; διαλέγη vulg. 5. τὰσ om. Y.  
 10. παράσχοιτο V6.

§ 239. 1. καινὰσ Φ; κενὰσ γε A1; γε om. Σ, L, vulg. χαρίζη or -ίζη all  
 MSS., Bk., Bl. 2. οἶασ (for οἱ') O.

to the grand league against Philip, formed early in 340 B.C. by Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis. See Hist. § 63 (end), with notes. For the Euboeans see § 79 (above): for the Euboeans, Peloponnesians, and Acarnanians see Aesch. 111. 95—97.

4. μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι: this includes the Theban forces, which were added a year after the league was formed.

7. συντέλειαν: this term was applied to the contributions of the new league, rather than σύνταξις (§ 234<sup>3</sup>): Aesch. (97) calls them σύνταγμα.

§ 238. The orator here exposes with great effect one of the most unlucky blunders of Aeschines (143), that of charging him with imposing *two-thirds* of the expense of the war on Athens, and only one-third on Thebes. Aeschines had forgotten the fleet at Salamis, of which Athens furnished *two-thirds*!

3. καὶ πρότερον, *once also in former days*.

5. τριακοσίων...διακοσίας: the numbers of the ships at Salamis are variously given; but nearly all agree in making the Athenian fleet about two-thirds of the whole. Aeschylus, who was in the battle, is our best authority when (Pers. 339) he gives the total as 310, and Demosthenes nearly agrees with him. Herodotus (VIII. 1, 44, 48, 61) gives the total as 378 (the items giving 366), the Athenians having 200, of which they lent 20 to the Chalcidians. The Athenian orator in Thucydides (I. 74<sup>b</sup>) gives the total as 400 and the Athenian ships as *nearly two-thirds*. The text of XIV. 29, which makes the total 200 and the Athenian ships 100, must be corrupt.

8. αἰσχροὺν: sc. ἀν ἡν.—ἔχουσα goes with ἐωρᾶτο like the preceding νομίζουσα, κρίνουσα, and ἀγανακτοῦσ'.



πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχεται παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσ' ἠβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα  
5 δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

**240** Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἄμ' Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί  
**241** λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατῆς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ'  
5 ὄμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἢ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων

4. παρόντα (σ above) Σ. ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα Σ, ὅσα ἐβουλόμεθα ΑΙ. 2, Φ; ὅσα ἂν βουλόμεθα L, vulg. 6. ὑμῶν V6. προσδεχόμενος O.

§ 240. 2. εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ Σ, ΑΙ. 2, Β (mg.); εἰ πότ' ἐμοῦ L; εἰ ποτ' ἐμοῦ vulg. περὶ τούτου Σ, L, F<sup>1</sup>; περὶ τούτων vulg., edd. 4. Βυζαντίων V6. 5. λέγειν οἴεσθε ΑΙ; τουτουσί οἴεσθε Β (γρ), Υ, Ο (mg.); οἴεσθε (here) om. Σ, L, O<sup>1</sup>, Φ, F.

§ 241. 2. οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν vulg.; οὐχ ὡς om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added above the line), ΒΙ. ὑμῶν Σ, L; ἡμῶν vulg. 3. Βυζαντίων Α2, Reiske. κατέστη ΑΙ, Υ, Φ (γρ), Β (γρ); καθέστηκε Σ, L, vulg.; Φίλιππος add. L, Φ (γρ), Β (γρ), om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added at end of line), vulg. 4. κύριος γέγονε L (above line), vulg.; γέγονε om. Σ, ΑΙ. 6. ἐκ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup> (added by 1st hand).

§ 239. 3. παρὼν, i.e. in the Assembly, as Aesch. regularly was: see § 273<sup>1</sup>.—εἴπερ ἐνεδέχεται: sc. ταῦτα γράφειν.—παρὰ...καιροὺς, in the crises through which we were then living.

4. οὐχ ὅσ'...πράγματ', not all that we wanted (continuously), but all that circumstances (on each occasion) allowed us (M. T. 532). οὐχ ὅσα βουλόμεθα would have meant not all that we wanted in each case.

5. ἀντωνούμενος (conative), bidding against us (trying to buy).

6. προσδεξόμενος...προσθήσων, ready to receive them and to pay them too (προσ-) for coming.

§ 240. 1. νῦν: opposed to εἰ τότε... ἀπῆλθον.—ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, i.e. for what I actually did; opposed to the

following supposition (2) that I did nothing.—τί ἂν οἴεσθε: ποιεῖν would naturally follow here, ἂν having its common place before οἴεσθε (M. T. 220<sup>1</sup>): cf. § 225<sup>3</sup>. But the long protasis εἰ τότε... κατέστη causes τί and ἂν to be repeated with ποιεῖν (4); cf. IX. 35, τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν...γένηται, τί ποιήσων;

2. ἀκριβολογουμένου, quibbling, splitting hairs, part of the unreal condition.

4. τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν represents τί ἐποιοῦν ἂν ἢ ἔλεγον; cf. § 241<sup>7</sup>.

§ 241. 1. οὐχ: sc. ἔλεγον ἂν.

3—7. τοῦ μὲν...ληστῶν γέγονεν; this seems to be a continuation of the indirect quotation, with οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγον ὡς understood. But there may be a change to a direct quotation after εἶτα, without ὡς, as Vöm. and West. take it.

ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς  
 τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρὸν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκο- **242**  
 φάντης αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο  
 δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τάνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος,  
 ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἢ σὴ 5  
 δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἤκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ **243**  
 τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν  
 308 τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιῶν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύ-  
 ζονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ

7. ἔλεγεν A<sub>2</sub>; οὐκ...ἔλεγον O (mg.).

§ 242. 1. ὦ (before ἄνδρες) vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. 2. first καὶ om. Φ. 3. κίναιδος  
 ΑΙ<sup>1</sup>, vulg. 4. ὑγιὲς ἐξ ἀρχ. πεπ. ΑΙ; ἐξ ἀρχ. πεπ. ὑγ. Α2. 6. τῇ Σ (mg.),  
 Υ (mg.), vulg.; om Σ<sup>1</sup>.

§ 243. 1. ὑπὲρ Φ. 3. εἰσιῶν om. Φ. λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύη Σ; λέγη μ.  
 δεικνύη Α2; λέγει μ. δεικνύει V6; two opt. vulg. 4. ἐπειδὴ ΑΙ.

§ 242. 2. πανταχόθεν, *in every way* (from every side).—φιλαίτιον: cf. LVII. 34 (end).

3. καὶ φύσει κίναδος, *a beast by his very nature*: κίναδος nascitur, συκοφάντης fit.—τάνθρώπιον, *homunculus*, refers to mental not to bodily stature.

4. ἐλεύθερον, i.e. worthy of a free-born Athenian: cf. μηδὲν ἐλεύθερον φρονῶν, Soph. Phil. 1006.—αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, *a natural tragic ape*: Schol. οἴκοθεν καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει τὸ πιθηκίεσθαι. αὐτο- seems to have the same force as φύσει in 3 (West.). Harpocr. under τραγικὸς πίθηκος has: ἔοικε λέγειν τοῦτο ὁ ῥήτωρ ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀτυχοῦντος τοῦ Δίσχινου, καὶ μιμουμένου μᾶλλον τραγωδοῦς ἢ τραγωδεῖν δυναμένου. Paroem. Gr. I. p. 375: ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ἄξίαν σεμνυνομένων. These describe both the imitative and the boastful ape. Cf. § 313<sup>8</sup>, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

5. ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος: see § 180<sup>5,6</sup> and note. Aeschines is called *rustic*, probably because he "murdered Oenomaus" at the country Dionysia (τοῖς κατ' ἀγρούς), which were sometimes celebrated by performances in the theatre of Collytus (Aesch. I. 157), though this was a city deme. (See Blass.) See Hesych. under ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος: Δημοσθένης ΑΙ-

σχίνην οὕτω ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν περιουστῶν ὑπεκρίνετο Σοφοκλέους τὸν Οἰνόμαον. Westermann sees in ἀρουραῖος an allusion to Aeschines as σῦκα...συλλέγων (§ 262<sup>3</sup>), as the mother of Euripides was called ἀρουραία θεός (Ar. Ran. 840) as a vender of vegetables. But the meaning of § 262 is too doubtful to build upon.—παράσημος, *counterfeit*: Harpocr. has ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἶρηται ἀπὸ τῶν νομισμάτων, κ.τ.λ. See XXIV. 213, and Ar. Ach. 518.

§ 243. 1. νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις: νῦν has great emphasis, and is repeated in 7: *is this the time you take to talk to us of the past?*

2. ὥσπερ ἂν (sc. ποιῶν) εἰ: i.e. in talking to us of the past now *you act as a physician (would act) if he etc.* If ποιῶν had been expressed with ἂν, ἰατρὸς would be its subject.

3. τοῖς κάμνουσιν: the general term for *patients*, not merely while they are ill (ἀσθενοῦσι) but also after they are dead (ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσειέ τις).—εἰσιῶν, i.e. *in his visits*.—δι' ὧν ἀποφεύζονται: final.

4. ἐπειδὴ...φέρειτο, *but when one of them had died and his relatives were carrying offerings to his tomb* (all part of the supposition), depending on εἰ...διεξίλοι (M.T. 177, 558, 560): cf. Plat. Phaed.

5 νομιζόμεν' αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίει  
εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτωσιν, οὐκ ἂν  
ἀπέθανεν. ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέγεις;

244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτη γαυριάς ἐφ' ἧ  
στένειν σε, ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ  
γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῆ πόλει. οὕτωσιν δὲ λογιζέσθε. οὐδαμοῦ  
πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθεῖς

5. φαίνοιο Σ, Φ. διεξίει V6. οὕτωσιν O<sup>1</sup>. ἂν om. V.

6. ἄνθρωπος MSS.; ἄνθ. Bk. οὗτος Y;

§ 244. 1—3. τοίνυν...οὕτωσιν: Oxyrh. pap. (as in Σ). 1. ἦτταν αὐτήν  
A1, Reiske. 2. ἐμοῦ A1. 2. 3. εὐρήσετε O. οὕτ. δὲ λογίζ. om. V6.  
4. ὅπου B<sup>1</sup>. ἐξεπέμφθην A1. 2. παρ' ὑμῶν A2.

72 C, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, μένοι. τὰ νομιζόμενα are the *customary* offerings to the dead (*ἐναγίσματα*), brought on the third and ninth days after death: τὰ κατὰ νόμου φερόμενα τοῖς νεκροῖς (Schol.). For views of such offerings see Smith's Dict. Antiq. I. p. 888, and Gardner and Jevons's Greek Antiq. p. 367. Aeschines (225) predicts that Demosthenes will use this illustration, and (189) that he will allude to Philammon the boxer (which he does in § 319); both predictions were of course inserted after the trial. Aeschines says, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐλθῶν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίει, and Demosthenes probably refers to these ninth-day offerings. τὰ νομιζόμενα φέροιτο is often referred to the funeral itself; but it is difficult to explain φέροιτο in this sense, even if we suppose an allusion to the ἐκφορά.

5. τὸ μνήμα, *the tomb*, built above ground, which may at the same time be a monument: cf. μνήμασι, § 208<sup>7</sup>. In the same double sense we must take τάφος in the famous passage, Thuc. II. 43<sup>18</sup>, ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.

6. τὸ καὶ τὸ, *this and that*, one of the few colloquial relics of the pronominal article: see IX. 68, εἶδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.—ἄνθρωπος οὕτωσιν: so all the MSS., while recent editors adopt Bekker's ἄνθρωπος. But the article may be omitted with demonstratives when the pronoun emphatically

points out a present person or thing; as Plat. Gorg. 489 B, οὕτωσιν ἀνὴρ οὐ παύσεται φλυαρῶν, and 505 C, οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομένει ὠφελούμενος: see Thuc. I. 51<sup>6</sup>, νῆες ἐκεῖνα ἐπιπλέουσι, *yonder are ships sailing nr.* See Gerth's Kühner, II. I, p. 629 d.

7. ἐμβρόντητε, *thunderstruck, stupefied by bronchitis*: cf. ἐμβεβροντήσθαι, XIX. 231. For the relation of these words to τετύφωμαι see note on § 11<sup>4</sup>.—εἴτα νῦν λέγεις; see note on 1. Many editors take ἐμβρόντητε...λέγεις; as addressed to the physician by one of the relatives. It seems to me that it is addressed directly to Aeschines, as a question which would apply also to the physician with whom he is compared: cf. νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις; (1).

§ 244. 1. τὴν ἦτταν: still having in mind the figure of the reckoning (§ 227), he now argues that the chief item which his enemies place on the debit side, the defeat of Chaeronea, cannot justly be charged to him (cf. λογίζεσθε in 3).

2. τῶν παρ' ἐμοί, *of what I was responsible for*.

4. ὅποι ἐπέμφθην: for the difference in construction between this and ὅποι πεμφθείην in § 45 (referring to the same thing), and for ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν (8), see note on § 45<sup>2</sup>. Little is known of any of these embassies of Demosthenes except those to Byzantium (§§ 87—89) and Thebes (§ 211 ff.). In IX. 72 there is a



ἀπήλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας 5  
οὐδ' ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν  
βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ  
τελευταῖ' ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις  
αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' 245  
οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε  
μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἔν'  
ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνας γὰρ  
ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ 5  
τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ'  
ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦν γ' ἂν ὁ 246  
ρήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραι-  
τοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα  
καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρα-  
κταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας, ὄκνους, 5

5, 6. οὐκ ἐκ...οὐδ' ἐξ...οὐκ ἐξ...οὐδὲ παρὰ Σ, L, 1st three vulg. (for 1st οὐδ', οὐκ ΑΙ; for last οὐδὲ, vulg. οὐ). 6. παρὰ om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added in mg.). 7. τὰ τελευταῖα Σ, L; τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην L<sup>2</sup>, B (corr.), vulg.; τὰ τελ. νῦν ΑΙ. 2.

§ 245. 2. αἰσχύνει Σ; αἰσχύνῃ (or -νῆ) L, vulg. 3. τῆς τοῦ Υ.

4. γεγενῆσθαι ΑΙ. γὰρ over δὴ V6. 5. οὐδὲ τύχης V6.

§ 246. 1. γ' om. Υ. 2. λαμβάνετε Σ, L; λάμβανε vulg. 4. προ-  
αἰσθῆσθαι Σ, V6. 5. ὄκνουν V6.

reference to his recent embassies into Peloponnesus, which kept Philip from conquering Ambracia (cf. IX. 27, 34); and in [XII.] 8—10 (Philip's letter) to one of the "kings of Thrace," Teres and Cersobleptes, which was probably contemporary with that to Byzantium. See Hist. §§ 59, 63.

9. ὅπλοις κατεστρέφετο, i.e. he decided these cases by throwing his sword into the scale. Of course this has no reference to the embassies to Byzantium, Thebes, and Peloponnesus above mentioned.

§ 245. 1. ταῦτ' ἀπαιτεῖς, you call me to account for these (§ 244<sup>9</sup>).

2. εἰς μαλακίαν: West. cites Aesch. III. 148, 152, 155, and 175. In these Demosthenes is ridiculed for having run away at Chaeronea, when the whole allied army was put to flight. Aeschines

is never charged with this; but he was probably not in the battle at all, being over fifty years old. Probably Demosthenes refers also to the nickname Βάτταλος: see note on § 180<sup>3</sup>.

5. τῆς ψυχῆς, the life.

6. τῶν παραταξαμένων, the combatants: §§ 208<sup>4</sup>, 216<sup>5</sup>.

7. εὐθύνας: used metaphorically.—σκαιὸς, awkward (mentally): cf. § 120<sup>4</sup>.

§ 246. 2. λαμβάνετε: plural, as he turns suddenly from Aeschines to the whole assembly.

3. ἰδεῖν...ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ.: no one can read the earlier orations of Demosthenes in the light of later events without feeling the justice of this claim to sagacity which he puts forward. He, indeed, of all the statesmen of Athens, saw things in their beginnings, and steadily warned the people of the coming danger.

ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν 309  
 ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα  
 συστείλαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ  
 τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὄρμην προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα  
 10 πεποιήται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὖρη κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἔλλει-  
 247 φθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιθ' ὄντινούν τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιππος  
 ὦν κατέπραξε διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ  
 καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.  
 οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγὼ,  
 5 ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ.  
 καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρήναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φί-

6. πηλικά (for πολιτικὰ) ΑΙ. καὶ (for ταῖς) Ο. 7. ὡς εἰ Ο; εἰς om. L, V6.  
 ἐλάχιστα Σ, L; ἐλάχιστον vulg. 8. συστείλαι (ν with .) Σ; συστήναι V6.  
 φιλίαν ἀγαγεῖν ΑΙ. 2. τὴν over τοῦ Σ; τὴν τοῦ L, Lips. 9. τρέψαι Φ.  
 πάντα μοι Υ. 10. μήποτε ἀνθρώπων vulg.; ἀνθρ. om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. 2. εὖρη Σ,  
 L, vulg.; εὔροι F. τὸ κατ' ἐμέ vulg.; τὸ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. ἔλλειφθέν (one λ above) Σ.  
 § 247. 1. ἔροιτο ὄντινούν Σ, L, ΑΙ; ὄντ. ἔρ. vulg. 4. δυνάμεων ΑΙ.  
 5. εἰς ἐμέ F, Φ. 6. τῷ διαφθ. χρ. ἢ μὴ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Υ, Φ (γρ), ΑΙ; τῷ μὴ διαφθ. χρ.  
 L (corr.), B, O<sup>1</sup>; τῷ φθαρήναι χρ. ἢ μὴ Α2; τῷ διαφθ. χρ. Φ; τὸ διαφθ. χρ. ἢ μὴ  
 West.; τοῦ γε διαφθ. χρ. ΒΙ. ἐκράτηκα Α2. Φίλιππον Σ; Φιλίππου L, vulg.

6. **πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι**, *inherent in (free) governments*: a striking case of a favourite Greek form of emphasis, which repeats the idea of a noun in an adjective. Here the whole idea could have been expressed either by *πολιτικὰ* or by *οἰκεία ταῖς πόλεσι*; but it is made doubly strong by *πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι*. The Greek constantly emphasizes by what we should call tautology, as in the repetition of negatives. In Aeschyl. Ag. 56, *οἰωνόθροον γόον ὄξυβόαν*, we have a remarkable case of emphatic repetition, where the whole idea could have been expressed by *οἰωνῶν γόον ὄξυν*, *shrill cry of birds*, but the idea of *cry* is added in both adjectives. *πόλεσι* here has the same reference to free governments which is usually implied in *πολιτεία* (see note on § 65<sup>b</sup>): cf. Soph. Ant. 737, *πόλις γὰρ οὐκ' ἔσθ' ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ἐσθ' ἐνός*. With the whole passage cf. §§ 235, 236.

7. *ὡς* belongs to *εἰς ἐλάχιστα*, *into the smallest possible compass*: see § 288<sup>4</sup>.

8. **συστείλαι**, *to contract*: *συστέλλω*

sometimes means *to shorten sail*, as in Ar. Ran. 999; cf. Eq. 432, *συστείλας τοὺς ἀλλάντας*.

10. **πεποιήται**: in the same sense as *πέπρακται* (4): see note on § 4<sup>b</sup>.—**οὐδεὶς μήποθ'... οὐδὲν**: it may be noticed that *οὐδὲν* (not *μηδὲν*) is the object of *οὐ μὴ εὖρη*; cf. IV. 44, *οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων*. This seems to show that *οὐ* was felt as the leading negative in these expressions.—**κατ' ἐμέ**: most MSS. have *τὸ κατ' ἐμέ*, as in § 247<sup>9</sup>.

§ 247. 3. **τῷ διδόναι**, *by making gifts*.

4. **δυνάμεων**, referring to *στρατοπέδῳ* (2): see note on § 234<sup>1</sup>. *καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρήναι κ.τ.λ.* (6) corresponds to *τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων*, in place of a clause with *δέ*.

5. **ταῦτα** (i.e. *δυνάμεις*): cf. *κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν* (§ 212<sup>7</sup>).

6. **τῷ διαφθαρήναι ἢ μὴ**, *in the matter of being corrupted or not*, far more expressive than *τῷ μὴ διαφθαρήναι*. Cf. XIX. 4, 7, *ὑπὲρ γε τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ*.

λιππον· ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν [καὶ διαφθαρεῖς] νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμεν εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα **248** γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑορακῶς πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ **5** φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἠνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκ' ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ

8. καὶ διαφθαρεῖς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; μηδὲ διαφθ. Σ (γρ), L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.

§ 248. 2. τουτονὶ ΑΙ, F. 3. οἱ om. Β<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ. ὑμεῖς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ὑμεῖς  
ἴστε vulg. 5. ἑωρακῶς MSS.; ἑορ. Dind., later edd. (cf. § 64)<sup>5</sup>. 6. φοβεροῖς καὶ  
δεινοῖς Υ. 8. βουλευόμενος (after πόλεως) Σ<sup>2</sup> (above line). 9. φυλάκων Σ.

7. ὁ ὠνούμενος: conative, *he who would buy*.

8. ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεῖς (= ὅς μὴ ἔλαβε καὶ διεφθάρη), better than μηδὲ διαφθαρεῖς, as it more closely unites the corruption with taking the bribe, *he who refused to take the bribe and be corrupted*.

§ 248. 1. εἰς τὸ...τοῦτον, i.e. to justify Ctesiphon's language in his decree: see § 57<sup>1</sup>.

3. οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς: sc. παρέσχεσθε.

6. ἐμβεβηκῶς, *standing amid, surrounded by*: βέβηκα, *stand*, is related to ἵσταμαι as γέγονα to εἰμί and κέκτημαι to ἔχω.—ἠνίκ' οὐδ'...πρὸς ἐμέ, *when most men might have shown some want of feeling towards me without surprising anyone*: this rather awkward translation shows the force of the construction of θαυμαστὸν ἦν (without ἄν) and the infinitive, where the chief potential force falls on the infinitive. (See M.T. 415, 416, and Appendix v. p. 406.) We naturally (but incorrectly) translate *when it would have been no wonder*, throwing the chief force on θαυμαστὸν ἦν, so that ἄν seems necessary: Blass reads οὐδ' ἄν. The principle is the same as in the more common εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *you*

*would properly have done this*, which by a slight change of emphasis might be εἰκὸς ἂν ἦν σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *it would have been proper for you to do this*. The same is seen in Eur. Med. 490, εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄπαις, συγγνωστὸν ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους, i.e. *in that case you might pardonably have been enamoured*: see M.T. 422<sup>1</sup> (last example), while with ἄν it would mean *it would have been pardonable in you to be enamoured* (with a slight change in the emphasis).

8. τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας, *my proposals of public measures*: this and the following πάνθ' ὅσα...ἐπράττετο do not include such general measures for the public safety as the famous decree of Hyperides for the enfranchisement of slaves, the recall of exiles, and similar extreme provisions (see Hist. § 80). An earlier decree passed after Chaeronea, which may have been proposed by Demosthenes, provided for the removal of women and children from the country into fortified places, and directed the generals to garrison all the forts on the frontier with Athenians or metics: see Lyeurg. Leocr. 16.

9. ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων: see Thuc.

11. 24, φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν



10 τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων 310  
 ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμ' ἐχειρο-  
 249 τόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν  
 ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας,  
 πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον,  
 ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ  
 5 δῆπου καὶ μέμνησθ' ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν  
 ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους  
 οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου  
 μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν

11. ἐκ πάντων om. V6; ἐκ πάντων γ' A2.

§ 249. 1. ἦν om. A2. 4. ἀγνοήσεσθαι Σ, L (θή over ησ); ἀγνοηθήσεσθαι vulg.  
 5. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην Σ. A1 (σχεδὸν before κατὰ); κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην L; καθ' ἐκ. σχ. ἡμ. A2; καθ' ἐκ. ἡμ. vulg. 6. οὐδ' (for οὐτ') Y.  
 7. οὐδὲ (for 1st οὔτε) Y. Μελάντου Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2; Μελάνου vulg. 8. τοῖς (for τούτοις) Φ.

καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἐμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάζειν.

10. **τάφροι...τείχη**: this sudden repairing of the fortifications in the panic after the battle has nothing to do with the more elaborate work on the walls undertaken in the following year, when Demosthenes was *τειχοποιός* (§ 113<sup>b</sup>). Lycurgus (44) thus describes the general enthusiasm: οὐκ ἔστιν ἤτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχετο ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, ὅτε ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νεψὶ τὰ ὄπλα. The same excitement prevailed when the walls of Athens were hastily rebuilt after the battle of Plataea, while Themistocles kept the Spartans quiet by diplomacy: see Thuc. I. 90—93. On both occasions tombstones were used in building the walls, and some of these may now be seen in a piece of the wall of Themistocles near the Dipylon gate. Demosthenes gave a talent to the state after the battle of Chaeronea (Vit. x. Orat. p. 851 A).

11. **σιτώνην**, an extraordinary official appointed in special times of distress to regulate the trade in grain and to guard against scarcity. The grain trade was ordinarily in the charge of 35 *σιτοφύλακες* (20 in the city, 15 in the Piraeus): see

Arist. Pol. Ath. 51<sup>b</sup>. See Dinarch. I. 78—82.

§ 249. 1. **μετὰ ταῦτα**, i.e. after the first excitement, when Philip's party gained courage at Athens.—**συστάντων**: gen. absol. with the implied antecedent of οἷς.

2. **γραφὰς**: here in the most restricted sense of *ordinary public suits*, excluding *εἰσαγγελία*, *εὐθυναί*, etc. The chief form of *γραφὴ* here would be the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* (§ 250<sup>4</sup>).

3. **πάντα ταῦτ'**: emphatic apposition, *all these, I say*.—**οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν**, *not in their own names*: at first the leading philippizers kept in the background, and put forward such obscure men as those mentioned below.

6—8. **ἀπόνοια, μανία**: “the first is the deliberate desperation of a man with nothing to lose, the last the desperation of blind passion” (Simcox).—**Σωσικλέους...Μελάντου**: Sosicles and Melantus are otherwise unknown; for Diondas see § 222<sup>b</sup>; Philocrates is not the notorious Hagnusian who gave his name to the peace of 346 B.C. (he disappears after he was condemned on the *εἰσαγγελία* brought by Hyperides, XIX. 116), but an Eleusinian (XXV. 44). The imitation of this passage by Cicero (Cat. III. 7) is familiar:

τοῖνν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσφζόμην. δικαίως·<sup>10</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελ-<sup>250</sup> λόμην, ὅτ' ἀπειρηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐψηφίζεσθε τᾶριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνas<sup>5</sup> ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπράχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν

10. ἄλλους Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1; ἄλλους ἅπαντας vulg. ἐσφζόμην ἐγώ V 6. 11. ὁμωμοκότων O; ὁμωμοκ. V6 (so § 250<sup>10</sup>). 12. ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ εὔορκα γνόντων vulg.; γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα Σ, L, A1 (ἐγνωκότων V6).

§ 250. 2. τὸ πέμπτον μέρος vulg.; πέμπτον om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; cf. § 103<sup>2</sup>. 3. με τὰ ἄρ. Υ. 4. διαγράs (!) for γραφὰs A2. ἀπέφευγον Σ, L, F, A1; ἀπέφυγον vulg. 5. λέγ. καὶ γράφ. B. δὲ καὶ O. 6. μοι πεπράχθαι A2. 7. προσωμολογεῖτε O. προσῆκον Σ, L, vulg.; προσῆκεν A1.

hoc providebam animo, ... nec mihi P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipēs, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.

10. δι' ὑμᾶς, i.e. through the courts.

11. ἀληθές, in accordance with truth. —ὑπὲρ...δικαστῶν, to the credit of judges, etc.

12. γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα, who (not only had sworn, but) gave judgment in accordance with their oaths.

§ 250. 1. ἐν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν: cf. ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον, § 19<sup>3</sup>.

2. τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων: cf. §§ 103<sup>2</sup>, 266<sup>6</sup>. Here, as in § 103, nearly all MSS. (except Σ) add πέμπτον. The mention of this here is interesting, as it implies that at this time some penalty, either partial ἀτιμία or the fine of 1000 drachmas, was inflicted on the prosecutor who failed to get one-fifth of the votes in an εἰσαγγελία. As this was partly a state prosecution, it was right that the individual prosecutor should be better protected against personal risk than the ordinary γραφόμενος. A comparison of Hyperides (Lycoph. 8), διὰ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα,

with Lycurgus (Leocr. 3), τὸν ἰδίᾳ κινδυνεύοντα, and Pollux (VIII. 52, 53), shows that in earlier times no penalty was inflicted on the εἰσαγγέλλων who failed to get one-fifth of the votes, but that afterwards he was subject to the fine without the ἀτιμία. See Essay IV.<sup>4</sup>

3. τᾶριστά με πράττειν: i.e. the judgment of the court justified this clause of Ctesiphon's decree (§ 57<sup>1</sup>).

4. ἔννομα γράφειν: opposed to παράνομα γράφειν: see notes on γραφὰs, § 249<sup>2</sup>.

5. τὰς εὐθύνas ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, put your seal on my accounts: this probably refers to the official seal of the δικαστήριον before which Demosth. appeared to render his accounts (εἶθιναι) at the end of each term of office. We now know from Aristotle (Pol. Ath. 48<sup>18</sup>, 54<sup>6</sup>) that this reference to the court as taking an important part in the εἶθιναι was not a mere form of words. See Dem. XIX. 211, προσελθὼν τοῖς λογισταῖς...ἀπηγόρευε μὴ καλεῖν ἐμέ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δεδωκότα εὐθύνas καὶ οὐκ ὄντα ὑπεύθυνον.

Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ  
 10 ὁ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας δικαστὰς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ  
 πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

251 Naί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ μηδεμίαν  
 γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον  
 ὁ πολλακίς μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν 311  
 ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε  
 5 τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν

9. ὄνομα τὸν Κτ. Υ, Α2. 10. παρὰ om. Α2.  
 § 251. 1. τοῦ om. V6. 2. φεύγειν Σ, Φ, Α1; φευγέειν Β; φυγέειν Σ (γρ),  
 vulg. 3. φυγὼν Σ, L, vulg.; φεύγων Α1.

9. τὸν δῆμον τιθέμενον: this repeated approval of the people refers to the votes mentioned in § 248.

10. δικαστὰς: sc. τιθεμένων. The present judges are addressed above as if they had themselves judged the previous cases.—τὴν ἀλήθειαν: with special emphasis, after τὸν δῆμον and τοὺς δικαστὰς.

This passage is a dignified and fitting conclusion to the line of argument beginning with § 227 concerning the orator's account (λογισμὸς) with the state. His eloquent reply to the appeal of Aeschines to the judges to act as accountants naturally led to a statement of the items which stood to his credit, giving him a new opportunity to enlarge on his services to Athens; and the allusion to εὐθυναί at the close gives a unity to the whole. Now, after a brief allusion (§ 251) to the case of Cephalus, to which Aeschines had appealed, he passes to another matter.

§ 251. 1. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν may be exclamatory, *there is the glory of Cephalus*; cf. l. 5. But καλὸν is generally taken here as predicate to τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου (sc. ἐστί). (See Aesch. III. 194.) This Cephalus is mentioned above, § 219<sup>3</sup>, with Callistratus, Aristophon, and Thrasybulus of Collytus, as if he were their contemporary. He therefore cannot be the father of Lysias, Polemarchus, and Euthydemus, who opens the dialogue of Plato's Republic with Socrates, and was

ἐπὶ γῆρας οὐδῶ in the lifetime of Socrates; but a later statesman, who with Thrasybulus of Collytus was a leader of the Theban party in Athens, and highly respected. Dinarchus (I. 76) speaks of the people of Athens as στρατηγῶν μὲν τοιούτων τετυχηκῶς οἶων εἶπον ἀρίστως, συμβούλους δ' ἔχων Ἀρχίνον καὶ Κεφάλον τὸν Κολλυτέα. The generals mentioned were Conon, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus; and Archinos was one of the restorers of the democracy with the great Thrasybulus in 403 (Aesch. II. 176, III. 187, 195). For Cephalus see Schaefer I. 143, 144.—τὸ...φεύγειν, the (glory of) never being under indictment: φεύγειν has the best MS. authority, and the continuity of a legal process justifies the tense; τὸ...φυγέειν would mean simply never being brought to trial (equally good). Aeschines (194), after mentioning the boast of Aristophon that he had been acquitted (ἀπέφυγεν) seventy-five times on the γραφὴ παρανόμων, compares this with the higher boast of Cephalus, that he had proposed more decrees than any other man, and yet had never once been indicted by the γραφὴ παρανόμων. Demosthenes does not mention this special suit, but he evidently has it in mind here, as in § 249<sup>2</sup>.

4. πρὸς γε τοῦτον, so far as this man is concerned; i.e. Aeschines has done nothing to prevent me from making the boast of Cephalus.



ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πρόποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γ' ὠμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην **252** αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ **5** οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἐτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσαθ' ὅσω καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου **10** διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν **253**

6. ἔστιν ἐμοί Υ.

§ **252**. 1. πανταχόθεν Σ, L; πολλαχόθεν vulg. 3. διειλέχθη Φ, B<sup>1</sup> (ε over ει), I.<sup>1</sup> (?); διελ. περὶ τ. τύχης Υ; διελέχθη (γ erased) Σ. 4. παντελῶς ἀνόητον vulg.; παντ. om. Σ, L, F, B<sup>1</sup>. ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ΑΙ. 2. 5. τὰ βέλτ. L, vulg.; τὰ om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, Φ. ἔχειν om. V6. 6. μενεῖ Σ (accent by corr.); μενεῖ L (accent on ε erased). τοιαύτη μενεῖ ΑΙ. 2. μέχρι καὶ Α2. 8. ὑπερηφάνως Σ, L, Φ (γρ), ΑΙ: 2; ὑπερηφάνῳ vulg. χρῆται Σ, L, Φ (γρ); κέχρηται vulg. τῷ om. Υ. 10. δικαιότερον (for καὶ ἀληθ.) ΑΙ. 11. διαλέξομαι Υ, Φ (γρ), B<sup>2</sup>.

§ **253**. 1. τὴν τῆς Σ, L, F, B<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ; τὴν μὲν τῆς vulg.

6. ἐδίωξε γραφήν, *prosecuted an indictment*, cognate accusative, as in ἐγράψατο γραφήν. Our translation obscures the construction.

7. μηδὲν εἶναι: see M. T. 685.

§§ **252—275**. Here Demosthenes replies at great length to scattered remarks of Aeschines about his "bad fortune," which involved in calamity every person, state, or thing which he touched. Though Aeschines refers only to his general *fortune*, Demosthenes chooses to speak chiefly of his *fortunes* in life, which he compares with those of his opponent. He concludes (§§ 270—275) with some forcible remarks on his *fortune* in the other sense.

§ **252**. 1. ἀγνωμοσύνην (cf. §§ 94<sup>2</sup>, 207<sup>b</sup>), *want of feeling*.

2. περὶ τῆς τύχης: see Aesch. III. 114, 157, 158, with 135, 136; cf. § 212 (above).

3. ὅλως μὲν is opposed to the special exception, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος (7).

4. ἦν, after suggesting the object of ἔχειν, is the object of οἶδεν.

5. βέλτιστα πράττειν: superlative of εὖ πράττειν. See Soph. O. C. 567: ἐξοιδ' ἀνὴρ ὢν χῶτι τῆς ἐς αὔριον οὐδὲν πλέον μοι σοῦ μέτεστιν ἡμέρας (Weil).

8. ὑπερηφάνως: opposed to ἀνθρωπινώτερον, *more humanly*, i.e. more as one man should speak of another: cf. ὅστις... προφέρει (3).—χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ: cf. εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, § 233<sup>3</sup>.

§ **253**. 1. τὴν...τύχην: the general good fortune of Athens, as it is here understood, is not mere chance or luck (as in §§ 207<sup>6</sup> and 306<sup>6</sup>), but the result of

ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὀρώ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν  
μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν  
ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων  
**254** οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπεύραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν  
προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων  
εἰ πρόοιθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐδαιμονία διάξειν αὐτῶν ἄμεινον  
πράττειν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ  
5 προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι <sup>312</sup>

2. ἡγοῦμαι om. Φ. ταῦθ' Σ, L, F, Φ, ΑΙ; τοῦθ' vulg. ὑμῖν Σ, L, vulg.; ἡμῖν  
B (corr.), F<sup>2</sup>, Φ, Α2, V6. καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω (Ἀπολλῶν ΑΙ) τὸν Πύθιον after ὑμῖν Σ  
(mg.), L (corr.), ΑΙ (mg.), Β (γρ) without καί. 3. ἀπάντων Υ. 5. παρόντι  
καιρῷ vulg.; καιρῷ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, F, Φ, ΑΙ.  
§ 254. 3. προοίνο Σ; πρόοινο L, ΑΙ, Β<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; προείνο O, Β<sup>2</sup>. ὑμᾶς F.  
ἀν (for ἐν) Α2; ἀν ἐν Φ. αὐτῶν Σ, Φ; αὐτοῦς Σ (γρ); αὐτῶν (οὐς over ων) F;  
τούτων αὐτῶν ΑΙ. 2; αὐτῶν ἐκείνων vulg. 5. ὅσα (for ὡς) ΑΙ. 2, Υ, F (γρ),  
Φ (γρ). ἐβουλόμεθ' Α2. ὑμῖν F.

divine protection and the care of the  
Gods. See the poem of Solon, quoted in  
XIX. 255, which begins  
Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ'  
ὀλεῖται

αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·  
τοίη γὰρ μεγάλῃμος ἐπίσκοπος ὄβριμοπάτρῃ  
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίῃ χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἔχει·  
with the orator's comment (256), ἐγὼ δ'  
αἰεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι  
καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σφῆζουσιν ἡμῶν  
τὴν πόλιν. (See notes of Dissen and  
Blass.) So IV. 12: (τῆς τύχης) ἤπερ αἰεὶ  
βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα.

2. τὸν...Δωδωναῖον: cf. II. XVI. 233,  
Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικὴ τῆλόθι  
ναίων, in the prayer of Achilles. Oracles  
sent from Dodona to Athens are quoted  
by Demosthenes, XXI. 53; cf. XIX. 299,  
ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ Διώνη (the Queen of Zeus at  
Dodona), πάντες οἱ θεοί. At this time  
Dodona was probably more revered at  
Athens because of the Macedonian in-  
fluence at Delphi: cf. Aesch. III. 130,  
Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζειν τὴν  
Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὦν κ.τ.λ.

3. τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, *mankind*  
*in general*, as opposed to Athens alone.

5. πολλῶν κακῶν: witness the de-  
struction of Thebes by Alexander; and  
the overthrow of the Persian Empire,  
which was then going on. See Aesch.

III. 132, 133; in 134 he includes Athens  
in the general bad fortune which she  
owes to the baneful influence of Demos-  
thenes.

§ 254. 1. τὸ προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα,  
*our choice of the most glorious course*: the  
whole sentence through ἄμεινον πράττειν is  
the subject of εἶναι (4), i.e. he includes all  
this in the special good fortune of Athens.

2. οἰηθέντων introduces εἰ πρόοιθ'...  
διάξειν in *or. obl.*: πρόοινο has the best  
MS. authority here, and in v. 15 and XXI.  
212; but Σ<sup>1</sup> has πρόειθε in VI. 8.

3. αὐτῶν: intensive with τῶν Ἑλλή-  
νων, *than those very Greeks*; almost  
reiterative.—ἄμεινον πράττειν: cf. βέλ-  
τιστα πράττειν, § 252<sup>5</sup>. He compares the  
fate of Athens under the Macedonian  
supremacy with that of the Peloponne-  
sians who remained neutral in the late  
war and the Thessalians who sided with  
Philip: see §§ 64, 65.

4. τῆς τύχης with εἶναι τίθημι: see  
I. 10, τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι...τῆς  
ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θελῆ δικαίως (with  
the following τὸ δὲ...θελῆν), where εἶναι is  
omitted. τίθημι in this sense takes the  
infinitive regularly in *or. obl.*: see Aesch.  
III. 163, βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρή-  
σασθαι τῷ σαντοῦ τρόπῳ;—τὸ δὲ προσ-  
κροῦσαι καὶ μὴ...συμβῆναι, i.e. *our*  
*disaster* (euphemistically called *collision*)

τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος' μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην 255 τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτωςι περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριω- 5 τέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἐνὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, Λισχίνη, 256 προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, καὶ εὖρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίῳ τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καὶ μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, 5 νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

6. ὑμᾶς V6. 7. μέρος om. A1.

§ 255. 2. ὑμῶν A1, Y, Φ. 3. νομίζω εἶναι V6. μὲν οὖν vulg.; οὖν om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. ἀξιῶ Σ, A1; ἐξετάζειν ἀξιῶ L, vulg. 4. ὑμῖν Σ, L, A1; ὑμῖν συνδοκεῖν vulg. 5. τὴν ἰδίαν...τῆς πό (i.e. one line) om. A1 (-λεως remaining at beginning of next line), added in mg.

§ 256. 2. προαιρεῖ Σ; προαιρηῖ L, vulg. σεαυτοῦ Σ, L, V6, West., Lips.; σαυτοῦ vulg., Bk., Vöm., Bl. 4. Διὸς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; Διὸς καὶ θεῶν vulg. 5. προπηλακίζει, ν ου εχειν (^ over ο, and ν added above ου) Σ, making προπηλακίζει, νοῦν. 7. τούτου V6. 9. μετριώτατα (not -ητα) Σ.

and our not having everything done as we wished: this is the object of μετεκληφέναι, with τὸ...μέρος as appositive, *this I believe that our city has received as the share of the general (bad) fortune of the rest of mankind which falls to our lot.*

6. τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος: cf. τὸ γινόμενον, *the quota*, § 104<sup>1</sup>. West. quotes Hdt. IV. 115, ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, and Diod. I. 1, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις ἐκ τῆς πεπρωμένης μερίζουσα. Cf. ἐπιβάλλει, § 272<sup>3</sup>.

§ 255. 2. ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις: Aesch. had sought for the fortune of Demosth. ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις, as in III. 114, συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ ὅτου ἂν προσάψηται...τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν. In 135

Aesch. quotes Hesiod (*Works and Days* 240 ff.) against Demosthenes.

3. ἀξιῶ, *judge*: "eine seltene Bedeutung (Hdt. VI. 87, ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι)," Bl. But here ἀξιῶ is not equivalent to νομίζω, but οὕτωςι ἀξιῶ = τούτῳ ἀξίον εἶναι νομίζω.

4. νομίζω ὑμῖν: sc. δοκεῖν.

§ 256. 4. ψυχρότητα, *coldness, want of feeling*: cf. τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ὄνομα, XIX. 187, with Shilleto's note.

7. χαλεποῦ, *harsh, unfeeling*, stronger than ψυχροῦ.

9. ἐκ τῶν...μετριώτατα, *as moderately as the state of the case (τὰ ἐνόνητα) will permit*. The δύνωμαι which is commonly omitted with ὡς and the superlative is



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Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπήρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ποιήσονται δι' ἔνδειαν. ἐξελθόντι δ' ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτ' ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ 313 ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλακίς ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ'

§ 257. 1. παιδὶ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς Σ (mg. *not* γρ), L (γρ), vulg. 2. καὶ ἔχειν... δι' ἔνδειαν om. A1. 3. παιδίων A1. 4. ἀκόλουθα A2, B (mg.), Y. 5. προσήλθον L (corr.), Φ, O. 6. ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλ. πολλῶν Σ, L; ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλ. vulg. 7. ἐστεφανῶσθαι O. 8. καὶ μή A1. 9. ὄυκαλαγήναι προειλόμην Σ, οὐ καλα γε ἦν ἂ προειλόμην Σ (γρ).

oftener expressed in the subjunctive (as here) or the optative than in the indicative. Its frequent insertion shows that it was always felt. See especially such complicated expressions as Plat. Rep. 385 C, καθ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ πλείστον οἶόν τε, *to the greatest extent possible for man*, which without ἀνθρώπῳ would be about equivalent to ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον: ἀνθρώπῳ is added, limiting οἶόν τε (= δυνατόν), as ἐκ τῶν ἐνόητων here limits δύνωμαι. We have again an apology, perhaps an honest one, for the personal vituperation which follows, §§ 257—262.

§ 257. 1. ὑπήρξεν: the subjects are διδασκαλεῖα and the infinitives ἔχειν and πράττειν, with ἐλέσθαι (7). Most MSS. insert μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς after παιδί.—προσήκοντα, i.e. such as children of the better classes attended: one of the charges against his guardian Aphobus (XXVII. 46) is τοὺς διδασκάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπεστέρηκε.

2. τὸν...ποιήσονται = ὅς ποιήσει, *he who is to do* etc. (M.T. 527, 530).—αἰσχροὺν, i.e. ἀνελεύθερον: this idea of the ignobility of toil is a commonplace with the Greeks, as a slave-holding people. Cf. Ar. Av. 1432, τί γὰρ πάθω; σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

3. ἀκόλουθα πράττειν is explained by the rest of the clause, χορηγεῖν...χρήσιμον εἶναι.

4. χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν: testimony

about all his *λητουργαίαι* is given in § 267. He was χορηγός in 350 B.C., when he was assaulted by Midias (XXI. 13ff.); for his numerous trierarchies see XXI. 78, 154, Aesch. III. 51, 52, and cf. § 99<sup>9</sup> (above).—εἰσφέρειν, to pay the εἰσφορά, or *property-tax*: this was assessed “progressively,” the richer being taxed on a larger proportion (τίμημα) of their actual property than the poorer. (See *Eisphora* in Smith's Dict. Antiq.) The guardians of Demosthenes, to conceal their peculations, continued to enroll their ward in the highest class, so that he paid taxes on a τίμημα of one-fifth of his property (οὐσία), whereas he should have been placed in a much lower class after the inroads upon the estate. See XXVII. 7, εἰς γὰρ τὴν συμμορίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συνετάξαντο κατὰ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς εἰσφέρειν, ὅσον περ...οἱ τὰ μέγιστα κεκτημένοι τιμήματα εἰσέφερον, i.e. they had me so enrolled that I should be assessed on a τίμημα of 500 drachmas (i.e. 5 minae) for every 25 minae of my estate: in XXVIII. 4 this is said to have made him a leader of the symmory (ἡγεμῶν τῆς συμμορίας): see also XXIX. 59, and Boeckh, Staatsh. I. p. 599. See note on § 103<sup>3</sup>.

7. ὥστε, with perfect and present infinitive: M.T. 590, 109.

9. ἐστεφανῶσθαι: see §§ 83, 120, 222, 223.

ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη 258  
 συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ  
 αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασθαι τιν' ἐν οἷς  
 σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους  
 σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποῖα τινὶ κέχρησθαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς 5  
 μὲν ὦν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς  
 τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάρη  
 σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν οὐκ  
 ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦση 259

§ 258. 1. δὴ om. O. 2. περὶ αὐτῆς om. V6. 3. τινος (for τιν') A2.  
 4. σεμνὸς vulg., most rec. edd.; σεμνυνόμενος Σ, L, Vöm. 5. ταύτη Y, F (γρ),  
 Φ (γρ), B<sup>2</sup>; αὐτὴν O; ταυτὶ O (γρ). ποῖα Σ; ὁποῖα Φ, A1; ποῖα δὴ O. τινὶ  
 Σ; τινὶ vulg.; τοῖον corr. to τινι L<sup>1</sup>; τινὰ O. 6. τῆς om. vulg.; τῆν ἐνδείας Σ;  
 τῆς ἐνδείας L; see Vömel.  
 § 259. 1. καὶ τῇ A2.

10. ἃ προειλόμην, i.e. τὴν ἐμὴν προαι-  
 ρεσιν: cf. § 190<sup>5</sup>.

§ 258. 2. συμβεβίωκα...εἰπεῖν: an  
 accidental dactylic hexameter.—πόλλ' ἂν  
 ἔχων=πόλλ' ἂν ἔχοιμι, though I might  
 etc.: cf. § 138<sup>1,2</sup>.

3. φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασθαι (M.T.  
 374): the object infinitive takes the place  
 of μὴ λυπήσω, which in use had become  
 an object clause (M.T. 303 C).

6. πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ: see notes on  
 § 129<sup>2-4</sup>.

7. προσεδρεύων, attending (as a servant).  
 —τὸ μέλαν τρίβων: the ink was probably  
 rubbed from a cake (like India ink) and  
 mixed with water.

8. παιδαγωγεῖον, probably a room in  
 which the παιδαγωγοί, slaves who brought  
 the boys to and from school, waited for  
 these to be ready to go home: later it  
 was used like διδασκαλεῖον for a school-  
 room.—οἰκέτου...ἔχων: the mention of  
 these menial duties implies the same  
 condition of father and son as appears in  
 § 129: but see Blass.

§ 259. In this section and § 260 we  
 have a lively comic description, highly  
 caricatured, of some Asiatic ceremonies  
 of initiation, in which the mother of  
 Aeschines is said to have taken part.  
 This was some form of Bacchic worship,

with perhaps a mixture of Orphic mys-  
 teries. It seems there was a written  
 service (τὰς βίβλους) which Aeschines  
 read like a clerk while his mother  
 officiated as priestess. The initiation of  
 Strepsiades into the Socratic mysteries  
 (Ar. Nub. 255—262) probably carica-  
 tures some similar worship. Plato, Rep.  
 364 E, says of books of Musaeus and  
 Orpheus, βίβλων δὲ ὁμαδὸν παρέχονται  
 Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, ... καθ' ὅσων  
 λοῦσι, πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ιδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πόλεις, ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ  
 ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσίων καὶ παιδείας ἡδονῶν  
 εἰσὶ μὲν ἔτι ζῶσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τελετηήσασιν,  
 ... αἱ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς.

See J. H. Wright in Harvard Studies  
 in Class. Philol. vi. pp. 67, 68. He  
 makes Glaucothea represent a female  
 μητραγύρτης, or priestess of Cybele, the  
 Great Mother (μήτηρ θεῶν), and Aeschines  
 a μνηαγύρτης, or priest of Mên (Sabazius).  
 Strabo, p. 471, says that the scene in De-  
 mosthenes contains Σαβάζια καὶ Μητρῶα.

1. τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦση: see XIX. 281,  
 Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγωγῆς,  
 ἐφ' οἷς ἕτερα τέθνηκεν ἰέρεια, and cf. 249.  
 In XIX. 199 we have τὰς βίβλους ἀνα-  
 γινώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦση, καὶ παῖδ'  
 δυτ' ἐν θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις  
 καλινδούμενον.

τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τᾶλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάτων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ 5 ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον; ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι

2. συνεσκευώρου Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, vulg. καὶ τὴν Φ. 4. ἀπομάτων ΑΙ.

5. ἀνιστὰς Σ, L, ΑΙ. 2, B; ἀναστὰς vulg. κελεύων Σ, ΑΙ, B; καὶ κελεύων L, vulg.

6. τηλικούτ' Σ, L; τηλικούτον vulg.

2. τᾶλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, you helped to conduct the rest of the ceremony: σκευωροῦμαι is properly *look after* σκεύη (of any kind), and generally *manage, direct, devise, concoct* (often in a bad sense): cf. IX. 17, τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον (of Philip). See σκευωρία and σκευωρός.

3. νεβρίζων and κρατηρίζων are probably transitive and govern τοὺς τελουμένους, like καθαίρων, ἀπομάτων, and ἀνιστὰς, i.e. *dressing them in fawnskins and drenching them with wine*. See Eur. Bacch. 24, νεβρίδ' ἐξάψας χροός, and Sandys' note. They are sometimes taken as neuter, meaning *dressing yourself in a fawnskin and pouring out wine*. Harpocration has, οἱ μὲν ὡς τοῦ τελοῦντος νεβρίδα ἐνημμένον ἢ καὶ τοὺς τελουμένους διαζωννύντος νεβρίσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νεβροῦς διασπᾶν κατὰ τινα ἄρρητον λόγον (i.e. as symbolic of the sufferings of Dionysus). Photius explains κρατηρίζων by οἶνον... ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων. Dissen quotes the passive ἐκρατηρίσθημεν = ἐμεθύσθημεν from Hesychius.

4. ἀπομάτων: Harpocration says: οἱ μὲν ἀπλοϊκώτερον ἀκούουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποψῶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος· ἄλλοι δὲ περιεργότερον, οἶον περιπλάττων τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὰ πίτυρα τοῖς τελουμένοις, ὡς λέγομεν ἀπομάττεσθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα πηλῷ· ἤλειφον γὰρ τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τῷ πιτύρῳ τοὺς μυομένους, ἐκμιμούμενοι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ' ἐνίοις, ὡς ἄρα οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλυμήναντο γύψῳ καταπλασάμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ γνώριμοι γενέσθαι. Dissen quotes Wyttenbach's note on Plut. Mor. p. 166 A: "Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinsetur

imprimis luto, πηλῷ, tum abstergeretur, quorum illud est περιμάττειν, hoc ἀπομάττειν, sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur." The whole expression then seems to mean *plastering them over with the clay and then rubbing them clean with the bran*.

5. ἀνιστὰς: the victim is supposed to be sitting during the operation, like Strepsiadēs (Nub. 256).—καθαρμοῦ: for the full force of this word see the passages above quoted under I. 4; the process was a purification and also a charm.—κελεύων, subordinate to ἀνιστὰς: i.e. *making him get up as he bids him say, etc.*—ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον: this formula was borrowed from initiations and other ceremonies of a higher character, meaning that a new life had opened as the result of the ceremony just ended. Suidas gives (under ἔφυγον... ἄμεινον): τάττεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ κακοῦ εἰς κρείττον ἐλθόντων. ἔθος γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν γάμοις στέφεισθαι ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα ἀκάνθας μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν καὶ φέροντα λίκνον πλήρες ἄρτων λέγειν τὸ προκείμενον, ἀνισσόμενον τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον μεταβολήν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δρυῶν καὶ ἀκανθῶν στέμμα κακὸν ἔλεγον. See Eustath. p. 1726, and [Plut.] Prov. Alex. XVI. The saying (Eustathius calls it a παροιμία) originally referred to the change from the acorns and thistles of primitive life to the more civilized bread, but was used at weddings and in other ceremonies. The words form a paroemiac, and probably belonged to some metrical formula.

6. ὀλολύξαι, used especially of *cries* or *shouts* in religious worship or prayers: see Od. IV. 767, ὡς εἶποῦσ' ὀλόλυξε (after



σεμνυόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, 260 τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ 5

§ 260. 2. μαράθῳ Σ, L, vulg.; μαράθρω V6. 3. παρείας A1, B<sup>1</sup>.  
4. εὐσαβοι (οἱ over υσ) Σ; εὐ σαβοι (οἱ over ευ) F; εὐ οἱ σαβοι B; εὐ οἱ σάβοι L; εὐοῖ Σαβοῖ Harpocr., vulg. (See Vömel.) ὕης ἄττης αττης υης Σ; ὕης Bl.; υῖς ἄττης ἄττης υῖς L; ὕης ἄττης [ἄττης] ὕης Strab. p. 471. 5. κιττοφόρος all MSS. (See Vömel.) λικνοφόρος A2.

a prayer); Aeschyl. Eum. 1043, ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς: Eur. Bacch. 689, ὠλολύξεν ἐν μέσαις σταθείσα Βάκχαις.

8. φθέγγεσθαι μέγα: the strong voice of Aeschines is often mentioned by Demosthenes; see below, §§ 280, 285<sup>5</sup>, 291<sup>6</sup>, 313<sup>7</sup>, and especially XIX. 206—208, 216, 337—340; in XIX. 216 he says, μηδὲ γε εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγα οὗτος φθέγγεται, μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ, alluding to his own weakness of voice. See Dissen's notes on the whole of this section.

§ 260. 1. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις implies that the ceremonies just described were performed by night.—θιάσους, used especially of Bacchanals; see Eur. Bacch. 680, ὄρῳ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν.

2. τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ: see Photius, ταῦτα φυτὰ μυστικά ἐστι· καὶ ἡ μὲν μάραθος ἀγωγός ἐστιν ὄφρων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸ γῆρας (their old hides) ἀποδύονται· ἡ δὲ λεύκη ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἀνελθὼν ἐστέψατο τούτῳ. Harpocr. (under λεύκη), after quoting this passage, says, οἱ τὰ Βακχικὰ τελούμενοι τῇ λεύκῃ στέφονται τῷ χθόνιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ φυτὸν, χθόνιον δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον. τὴν δὲ λεύκην πεφυκέναι φασὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἀχέρωντι, ὅθεν καὶ ἀχερωίδα καλεῖσθαι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ· ἤριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις ὄρῳς ἤριπεν ἢ ἀχερωῖς' (II. XIII. 389). (For Dionysus, Persephone's son, the Orphic Zagreus, see Gerhard, Mythol. §§ 419, 429, 438.) From μάραθον, *fennel*, Marathon is said to have been named (cf. Strab. p. 160): for the fondness of serpents for it, see

Ael. Hist. Animal. IX. 16. For serpents in the Bacchic worship, see Eur. Bacch. 102, 697. The white poplar, *populus alba*, is mentioned in Ar. Nub. 1007. See Bekk. Anecd. p. 279: ἡ δὲ λεύκη τὸ μὲν τῶν φύλλων ἔχει λευκὸν τὸ δ' ἕτερον μέλαν, σύμβολόν τι τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.

3. τοὺς παρείας: see Harpocr., παρείαι ὀνομάζονται τινες ὄφεις παρὰ τὸ παρείας μείζους ἔχειν, and Ael. Hist. An. VIII. 12, ὁ παρείας ἢ παρούας πυρρὸς τὴν χροάν, εὐωπὸς τὸ ὄμμα, πλατὺς τὸ στόμα, δακεῖν οὐ σφαλερὸς ἀλλὰ πρᾶος. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τῷ θεῶν φιλανθρωποτάτῳ ἱερὸν ἀνήκαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπεφήμισαν Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεράποντα εἶναι οἱ πρῶτοι ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύσαντες. These harmless snakes were thus sacred to Aesculapius, and were named παρείαι from their fat *cheeks*.

4. εὐοῖ σαβοῖ: as εὐοῖ, *evos*, was the cry used in the regular Bacchic worship, so σαβοῖ was used in invoking Σαβάζιος, the Phrygian Bacchus. All points to some Asiatic worship, more or less caricatured.—ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης: these mystic words stand as a cognate accusative with ἐπορχούμενος; this is what he danced. See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 652, 1041—46, who quotes Bekk. Anecd. p. 207: ἄττης ὕης· τὸ μὲν ὕης υἱός, τὸ δὲ ἄττης θεὸς Σαβάζιος. ἄλλοι δὲ ὕην τὸν Διόνυσον.

5. ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν designates Aeschines as *leader* of the song or dance or both: cf. Eur. Bacch. 141, ὁ δ' ἔξαρχος

261 τοιαῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ' ὅπως δῆποτε (ἔω γὰρ τοῦτο)—ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ', εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχι-

6. τοιαῦτα Σ, L; τὰ τοιαῦτα vulg. γραδίων Σ; γραδίων L. 8. τίς Σ. αὐτὸν (w. both ' and ' ) Σ; αὐτὸν L; αὐτὸν vulg.; "εὐδαιμονήσειεν αὐτὸν? pr. Laur. S, nunc ἀπτοῖ" (Vömel). αὐτοῦ (w. ' and ' ) Σ; αὐτοῦ L, vulg.  
 § 261. 2. τοῦτό γε Α1. ἐπειδὴ γ' Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; ἐπειδὴ δ' Ο; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν Α2; ἐπ. γ' ἐνεγράφησ' om. Α1. 3. γραμματεύειν Σ, L, Α1, Φ; ὑπογραμμ. L<sup>2</sup>, vulg. ἀρχιδίους Σ, L, vulg.; ἀρχεῖους Σ (γρ), Φ (γρ), Υ, Α1, Β (γρ); ἀρχαίους Α2.

Βρόμιος, εἰοί.—**κιττοφόρος**, *ivy-bearer*, the ivy being sacred to Bacchus. For the reading *κιστοφόρος* (against all MSS.) see Vömel's note. See Harpocr. under *κιττοφόρος*: ἐνιοι μετὰ τοῦ σ γράφουσι κιστοφόρος· τὰς γὰρ λεγομένας κίστας ἱερὰς εἶναι ἔλεγεν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ταῖν θεᾶν.—**λικνοφόρος**, *bearer of the winnowing-fan*, *λικνον*, the *mystica vannus Iacchi*. See Verg. Georg. 1. 166, and Varro quoted by Servius on the passage: ideo ait quod Liberi patris sacra ad purgationem animae pertinebant; et sic homines eius mysteriis purgabantur sicut vannis frumenta purgantur.—**καὶ τοιαῦτα**, i.e. *these* (ἔξαρχος κ.τ.λ.) and similar names.

7. **ἔνθρυπτα, στρεπτοὺς**, *sops, twists*: for *ἔνθρυπτα* see the Schol., *ψωμοὶ οἴνω βεβρεγμένοι*; *στρεπτοὺς*, *πλακούντος εἶδος* (Harpocr.), evidently from *στρέφω*.—**νεήλατα**: κατ' ἔλλειψιν ἀντὶ τοῦ νεήλατα ἄλφιστα, τὰ νεωστὶ ἀληλεσμένα, ἃ δὴ μέλιτι ἀναδεύοντες, ἀσταφίδας τε καὶ χλωροὺς ἐρεβίνθους ἐπεμβάλλοντες, τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ τελοῦσιν ἐνεμον (Harpocr.), i.e. *barley buns*, made of newly-ground (roasted) barley, soaked in honey and covered with plums and chick-peas. But Blass is right in connecting *νεήλατα* not with *ἀλέω* but with *ελαύνω*: cf. *ελατήρ*, a *flat cake* (Ar. Ach. 246, Eq. 1182); acc. to Suidas, παρὰ τὸ ταῖς χερσὶν ελαύνεσθαι εἰς πλάτος. See Bl. and West. on this section.

§ 261. 1. εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ' :

each deme was responsible for the correctness of its *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, or list of citizens. Aristotle's Constitution of Athens now gives us clear information on the whole subject of the enrolment of new citizens. See 42<sup>2</sup>: *μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστῶν. ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες· ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφονται, διαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμόσαντες οἱ δημόται, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δοκοῦσι γεγονέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ... δεῦτερον δ' εἰ ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους... μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δοκιμάζει τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας ἢ βουλή... φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη (previously described), *χλαμύδας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσι πάντων... διεξεληθόντων δὲ τῶν θυῖν ἐτῶν, ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν.* (See the whole chapter.)—**ὅπως δῆποτε**, *somehow*, with *ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ'*, refers to the story that his father was a slave, in which case it would have been impossible for the son to be legally enrolled as a citizen without an affirmative vote of 6000 in the Assembly; while the safeguards against illegal enrolment (see Aristotle, above) would have made this almost impossible.*

3. **γραμματεύειν**: see §§ 162<sup>5</sup>, 209<sup>1</sup>. The occupation of a paid private clerk (not that of a clerk of the Senate or Assembly) was despised at Athens: see § 127<sup>3</sup>, *ὄλεθρος γραμματεῦς*.—**ἀρχιδίους**, *petty officers*: *ἀρχιδίον* is here diminutive



δίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δι' οὐδὲν τῶν 5 προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν 262 τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις [ἐκείνοις] ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύκκα καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὄπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ 5 τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ᾧ πολλὰ τραύματ'

4. πάντα (for πάνθ' ἃ) ΑΙ. 5. κατηγορεῖς ΑΙ. κατήσχυνας Σ.  
 6. ὑπηργμένων Υ; προυπηργμένων Ο; προϋπηργμένων Σ.  
 § 262. 1. μισθώσας αὐτὸν Σ, V6. 2. ἐκείνοις ἐπικαλ. ΑΙ; ἐκείνοις καλου-  
 μένοις V6; ἐπικαλ. ἐκείν. vulg. Σιμύκκα Σ, Φ; Σιμύκκα (a above) L; Σιμίκα Ο<sup>1</sup>, Β<sup>1</sup>  
 (Σιμύκκα τὸν ὑποκριτὴν, Athen. VIII. p. 348 A); Σιμύλω Σ (γρ), ΑΙ. 2, vulg.;  
 Σιμύδω Υ. 3. ἐλάας Σ, ΑΙ; ἐλαίας vulg. 4. ὄπωρώνης ἐκείνος Α2.  
 5. τούτων τραύματα L, vulg.; τραύματα om. Σ. 7. πρὸς Σ, L; ὁ πρὸς vulg.  
 ἐξ ᾧ Β (mg.). τὰ πολλὰ Ο.

of ἀρχή in the sense of ἄρχων. See Aesch. III. 21, ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ ἀπο-  
 δημεῖν.

6. τῶν προϋπηργμένων, of your ante-  
 cedents.

§ 262. 2. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, the  
 heavy groaners.—Σιμύκκα (so Σ): Theo-  
 phrastus (Athen. VIII. 348 A) mentions  
 Σιμύκκα τὸν ὑποκριτὴν (perhaps the same  
 man), to whom Stratoniscus the harper  
 applied the proverb μέγας οὐδεὶς σαπρὸς  
 ἰχθύς, dividing the words μέγας, οὐδεὶς,  
 σαπρὸς, ἰχθύς (ἰχθύς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀφωσίαν).

3. ἐτριταγωνίστεις: a company of  
 strolling actors, such as performed at the  
 country festivals, was probably composed  
 of two men, who played the first and  
 second parts and hired another to play the  
 third parts. The description which follows  
 (σῦκα κ.τ.λ.) can hardly apply to the  
 μικρὰ Διονύσια, τὰ ἐν ἀγροῖς, which came  
 in winter (see Bl.).—σῦκα...χωρίων: the  
 meaning of these much disputed words  
 seems to be, that the band of players sub-  
 sisted chiefly on the fruit which Aeschines  
 as their hired servant, collected from the  
 neighbouring farms by begging, stealing,  
 or buying, as he found most convenient.  
 He is compared to a small fruiterer  
 (ὄπωρώνης), who each morning collects

his load of fruit from farms which he  
 has hired, or wherever else he can get  
 it cheapest. Pollux (VI. 128) includes  
 ὄπωρώνης (with πορνοβοσκός and ἀλλαντο-  
 πώλης) in his long list of βεῖοι ἐφ' οἷς ἄν  
 τις ὄνειδισθεῖη. See [Dem.] LIII. 21.

5. πλείω...ἀγώνων, getting more (profit)  
 from these than from your plays (contests).  
 —οὓς (cogn. acc.)...ἠγωνίζεσθε, which you  
 played at the risk of your lives (or in which  
 you fought for your lives), with a pun on  
 the two meanings of ἀγών and ἀγωνίζομαι,  
 fight and play: see IV. 47 τῶν στρατηγῶν  
 ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ  
 θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ  
 ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνισσάσθαι περὶ θανάτου  
 τολμᾷ, where there is a similar pun on  
 being tried for their lives in court and in  
 battle.

6. ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος, without  
 truce or herald, i.e. implacable, without  
 even the common decencies of civilized  
 warfare. See Thuc. I. 146, παρ' ἀλλήλους  
 ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ  
 (before the actual war), and II. I, οὔτε  
 ἐπεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεῖ (after the war  
 began): here heralds are a sign of actual  
 warfare.

7. τραύματ' εἰληφῶς: see XIX. 337, ὅτε  
 μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγώ-



εὐληφῶς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπίρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς  
**263** δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ὦν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ'  
 ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορή-  
 ματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἐπήλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος  
 5 λαγῶ βίον ἕξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῆσεσθαι  
 προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτᾶ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ'  
**264** ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὦν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι  
 ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὔτος

8. κινδύνων om. A1.

§ **263.** 1. ὦν Σ, L, O<sup>1</sup>, A1, F<sup>1</sup>, Φ<sup>1</sup>; ἐξ ὦν vulg. τὴν om. O. 2. προσ-  
 ὤπου (for τρόπου σου) A2. 3. τούτων (for τοῦτ') A2. 4. ἦλθέ σοι V6.  
 5. λαγῶ Σ, vulg.; λαγῶ L; λαγῶν A1 (ν erased). ἕξεις V6. 6. ἀδικων  
 (τι above, ω ch. to ου) L. 7. ὑπὸ πάντων A1.

§ **264.** 2. ἐθάρρησε A1.

νίξετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε  
 ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων, καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε  
 οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν  
 ἀποστῆναι. This account of the πόλεμος  
 makes τραύματ' here perfectly intelligible;  
 but the reading πλείω...τραύματα in 5  
 (which all MSS. except Σ have) makes  
 endless difficulty and confusion. If τραύ-  
 ματα in 5 is referred to wounds received  
 in stealing fruit, compared with those  
 received on the stage or after the play,  
 there is a strange repetition of the latter;  
 if there is a reference (as Westermann  
 suggests) to fruit used in pelting the actors,  
 it is hard to see how figs, grapes, and  
 olives could endanger the lives of the  
 "heavy groaners."

8. ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις: see § 245<sup>2</sup>  
 and note.

Demosthenes (XIX. 246, 247) says that  
 Aeschines was a τριταγωνιστής also to  
 actors of high repute, as Theodorus and  
 Aristodemus; and he reminds him of the  
 time when he used to play the part of  
 Creon in the Antigone with these actors.  
 He adds the following: ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς  
 δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ  
 γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράνους  
 καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρ' ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι. This  
 is mentioned to explain why so important  
 a part was given to Aeschines.

§ **263.** 3. καὶ emphasizes the rest of  
 the clause, τοῦτ'...ποιῆσαι, i.e. when at  
 last you took it into your head to try  
 this.

5. λαγῶ βίον ἕξης: cf. Dion. Chrys.  
 LXVI. p. 357 R. Weil quotes Trag. frag.  
 incert. 373 (N.), λαγῶ βίον ἕξης, ὁ πρὶν  
 ἄτρομος λέων. "Dicuntur leopardis vitam  
 vivere qui semper anxii trepidique vivunt;  
 nam ut est apud Herod. III. 108, ὁ λάγος  
 ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπου, ac ne somnum quidem capit  
 nisi oculis apertis" (Dissen).

7. θρασὺς ὦν...ὦψαι (M. T. 884):  
 personal passive construction. Cf. §§ 282,  
 284, 286.

§ **264.** 1. χιλίων ἀποθανόντων: see  
 Diod. XVI. 86, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπεσον  
 μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἤλωσαν  
 δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων. See Ly-  
 curg. Leocr. 142, χίλιοι τῶν ὑμετέρων  
 πολιτῶν ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ  
 δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦς ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαν. Diod.  
 XVI. 88 quotes an eloquent passage of the  
 speech of Lycurgus at the trial of Lysicles,  
 one of the Athenian commanders at  
 Chaeronea, who was condemned to death:  
 ἐστρατήγεις, ὦ Λύσικλες, καὶ χιλίων μὲν  
 πολιτῶν τετελευτηκότων δισχιλίων δ' αἰχ-  
 μαλώτων γεγονότων, τροπαίου δὲ κατὰ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐστηκότος, τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης

παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ'  
 315 εἶπειν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι  
 προσόντ' αἰσχροῦ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδίη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς 5  
 λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχροῦ ἐστιν εἶπειν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βεβιωμένα, 265  
 πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσι τὴν  
 ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμ-  
 ματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμ-  
 μάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' 5  
 ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, 266  
 ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμά-

4. παραλείπω ΔΙ. ὅσ' ἀναδείξαιμι Φ.

§ 265. 1. καιμοὶ Σ; καμοὶ οἱ καιμοὶ L, ΔΙ. 2. πράως Σ<sup>1</sup>; πράως (οἱ  
 πράως) καὶ Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, vulg.

3. ποτέρου Σ<sup>1</sup>, L, ΔΙ; ὀποτέρου Σ (corr.), vulg.

4. ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν. (after ἐτελούμην) vulg., om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>.

δουλευούσης, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων γεγενη-  
 μένων σοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ στρατηγούτου,  
 τολμᾶς ζῆν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὄραν;

5. προσόντ' αἰσχροῦ τούτῳ: cf. § 276<sup>5</sup>.  
 —εὐχερῶς λέγειν, to be ready to tell: cf.  
 § 70<sup>5</sup>.

§ 265. In §§ 265, 266 the orator sums  
 up vigorously the substance of §§ 257—  
 264. Westermann points out that each  
 of the five stages of the life of Aeschines  
 is mentioned in order, when he was  
 (1) a schoolmaster's assistant (§ 258),  
 (2) initiator (§§ 259, 260), (3) scribe (§ 261),  
 (4) actor (§ 262), (5) politician (§§ 263, 264).  
 The words commonly read in l. 4, ἐχόρευες,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν, correspond to nothing  
 that precedes, and are rightly omitted on  
 MS. authority. Many ancient rhetoricians  
 quote these famous antitheses with ap-  
 proval and admiration; but Demetrius  
 (περὶ ἔρμην. 250, p. 105 W.) disapproves of  
 them on rhetorical grounds, saying κακοτε-  
 χροῦντι γὰρ ἔοικε διὰ τὴν ἀναπαύδοσιν,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ παίζοντι, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντι.  
 We are again shocked by the open avowal  
 of the disgrace of earning an honest living;  
 the ancients were certainly more honest  
 than many of our generation in expressing  
 this.

1. τὰ...βεβιωμένα: passive of ἀ...βε-  
 βιώκαμεν (cf. § 130<sup>2</sup>).

2. πράως: Spengel quotes Rhet. ad  
 Alex. 38, δεῖ δὲ πικρῶ τῷ ἡθει μὴ ἐξετάζειν  
 ἀλλὰ πρᾶεῖ· τούτου γὰρ τὸν τρόπον οἱ  
 λόγοι γιγνόμενοι πιθανώτεροι φανήσονται  
 τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οἱ δὲ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς ἥκιστα  
 διαβαλοῦσιν, as referring to this passage,  
 and urges on this ground the omission of  
 ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. (See Spengel,  
 Preface to Rhet. Gr. II. p. xviii.) Blass,  
 however, doubts the reference, and ex-  
 plains πράως as a sarcastic allusion to the  
 bitterness of Aeschines. We could wish  
 for some sufficient reason for discrediting  
 the words in question, chiefly out of regard  
 for Demosthenes.

4. ἐφοίτων, went to school: cf. Ar.  
 Nub. 916, διὰ σὲ δὲ φοιτᾶν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει  
 τῶν μειρακίων.—ἐτελούμην, probably into  
 the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. ἐξέπιπτες: ἐκπίπτειν, exigi, is used  
 as a passive to ἐκβάλλειν; cf. XIX. 337,  
 ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν  
 θεάτρων. See Arist. Poet. 17<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>15</sup>.

§ 266. 2. ὑπὲρ...δοκιμάζομαι: δο-  
 κίμασία is any investigation to test the  
 fitness or competency of a person for any-  
 thing, as for office (its ordinary meaning)

ζομαι, τὸ δὲ μῆδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ  
 συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ  
 5 σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαμβάντα τὸ  
 πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γ'—οὐχ ὀράς;—τύχη  
 συμβεβιωκῶς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λητουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν λελητούρ-  
 γηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνώ. παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς  
 ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

5 καὶ

ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας,

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

- § 266. 3. σὺ (for σοὶ) V6. 4. εἴτ' ἔτι δεῖ σε τοῦτο Y, A2. 5. τὸ  
 πέμπτον μέρος MSS.; πέμπτον om. Dind. (cf. § 103<sup>3</sup>). 6. ἀγαθῇ γ' Σ, A1. 2;  
 ἀγ. δ' L, vulg. 7. συμβεβηκῶς Σ (η ch'gd to ω or ιω), A2; συμβεβιωκῶς O<sup>1</sup>.  
 ἐμῆς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης vulg.
- § 267. 1. λειτουργῶν (ι over γῶ) Σ. 2. ἀναγνώ, παρ' ἃς Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Φ;  
 ἀναγνώ πάσας vulg. παρανάγνωθι Σ, L, F; παρανάγ. δὴ O (ἡμῖν in mg.), A1. 2,  
 B; παρανάγ. δ' ἡμῖν vulg. μοι om. vulg. 3. ἐλυμήνω A1, -άνω A2.  
 4. νεκρῶν (AΠH over εκρ) Σ; ἦκω λιπῶν L, vulg.; λοιπὸν V6. 6. κακαγγελεῖν  
 B, Y; κακ' ἀγγέλλειν Σ, A1 (corr.); κακαγγέλλειν L, Φ, A1<sup>1</sup>, V6; κάκ' ἀγγελεῖν vulg.

or for citizenship; and δοκιμάζομαι here implies that this trial is to test his fitness for the crown.

3. τὸ...ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι: cf. § 86<sup>2</sup>, ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν. The articular infinitive in *or. obl.* is rare (M. T. 794, 743).—σοὶ ὑπάρχει, *it is in store for you.*

4. κινδυνεύεις corresponds to δοκιμάζομαι (2): the meaning is, *the question with you is.*

5. τοῦτο ποιεῖν, i.e. *to go on being a sycofantes.*—πεπαῦσθαι, *to be stopped* (once for all), i.e. by ἀτιμία (cf. § 82<sup>5</sup>).—τὸ πέμπτον μέρος: Dindorf omits πέμπτον because it is omitted in §§ 103, 222, 250, whereas it appears in other speeches frequently (e.g. XXII. 3). What modern orator or writer would submit to such rules of consistency as critics impose on the ancients?

6. οὐχ ὀράς; cf. 232<sup>5</sup>, 281<sup>5</sup>.

§ 267. 1. φέρε...ἀναγνώ (M. T. 257): the orator does not read the testimony himself; cf. λέγε (9). So φέρε...

εἶπω, XIX. 169, followed by λέγε.—λη-  
 τουργιῶν: this includes the public services mentioned in χορηγεῖν and τριηραρχεῖν in § 257<sup>1</sup>, but not εἰσφέρειν, as the property tax was not a λητουργία.

3. ἐλυμαίνου, *used to outrage*: cf. ἐπέ-  
 τριψας, § 180<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἦκω...πύλας: the *Heccuba* of Euripides begins,

ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
 λιπῶν, ἔν' Αἰδὸς χωρὶς ᾤκισταί θεῶν,  
 Πολύδωρος, Ἐκάβης παῖς.

All MSS. except Σ have λιπῶν for νεκρῶν, making the sense of the quotation complete. But such a change is unlikely in so familiar a verse.

6. κακαγγελεῖν...με: this verse is otherwise unknown: κακαγγελεῖν must be pres. infin. of κακαγγελέω (otherwise unknown), depending on θέλοντα. The readings of the best MSS., κακαγγέλλειν or κάκ' ἀγγέλλειν (Σ), are plainly impossible. Weil refers to Eur. Tro. 705, οὐχ ἐκῶν γὰρ ἀγγελέω κ.τ.λ.



καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἔπειθ' οὔτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν. λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς 268  
316 ἰδίους εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ τοῖς  
δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρα-  
σχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ  
τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, 5  
οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέληφα. 269  
ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηῆσθαι πάντα τὸν  
χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐπιλεληῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν

7. ἔπειτα δὲ vulg.; δὲ om. Σ, L, A1. καὶ πολίτην Σ, L, F, Φ; καὶ om. vulg.

8. πάντες ἀπολέσειαν οἱ τοι A1. καὶ καὶ προδότην (after πολίτην) vulg.; om. Σ, L, Φ, B<sup>1</sup>, A1.

§ 268. 3. παρασχοίμην ἂν vulg.; ἂν om. Σ, L, B, F, Φ. 4. τινας om. O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 269. 2. μὲν om. V6. πάντα τὸν χρόνον Σ, L, Φ, B, A1. 2; τὸν πάντα χρ. vulg. 3. τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα A1; εὖ om. Σ, L, vulg.; εὖ above line B. αὐτὸν (after εὐθὺς) Y, B (γρ), O (mg.); αὐτῶν Φ (γρ), F (γρ), A2 (after ἐπιλ.).

7. The words κακὸν κακῶς σε...ἀπολέσειαν are probably an adaptation of a verse quoted from Lynceus by Athenaeus, IV. 150 C, κακὸν κακῶς σέ <γ> ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί, or both may go back to the source of Ar. Eq. 2. 3, κακῶς Παφλάγονα...ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί. See Blass.

8. πονηρὸν: with both πολίτην and τριταγωνιστήν.

§ 268. 2. κοινός, in public relations, *public spirited*, in private matters (as here), *devoted, at the service of all*: cf. Isoc. I. 10, τοῖς φίλοις κοινός.

3. οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι, *I had rather not mention anything*.

4. εἴ τινας ἐλυσάμην: these were Athenians captured by Philip at Olynthus in 348 B.C., whom Demosthenes ransomed in 346, when he was in Pella on the second embassy (Hist. § 40). See XIX. 166—170. Dem. lent various sums to these prisoners, which they paid for their ransoms; when afterwards Philip set all the other prisoners free without ransom, he forgave the first their debts to him (ἔδωκα

δωρεὰν τὰ λύτρα), which otherwise they would have been strictly required by law to pay (XIX. 170). See [LIII.] 11, οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοῦ λυσάμενον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι τὸν λυθέντα ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδῶ τὰ λύτρα: but this is hardly sufficient authority for the severity of the penalty, personal slavery.

5. συνεξέδωκα, i.e. *helped* poor citizens to endow their daughters: giving a dowry was an important part of giving a daughter in marriage: see Meier and Schomann, pp. 513 ff.

6. οὔτε...οὐδέν, *nor anything else of the kind*. These words are rather loosely connected with the preceding clauses with οὔτε: in all three οὔτε repeats the negative of οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι κ.τ.λ., so that the construction here is οὔτε ἂν εἴποιμι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν.

§ 269. 1. ὑπέληφα: cf. ὑπέλημαι (7).

2. ἐγὼ...δεῖν: an iambic trimeter.

3. ποιήσαντ': sc. εὖ.—ἐπιλεληῆσθαι: cf. πεπαῦσθαι, § 266<sup>5</sup>.

χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου.  
 5 τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ  
 δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίξειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον  
 οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέιλημμαι περὶ  
 τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ  
 τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου  
 πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ  
 5 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ τὴν ἐμὴν—  
 εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει—πάντων γεγενῆ-

4. μικροψύχου (ρ erased) Σ. 7. προαχθήσομαι Α2. ὁ πῶς L.  
 § 270. 2. εἰπεῖν Α2. 3. τοῦτον Σ, L; τουτονὶ vulg. 5. συγχωρῶ σοι  
 vulg.; σοι om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Α1. 6. πάντων αἰτίαν L, vulg.; αἰτίαν om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, Völm., Bl.

xix. 1

4. μικροψύχου: see note on § 279<sup>5</sup>.  
 5. ὑπομιμνήσκειν, i.e. *to be always calling to mind*.—μικροῦ δεῖν, the full form of μικροῦ, almost (M. T. 779): cf. § 151<sup>3</sup>. West. quotes Cic. Lael. xx. 71, odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit; and Sen. Benef. II. 10. haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam; lacerat animum et premit frequens meritorum commemoratio. Pericles (Thuc. II. 40) looks at the matter from a different point of view: οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους· κ.τ.λ. See the opposite view of Aristotle's strange μεγαλόψυχος (Eth. IV. 3, 25); δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ μνημονεύειν οὐς ἂν ποιήσωσιν εὖ, ὧν δ' ἂν πάθωσιν οὐ. There is a New England saying, "If a man does you a favour, he follows you with a tomahawk all your lifetime."

7. προαχθήσομαι: cf. προήχθη (sc. τάξει), VIII. 71.—ὅπως ὑπέιλημμαι, *as I have been understood*, i.e. the general opinion which has been formed of me.

8. ἀρκεῖ μοι: sc. οὕτως ὑπειλήφθαι.

§§ 270—275. We have here a sort of peroration to the discourse on Fortune

(§§ 252—275), in which the orator comes at last to the precise point of his opponent's remark, that Demosthenes has brought ill-luck upon every person or state with which he had to do (Aesch. III. 114). Hitherto Demosthenes has spoken far more of his "fortunes" than of his "fortune." See remarks before notes on § 252.

§ 270. 2. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, as we say, *under the Sun*: "klingt fast poetisch" (Bl.). See II. v. 267, ὅσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε: Od. xv. 349, ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο. In prose ὑπὸ with the accus. generally implies *extension towards* something, an idea which we miss here.

3. ἀθῶος, *unharméd*: cf. § 125<sup>2</sup>, where we have the original meaning, *free from θωή, penalty*, as in xxiii. 78, ταύτης μὲν (δίκης) ἀθῶος ἀφίεται, *he is acquitted*.

4. δυναστείας: see §§ 67<sup>3</sup>, 322<sup>7</sup>.

6. πάντων γεγενῆσθαι, *has fallen to the lot of us all*: the subject is τὴν ἐμὴν ...δυστυχίαν, and πάντων refers to *all the Athenians* (cf. § 272<sup>1</sup>) opposed to τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμέ in § 271<sup>1</sup>. He would admit (he implies) that his own fortune had extended to Athens, were it not that foreign states had suffered the same ill fortune.

σθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνῆν 271  
 ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν, μὴ  
 μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσω  
 δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώ-  
 πων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ 5  
 οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοῖνυν ταῦτ' 272  
 ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιά. καὶ ταῦτ'  
 317 εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφη-  
 μίας ἅπασιν, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν  
 αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην. ἦν ἂν τοῖς 5  
 ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἔμ' αἰτιάσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν 273  
 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, αἰὲ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ  
 πόλις προὔτιθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ'  
 εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοία γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις  
 ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε 5  
 πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλον-  
 ὅτι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχει εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ

- § 271. 1. ἰδόντων (ν above line) Σ. ἐμὲ om. A2. 3. μόνον om. A2.  
 ἄνδρας V6. 4. καὶ ἀληθ. om. A2. 5. καινὴν F.  
 § 272. 1. σὺ οὖν A1. 2. τουτοισὶ L. πολιτευόμενον O. 3. εἰ  
 μὴ καὶ A1. 2. 5. αὐτοκράτωρ ὦν vulg.; ὦν om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 6. ἐμὲ om. O<sup>1</sup>.  
 § 273. 2. ἀπάσαις, αἰὲ δ' ἐν κοινῷ Σ, L; ἀπάσαις αἰὲ, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ vulg.  
 3. ταυτὰ Y. τότ' ἐδόκει ταῦτ' V6. 4. γέ μοι A1. 7. τὸ (for τῷ) Φ; τῶν O<sup>1</sup>.

§ 271. 3. κατ' ἄνδρα, i.e. *individuals*, as opposed to πόλεις and ἔθνη.

5. φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων, a *rush of events*: φορὰ in this sense (*impetus*) belongs to φέρομαι, used as in βία φέρεται, Plat. Phaedr. 254 A, and φερόμενος, with a *rush* (M.T. 837): φορὰν, *crop*, in § 61<sup>2</sup>, belongs to φέρω, *bear, produce*.

6. οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει, *not what it should be* (present in time, M.T. 417); ἔδει here is *ought to be* (but is not), whereas δεῖ would be simply *ought to be* (implying nothing).

§ 272. 3. ἐπιβάλλει: see note on τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, § 254<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἅπασιν: sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (cf. πάντων, § 270<sup>6</sup>).—εἰ μὲν...ἐβουλευόμην is past, while ἦν ἂν, its apodosis, is present.

κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ, an *absolute autocrat*: cf. αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, § 235<sup>5</sup>.

§ 273. 2. ἐν κοινῷ...προὔτιθει σκοπεῖν, *put forward for public consideration*: cf. IV. 1, εἰ περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὔτιθετο λέγειν. See § 192<sup>2</sup>, προτίθησι βουλήν, and § 236<sup>4</sup>, ἐξ ἴσου προὔτιθετε γνώμας προτιθέναι often means *to open a debate*: cf. Thuc. I. 139<sup>13</sup>, and III. 38<sup>2</sup>, τῶν προθέντων αὐθις λέγειν, where λέγειν is like σκοπεῖν here.

4. ἐπ' εὐνοία, *out of devotion*, corresponds to ἀλλὰ ἠττώμενος (6).—ἐμοὶ is dative of advantage with παρεχώρεις, but is also felt with ἐπ' εὐνοία.

5. ζήλου, *pride*: see §§ 120<sup>1</sup> (with note), 217<sup>2</sup>.



δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν  
**274** βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὀρώ πᾶσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδι-  
 κεῖ τις ἐκῶν· ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ  
 τις ἄκων· συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτω. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν  
 5 τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν  
 δὸς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων· οὐκ ὀνειδίζει οὐδὲ λαιδο-  
**275** ρεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθειςθαι. φανήσεται

8. εἰπεῖν (for λέγειν) A1.

§ 274. 3. ὀργὴν, τιμωρίαν, συγγνώμην (4) Σ, A1; ὀργή, τιμωρία, συγγνώμη vulg.;  
 ὀργὴν, τιμωρίαν, συγγνώμη L. κατὰ τούτου Σ, L, Y, Φ, A1; κατὰ του V6; κατ'  
 αὐτοῦ vulg. ἐξήμαρται L. 4. ἄκων (corr. from ἐκῶν) L. αὐτῷ (for  
 τούτῳ) A2. 5. ἐξαμαρτάνων A1. φέρειν (συμ- in mg.) Σ. αὐτὸν V6.  
 6. μετὰ πάντων A1, F, Y. οὐκ om. O. 7. τῷ τοιούτῳ L, vulg.; τοιούτῳ  
 Σ<sup>1</sup> (τῷ in mg.).

§ 275. 1. φανησται (ε above) Σ; φανήσεται L; φανήσεται τοίνυν vulg.

8. ὧν: with βελτίω.

Westermann thinks the argument of this section not quite fair ("nicht ganz ehrlich"), as it is not to be assumed that Aeschines assented to all which he did not oppose. But, apart from the obvious irony of parts of the argument (as in οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοία κ.τ.λ.), it was surely not too much to expect of the acknowledged "leader of the opposition" in such a desperate crisis, that he should at least protest strongly against measures of such vital importance as those which he censures afterwards, even if he could not propose any positive measures himself. Now it is an important part of the argument of Demosthenes, that Aeschines said nothing whatever on such occasions as the sudden seizure of Elatea by Philip. See § 191<sup>4</sup>, σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου...καθημένου: see the whole passage, §§ 188—191. The only ground on which such neglect can be excused is the one here assumed, that the opposition had no better plan to propose. Even this inability is not made a direct charge against Aeschines; it is merely used as a defence against his unqualified condemnation of the course taken by the state. The plain truth is, of course, that Aeschines really wished to let Philip have his own way at this time.

§ 274. 1. παρὰ...ἀνθρώποις: see two

similar cases of παρὰ in § 297<sup>4,5</sup>.—τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, i.e. all except Aesch.: cf. ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, § 275<sup>4</sup>.

2. τὰ τοιαῦτα, i.e. such (principles) as the following, explained by the statements in 2—7.—ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν, a man (let us suppose) is guilty of voluntary injustice. We have three such suppositions in independent sentences, with paratactic replies or apodoses. For a similar arrangement see § 117, ἐπέδωκα, ἤρχον, ἀδίκως ἤρξα, with the replies. See also § 198.

3. ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν: sc. δότε, or διωρισμένην ὀρώ.

4. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, i.e. one who neither is guilty of injustice nor errs (sc. ἄκων).

6. μεθ' ἀπάντων, i.e. in common with everybody.

On the distinction of ἀδικήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, and ἀτυχήματα here recognized, Dissen quotes Arist. Rhet. I. 13, 16: ἐφ' οἷς τε γὰρ δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐπιεικῆ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα μὴ τοῦ ἴσου ἀξιοῦν (sc. ἐπιεικὲς ἐστὶ), μηδὲ δὲ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ ἀτυχήματα· ἔστι δ' ἀτυχήματα μὲν ὅσα παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας, ἀμαρτήματα δὲ ὅσα μὴ παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πονηρίας, ἀδικήματα δὲ ὅσα μήτε παράλογα ἀπὸ πονηρίας τ' ἐστὶν· τὰ γὰρ δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπὸ πονηρίας.

ταῦτα πάνθ' οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὡμότητι καὶ συκοφαντία ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς 5 ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ μετ' 276

2. ἐν τοῖς L, vulg.; ἐν om. Σ, ΑΙ. νόμοις MSS.; νομίμοις Dind. 3. νομίμοις Σ, vulg.; νόμοις L, O (corr.), Dind. ἤθεσι L, vulg.; om. Σ; ἔθεσι Dind. 4. οὕτως (for τοσοῦτον) V6. ὑπερβέβηκεν O. 6. καὶ om. Υ. κατηγορεῖ ΑΙ.

§ 276. 1. αὐτὸς om. ΑΙ.

§ 275. 2. τοῖς νόμοις (without ἐν), by the laws: cf. § 118<sup>4</sup>, and XX. 57, ταῦτα καὶ νόμοις τισὶ καὶ δόξαις διώρισται.

3. τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις, by the principles of unwritten law, further explained by τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι: cf. § 114<sup>2</sup>. The unwritten law is known as the law of Nature, the moral law, the divine law, or the higher law, the law which is not alia lex Romae, alia Athenis. See Plat. Leg. 793 A, ταῦτ' ἔστι πάντα τὰ καλούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγραφα νόμιμα· καὶ οὐδ' πατριῶν νόμους ἐπονομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἔστιν ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ξύμπαντα...δεσμοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πάσης εἰσὶ πολιτείας, μεταξὺ πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐν γράμμασι τεθέντων τε καὶ κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτεθειμένων. Aristotle distinguishes two kinds of unwritten law, one the κοινὸς νόμος, ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, the universal law of Nature, the other a branch of the special law of particular States, by which the defects of the written law may be remedied, that is, τὸ ἐπιεικές, equity. See Rhet. I. 13, §§ 1, 2: λέγω δὲ νόμον τὸν μὲν ἴδιον τὸν δὲ κοινόν, ἴδιον μὲν τὸν ἐκάστοις ὠρισμένον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μὲν ἀγραφον τὸν δὲ γεγραμμένον, κοινὸν δὲ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν. ἔστι γὰρ, ὃ μαντεύονται τι πάντες, φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κὰν μηδεμίᾳ κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ μηδὲ συνθήκη, οἶον καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη φαίνεται λέγουσα, ὅτι δίκαιον ἀπειρημένον θάψαι τὸν Πολυνεῖκη, ὡς φύσει ὄν τοῦτο δίκαιον. He then quotes Antig. 456, 457, οὐ γὰρ τι...ἐξ ὅτου φάνη, and the verses of Empedocles:

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμιμον διὰ τ' εὐρυμέδοντος

αἰθέρος ἠνεκέως τέταται διὰ τ' ἀπλέτου αὐ γῆς.

In I. 13, §§ 11, 12 Aristotle more distinctly states the distinction of this "universal law" and τὸ ἐπιεικές, equity: τῶν δ' ἀγράφων δύο ἔστιν εἶδη· ταῦτα δ' ἔστι τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας (above the legal standard, Cope),...τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου νόμου καὶ γεγραμμένου ἔλλειμμα. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικές δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, ἔστι δὲ ἐπιεικές τὸ παρὰ (beyond) τὸν γεγραμμένον νόμον δίκαιον.

5. ὡμότητι: cf. ὡμότερος, § 212<sup>8</sup>.—ὡς ἀτυχημάτων: see Aesch. III. 57, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγεννημένον.

§§ 276—296. Here Demosthenes begins by alluding to the attempt of Aeschines to represent him as a skilful sophist and rhetorician, who will impose on the judges by his wily arts. He retorts by showing that his own oratorical power has always been exerted in behalf of Athens, while that of Aeschines has been used to help her enemies or to gratify personal malice. He refers to the testimony of the citizens in choosing him to deliver the eulogy on those who fell at Chaeronea, as a proof of his patriotism. Finally, he declares that the present calamities of Greece have been caused by men of the stamp of Aeschines in various Greek States; and he gives a black list of these traitors who have betrayed their countries to the common enemy.

§ 276. 1. ὥσπερ...εἰρηκῶς, i. e. posing as one who had always spoken his own thoughts honestly and loyally: we generally translate (for convenience) as if he

εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, 318 δεινὸν καὶ γόγητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς 5 εἰάν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε 277 ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κάκειν' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα— ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὀρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλείστον κυρίου· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξισθε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων 5 ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,

3. ἐκέλευσεν A2. παρακρούσομαι Σ; παρακρούσωμαι L, vulg. 4. ὡς om. A2. 5. εἰάν μὴ A2. εἶποι Y. 6. οὐκ ἔστι (for οὐκέτι) V6. 7. τι (for τίς) V6. 9. τοιαῦτα V6.

§ 277. 1. καὶ ἐκεῖνο δ' vulg.; δ' om. Σ, L, A1. 3. τὸ πλείστον μέρος vulg.; μέρος om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. κυρίου Σ, L; κυρίου ὄντας vulg. 4. ἔχειτ' O. 6. ἐπὶ (for ἐν) Y. 7. ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ O. ἰδίαν A1.

*had spoken (quasi vero dixisset, West.), though there is nothing conditional in the participle with ὥσπερ (without ἂν), which merely expresses comparison (M.T. 867): having, as it were, spoken, would be more correct, though less clear. See ὥσπερ οὐχ, § 323<sup>b</sup>, and note on ὡς (4).*

3. ἐκέλευεν: sc. ὑμᾶς—ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι: an object clause after φυλάττειν and τηρεῖν, though its subject appears by attraction (ἐμὲ) in the leading clause (M.T. 304<sup>2</sup>). This is a reply to Aesch. 16, 174, 206, 207, and other passages.

4—6. ὡς...οὕτως ἔχοντα (accus. abs.), i.e. *assuming that this must needs be so*. ὡς has no more conditional force than ὥσπερ (1), though we find it convenient to use *as if* in translation (M.T. 864): notice οὐκέτι with σκεψομένους, showing that there is nothing conditional in the expression.—οὐκέτι σκεψομένους, *will not further consider*: cf. καὶ δὴ (5), implying *without further thought, alsbald* (Bl.); so XX. 65, καὶ δὴ λελυμένας.

§ 277. 2. ἔστω γάρ, *well! grant that I have it*. Having broken his sentence, he proceeds to say that the hearers have it in their power to neutralize the highest gifts of eloquence by refusing to listen. See XIX. 340, αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπιεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἢ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκούωντων ἀντιστῆ, διακόπτεται.

3. ὡς ἂν...πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, i.e. *according to your good-will towards each*, εὐνοίας being partitive with ὡς, as in εἰς τοῦτο εὐνοίας.

4. οὕτως φρονεῖν, i.e. εὖ or κακῶς φρονεῖν.

5. ἐμπειρία, substituted modestly for the stronger δεινότητα of l. 1, the original construction being resumed by ταύτην (6).

6. ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, *marshalled on your side*, the familiar military figure: see note on § 173<sup>4</sup>, and ἐξεταζόμενην in § 173<sup>6</sup>.

8. τούναντίον (adv.): sc. ἐξεταζομένην εὐρήσετε.



ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ  
 τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ<sup>10</sup>  
 πόλει, χρήται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' **278**  
 ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῶ·  
 βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα  
 μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πρᾶως καὶ **5**  
 μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν  
 πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὄλων τι  
 κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ  
 τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου.  
**319** μηδενὸς δ' ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου—προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' **279**  
 ἰδίου—δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν

10. αὐτῇ O.

§ 278. 3. δικαστὰς εἰσελ. A1. αὐτῶ Σ; αὐτῶ L, vulg. 5. ἀν over  
 ἀνάγκη Σ. 6. διακείμεν' Σ, L, A1; διακείμενον vulg. 7. τί L. 8. ἐστὶ τι  
 vulg.; τι om. Σ, L, A1. 2. γὰρ ἐστὶ A1.

§ 279. 1. δ' om. O1. 2. δίκης Y; δίκη<sup>ς</sup> Σ. ἀξιώσαντα L1.  
 3. αυτοῦστεφάνου Σ1, ου over second τ Σ2; αὐτοῦ τοῦ L; τοῦ om. vulg.; ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 στεφάνου (αὐτοῦ om.) V6. νῦν κατηγ. A1; κατηγ. νῦν vulg.; νῦν om. Σ, L.

9. κατὰ τούτων (sc. τῶ λέγειν), op-  
 posed to ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. τούτων refers  
 to τις, by a carelessness or indifference not  
 uncommon: see § 99<sup>3</sup> and II. 18, εἴ τις...  
 τούτους. We are all familiar with *anybody*  
 becoming *them* in conversation. The  
 whole expression εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι...κατὰ  
 τούτων is opposed to οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ (7), as ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν is opposed to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (7).  
 West. thinks that there is an allusion to  
 Timarchus here and in § 307<sup>6</sup>.

§ 278. 3. ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, with  
 εἰσεληλυθότας, i.e. to give judgment for the  
 good of the State, opposed to ὀργὴν...βε-  
 βαιοῦν.—ἀξιοῦν αὐτῶ βεβαιοῦν, to ask  
 (them) to confirm for him, i.e. by con-  
 demning his opponent.

4. ὑπὲρ τούτων, for these ends, i.e. to  
 gratify his ὀργή or ἔχθρα.—μάλιστα μὲν,  
 best of all.

5. εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, i.e. but if after all  
 he must have these feelings.

6. ἐν τίσιν...δεῖ; i.e. when should an  
 orator use all his powers?

7. τῶν ὄλων τι, any of the supreme  
 (entire) interests of the State: cf. §§ 28<sup>8</sup>,  
 303<sup>9</sup>.

8. ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, the people have to do  
 etc.

9. ἐν τούτοις: with strongest emphasis,  
 in reply to ἐν τίσιν; (6).

§ 279. Still answering the question ἐν  
 τίσιν...δεῖ; (§ 278<sup>6</sup>), he describes the  
 present suit as one which does not justify  
 vehemence in an orator.

1. μηδ' ἰδίου (sc. ἀδικήματος) continues  
 the construction of δημοσίου: cf. VIII. 39,  
 40, ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει...προσθήσω δὲ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

3. στεφάνου...κατηγορίαν, an accu-  
 sation against a crown and a vote of thanks  
 (i.e. against a proposition to confer these):  
 nearly all decrees conferring a crown had  
 the words ἐπαινέσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι.

ἦκειν συνεσκευασμένον καὶ τοσουτουσι λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι  
 5 ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον,  
 οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας  
**280** ἔάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἦκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καὶ  
 μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ  
 φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ'  
 5 οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς  
 φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτ' προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς  
**281** αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὐσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως  
 ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοία πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ  
 πόλις προοράται κίνδυνόν τιν' ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀρμῆι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας  
 5 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ'—ὀρᾶς;—ἐγώ· ταῦτα

4. τοσοῦτους ΑΙ. 6. καὶ οὐδενὸς V6. ἐμὲ αὐτὸν Σ, L, vulg.; ἐμαυτὸν ΑΙ.  
 7. νῦν δ' ἐπὶ F. καὶ ΑΙ; om. L, vulg.; ἔχειν L; καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν om. Σ.  
 § 280. 1. καὶ μοι Σ, L, O, B, ΑΙ; κάμοι Vöm., West.; καὶ ἐμοιγε Υ.  
 2. λόγων ἐπίδ. τινα καὶ φωνασκίας Σ, L, F, Φ; τῶν λόγων, ἐπίδ. τινα φωνασκίας vulg.;  
 ἐκ τῶν λόγων τούτων, Αἰσχ. V6. 3. προσελέσθαι Υ. 5. τίμιον Σ, L; τίμιος  
 vulg. 6. ταῦτα ΑΙ. τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ Α2; τοὺς ἐχθροὺς V6.  
 § 281. 2. οὕτως L. 3. κίνδυνόν τινα Σ<sup>1</sup>, L; τινα κίνδυνον Σ (corr.), vulg.  
 4. ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς B, V6; ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῖς O<sup>1</sup>, αὐτῆς O (mg.). ὀρᾶ V6. οὐκουν  
 Σ, L; οὐκουν ΑΙ. 5. ταῦτα ΑΙ, O.

4. συνεσκευασμένον, *having trumped up*.

5. μικροψυχίας, *littleness of soul*, opposed to μεγαλοψυχία, § 68<sup>4</sup>: cf. § 269<sup>4</sup>.

6. οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ: neuter, cf. πάντα τὰ χρηστά, XX. 165.—τοὺς...ἀγῶνας ἔάσαντα with ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἦκειν recurs to the idea of § 16.

7. καὶ strengthens πᾶσαν, *the very depth of baseness*: πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν, —————.

§ 280. 3. φωνασκίας, *declamation* (practice of voice): cf. § 308<sup>9</sup>, and φωνασκήσας and πεφωνασκηκῶς in XIX. 255, 336.

6. ταῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς: cf. §§ 281<sup>5</sup>, 292<sup>4</sup>.

§ 281. 3. τούτους renews emphatically the antecedent implied in ἀφ' ὧν.—οὐκ...ὀρμῆι (sc. ἀγκύρας), *does not ride at the same anchor*, an oft-quoted saying. See Harpocr. under οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κ.τ.λ.,

and Apostolius XIII. 55 (Paroem. Gr. II. p. 591): both note the ellipsis of ἀγκύρας. Another expression was ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὀρμῆι (sc. ἀγκύραιν), ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστεμφῶς ἐχόντων (Apostol. VII. 61), to which Solon refers in his comparison of Athens with her two senates to a ship with two anchors: Plut. Sol. 19, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοῖν βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὀρμοῦσαν ἦττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι. See the singular turn given to the proverb in LVI. 44. Cf. Soph. Ant. 188—190, quoted in XIX. 247.

4. οὐκουν οὐδὲ: the two negatives unite their force, and that of οὖν, *therefore*, remains: οὐκουν οὐδὲ would give essentially the same sense.

5. ὀρᾶς; see οὐχ ὀρᾶς; §§ 232<sup>5</sup>, 266<sup>6</sup>, and οὐ γὰρ; § 136<sup>2</sup>.—ἐγώ: the ellipsis may be supplied from οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν (1), with the preceding τὸ ταῦτα... φιλεῖν.

γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὅς εὐθέως 282  
 μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὅς ἦν τῶν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν 5  
 ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἅ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις 320  
 ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' ἀφρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγει καὶ 283

## 6. τουτουσί L.

§ 282. 2. μάχην εὐθέως V6. πρεσβ. om. A2. 3. ἐν ἐκείνοις L, vulg.; ἐν om. Σ, O. 4. χρόνον ταύτης B. 5. τίς ἦν A2. 7. καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν (after καταρᾶται) Σ (γρ), F (γρ), Φ (γρ). 8. ἢ εἰ Σ, L, O, B; ἢ om. F, A1. ταυτα φρονει και λεγει Σ<sup>1</sup> (?); ταυτ' ἅ φρονεῖ· και λεγει Σ (corr.); ταυθ' ἅ φρονεῖ και λεγει L (ταυτα ἅ A1); ταυτα και φρονεῖ F. 9. οὗτος Σ, L, O<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>, A1; τοιούτος vulg.

## § 283. 1. φθέγγη MSS.

6. εἰλόμην, in the sense of προαιρεῖσθαι (§ 280<sup>b</sup>).

§ 282. 1. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; can the same be said also of you? i.e. οὐδὲν... πεποίησαι.

2. πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον: Aeschines (III. 227) says of this, τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης... ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν. Aeschines, Demades (from whom the peace was named, § 285<sup>b</sup>), and probably Phocion, went to Philip to negotiate a peace after Chaeronea. As Blass remarks, it was very important that *personae gratae* should be sent on this critical mission; and Aeschines was well qualified. See Hist. § 81.

4. ταύτην τὴν χρείαν: this, taken with τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον, refers to earlier personal intercourse with Philip. Aeschines is now less anxious to repudiate this charge, in the day of Alexander's great success in Asia: see III. 66, ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένους, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, and cf. §§ 51, 52 (above).

7. καταρᾶται: a most comprehensive curse (ἀρά) was a part of the religious

ceremony at the opening of each meeting of the Senate and Assembly. See XXIII. 97: διόπερ καταρᾶται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ... εἰ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν. Add to this XIX. 70: ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ εὐχεται νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, καὶ ὅταν ἡ βουλή καθῆται, παρ' ἐκείνη πάλιν. (It is added that Aeschines, as ὑπογραμματεῶν ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ, had the duty of dictating this curse to the herald.) Blass quotes Dinarch. I. 47 (of Demosth.), κατάρματος δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν γινόμενος, ἐξεληλεγμένος δῶρα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφῶς, ἐξηπατηκῶς δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρὰ τὴν ἀρὰν, καὶ ἕτερα μὲν λέγων ἕτερα δὲ φρονῶν, which shows that ὁ μὴ λέγων ἅ φρονεῖ (6) was included in the same curse. See also Dinarch. II. 16, ἀρὰς ποιούμενοι εἰ τις δῶρα λαμβάνων μετὰ ταῦτα (Blass μὴ ταῦτ' ἀ) λέγει καὶ γιγνώσκει περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐξῶλη τοῦτον εἶναι. See note on § 130<sup>a</sup>.

9. οὗτος: cf. ἐφάνην οὗτος ἐγώ, § 173<sup>a</sup>.

§ 283. 1. φθέγγει (MSS. φθέγγη): see note on § 119<sup>a</sup>, and cf. ἡγεῖ (2).



βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾶς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ  
 γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην  
 ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνησθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημη-  
 5 γόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν  
 εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι  
 ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ.  
 284 ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας  
 εὐθέως ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί  
 σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνία ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ  
 ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ  
 5 τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος  
 ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὄρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ  
 τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, οὕτω φανερώς  
 αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ

2. τούτων Σ, Υ; τουτωνὶ L, vulg. ἡγεῖ Σ; ἡγή L; ἡγή vulg. 3. εἰη· τοσοῦτον Σ·  
 5. πολέμῳ Σ (Δη over πολ), L (δήμῳ over πολεμῳ), ΑΙ; δῆμῳ vulg.

§ 284. 2. εὐθέως Σ<sup>1</sup> (εὐθὺς corr.); εὐθὺ L, vulg. 4. Αἰσχίνῃ Σ, L, O, Y, Φ;  
 Αἰσχίνῃ vulg. 5. γλυκοθέας Σ. 8. αὐτὸς Σ, L, O, ΑΙ. 2, Β; αὐτοῖς vulg.

3. ὅστις εἶ, *who you are*: "nicht *quis sis*, sondern *qui sis*" (Westermann).

4. ὥστ' οὐ μεμνησθαι, (so) *that they do not remember*, not (so) *as not to remember*: this is a regular case of ὥστε οὐ with the infinitive in indirect discourse, where the direct form would have been τοσοῦτον ὕπνον... ἔχουσιν ὥστ' οὐ μέμνηται (M. T. 594). See Shilleto, Append. B. to Dem. de Falsa Leg., pp. 279—284, who discusses this passage; Madvig, Synt. § 205, Anm. 3; Gildersleeve, Am. Jour. of Philol. VII. p. 174 (whose whole article deserves careful study). A few exceptional cases of ὥστε οὐ with the infinitive, noticed by Shilleto, p. 283, have never been satisfactorily explained (M. T. 598).

5. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ: opposed to μετὰ τὴν μάχην (§ 282<sup>2</sup>) when Aeschines went on his embassy to Philip.—καταρώμεος καὶ διομνύμενος, *cursing* (i.e. protesting, with curses on himself if he was false) and *swearing*; like Matth. Evang. xxvi. 74, τότε ἤρξατο (Πέτρος) καταθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν, *then began he to curse and to swear*.

6. τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην: i.e. *the charge of intimate relations with Philip*.

§ 284. 2. ὠμολόγεις: i.e. *your friendship with Philip*.—φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν: see §§ 51, 52.

3. μετατιθέμενος, *substituting (applying by exchange)*.

5. τυμπανιστρίας, *timbrel-beater*: the *τύμπανον*, *kettle-drum*, was a favourite instrument in the Asiatic ceremonies described in §§ 259, 260. See Eur. Bacch. 58 (Dionysus speaks), αἰρεσθε τάπιχώρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν τύπανα, ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρήματα, with 123—125; Hel. 1346 ff., χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν τύπανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῆ κ.τ.λ.; and Ar. Lys. 388, χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκνοὶ σαβάσιοι. (See Bl.)—ἢ γνώριμος (after ξένος ἢ φίλος), *or even an acquaintance*.

8. κατὰ σαυτοῦ... συμβᾶσι, *an informer against yourself after the facts*, whereas παρὰ τὰ συμβάντα (cf. § 285<sup>4</sup>) he had denied everything which told against him (§ 283<sup>5</sup>). See § 197<sup>8</sup> and note.

τοῖς συμβάσι γεγωνῶς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

10

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἢ πόλις. Λισχίη, καὶ 285  
προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμημημόνησεν.  
σημείον δέ· χειροτοίνῳ γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς  
τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν  
προβληθέντα, κáιπερ εὐφωιον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι 5  
πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἰγῆμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν  
οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους

9. λοιδορεῖ Σ; λοιδορεῖς Υ; λοιδορῆ vulg. 10. μᾶλλον αἰτίας Ο; αἰτίους μᾶλλον  
Υ, ΑΙ. εὐρήσεις ἢ ἐμέ vulg.; ἢ ἐμέ om. Σ, Λ¹.

§ 285. 1. πολλὰ καλὰ Ο. 2. κατώρθωσε, ἐμημημόνησεν Ο. 4. τετελευτηκόσι  
Ο. σὲ vulg., Bk., Dind., West., Lips.; σ' ἐχειροτόνησεν Σ, Vöm., Bl. (see Schaefer  
App.). 6. Ἰγέμονα L, ΑΙ.

10. πάντας μᾶλλον, i.e. *any rather than myself*: most MSS. add the implied ἢ ἐμέ.

§ 285. 1. πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κ.τ.λ.: these accusatives are direct objects of προείλετο, but probably cognate with κατώρθωσε. Demosth. invariably uses κατορθῶ in its neuter sense of *succeed*, as in II. 20, ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν, and Cor. § 274<sup>b</sup>, οὐ κατώρθωσε. If an object is added, as in XXI. 106, εἰ γὰρ ἐν ὧν ἐπεβούλευσε κατώρθωσεν, it is cognate: see XXIV. 7, XXXVII. 2. So in Cor. § 290<sup>b</sup>, τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους is not causing the combatants to succeed (as L. and S. give it), but *the success of the combatants*, as in πάντα κατορθοῦν, *to succeed in all things*, just preceding. The active use of κατορθῶ elsewhere is well known, as in Soph. El. 416, κατώρθωσαν βροτοῦς.

3. τὸν ἐροῦντ', i.e. the orator for the public funeral. The funeral eulogy on those who fell in battle was first introduced (acc. to Diod. XI. 33) in the Persian wars. We have one genuine ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, that of Hyperides in honour of those who fell in the Lamian war (322 B.C.); the famous eulogy of Pericles in 430 B.C., given in the words of Thucydides (II. 35—46), with one in Plat. Menex. (236—249), sportively ascribed to Aspasia by Socrates. The

one ascribed to Lysias (II.) is of doubtful authenticity, and that found among the speeches of Demosthenes (LX.) is certainly spurious.

4. παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα: i.e. when there might have been a strong public prejudice against him, as a leader who had failed (cf. § 248<sup>b</sup>).

5. προβληθέντα, *nominated*: cf. § 149<sup>b</sup>. Demosth. here agrees with Thuc. II. 34<sup>17</sup>, ἡρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, in making the people elect the orator; but Plat. Menex. 234 B represents the Senate as the electing body, which perhaps refers only to a nomination by the Senate of several candidates from whom the Assembly chose one.—Δημάδην: see note on § 282<sup>2</sup> and Hist. § 81.

6. Ἰγῆμονα, mentioned by Aeschines (III. 25): he belonged to the Macedonian party at Athens with Demades and Pythocles. Phocion, Hegemon, Pythocles, and others were put to death by vote of the Athenian Assembly in 317 B.C. (Plut. Phoc. 33—35). See Grote XII. Ch. 96, p. 479. For the partizanship of Pythocles with Philip in 343 B.C. see XIX. 225, 314 (ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεί): see Schaefer II. 312.

7. παρελθόντος before σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους, but κατηγορούντων after these words.

ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ᾧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ 321  
 ταῦθ' ἄ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειρο-  
 286 τόνησέν με. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω  
 σοι καὶ γὰρ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἦδυσαν αὐτοὶ, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ  
 προθυμίαν μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν  
 ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διο-  
 5 μνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὠμολογήσατε. τοὺς  
 οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνου λαβόντας  
 ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἠγήσαντο αὐτοῖς  
 287 γεγενῆσθαι· εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν [ὑπολαμβάνοντες] τὸν  
 ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσ-  
 μήσοντα μὴθ' ὁμωρόφιον μὴθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον  
 εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν

8. ὁμῶς V6. 9. ταῦτα Σ, L, vulg.; ταῦτὰ B<sup>2</sup> (see Schaef. App.), Bk., Dind., Lips.; ταῦθ' West., Bl. καὶ (before σὺ) om. V6. 10. με Σ, L; ἐμέ vulg.

§ 286. 2. καὶ ἐγὼ Σ, L. οὔτοι A1. 2. 4. εὐθύνοντων O; εὐρεθέντων V6. 7. αυτοῖς Σ; αὐτοῖς L, vulg.

§ 287. 1. ὑπολαμβάνοντες Σ, L, F, Φ, in [ ] Bl.; ὑπελάμβανον vulg.; ὑπέλαβον Y, A2. 2. ἐροῦντα Σ, L, A1. 2; ἐροῦντα τότ' vulg. 3. μηδ' (for 1st μὴθ') A1. ὁμωρόφιον L<sup>1</sup>. 4. παραταξαι (ous above) L<sup>2</sup>.

9. ἄ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, i.e. *which you again* (καὶ) *now charge me with*.—ἔτ' ἄμεινον, *all the more eagerly*: acc. to Bl. not elsewhere found in this sense.

§ 286. 2. αὐτοὶ, *of themselves* (without being told).

4. ἃ γὰρ...ὠμολογήσατε repeats for the whole Macedonian party what was said of Aeschines in §§ 282, 283. For *διωμνύμενοι* see § 283<sup>5</sup>.

5. τοὺς...λαβόντας ἄδειαν, i.e. *those who gained license to speak their minds with impunity*, etc. See §§ 198, 263<sup>7</sup>. ἄδεια is now used in Athens for an ordinary *permit*, e.g. to visit the Acropolis by moonlight.

§ 287. 1. εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν: sc. ἠγήσαντο (from § 286<sup>7</sup>). I bracket ὑπολαμβάνοντες with Blass: a mere carelessness in style, aiming at no rhetorical effect, seems inadmissible in *this* oration: see note on § 317<sup>6</sup>. See critical note (above).

3. ὁμωρόφιον: to be *under the same*

*roof* with anyone had a peculiar significance to the Greeks. Trials for homicide were held in the open air that neither the judges nor the prosecutor (usually a relative) might be under the same roof with the accused. See Ant. v. 11; and cf. Dem. xx. 158, and Plat. Rep. 417 A, where the ruling class are forbidden to go under the same roof with gold or silver.—γεγενημένον εἶναι, not a mere pleonasm for γεγενῆσθαι, but expressing more forcibly the combination of past and future which is often seen in γεγενῆσθαι (M. T. 102, 109), i.e. they thought he *should not be one who had been under the same roof, etc.*

4. παραταξαμένοις: see § 208<sup>4</sup>, and note on συμπαρταξαμένοι, § 216<sup>4</sup>.—ἐκεῖ κωμάζειν: the *revelling* in Philip's camp after the victory at Chaeronea was notorious. See Plut. Dem. 20, where the story is told of the drunken Philip rushing out among the slain and chanting the introductory words of the decrees of



κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς 5  
μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,  
μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύνειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην,  
ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἑώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ  
παρ' ἑμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν  
καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν 288  
τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ'  
αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως· ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν  
αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων,

5. παιωνίζειν Σ, L, F, Y, A1; παιανίζειν vulg. 6. δεῦρο δ' L, Σ<sup>2</sup>, vulg., δ'  
om. V6; δεῦρ' Σ<sup>1</sup>, Vöm. ἐλθόντα Σ, L<sup>1</sup> (?), A1. 2; ἐλθόντας vulg. (see 7).  
7. μηδὲ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1. 2, B; καὶ μηδὲ vulg. ὑποκρινόμενον A1; ὑποκρινομένους Σ, L,  
Vöm. (cf. 6). 8. καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς O. 9. παρ' ὑμῖν δ' οὔ A2.

§ 288. 2. τετελευτηκότων O. οἱ (before ὑπὸ) Σ, L; om. vulg. τόθ' om. V6.  
4. οἰκειοτάτῳ (ε over ι) Σ; οἰκειοτάτων Y<sup>1</sup>. τῶν om. O, Y. τετελευκότων O.

Demosthenes, which make an iambic tetrameter: παραντικά...ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας, καὶ κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων, ἦδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τὰδ' εἶπεν. Theopompus, frag. (262) relates that Philip invited the Athenian envoys to supper, and after they had withdrawn spent the night in a drunken revel with companions of both sexes until daybreak, when he dismissed these and rushed in upon the Athenians in their lodgings (ἐκώμαζεν ὡς τοὺς πρέσβεις). Schaefer, III. 25, quotes an anonymous address to Demades in Herodian. σχημ. (VIII. 602 W.): σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβες, Δημάδη, δῶρα παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον· καὶ σὺ μὲν συνέπινες αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐωχουμένῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνέπινον· καὶ σὺ μὲν συνηνέχθης. τοῖς ἐκείνου πρέσβεσι συνομνύμενος (Sauppe σεμννύμενος), ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνηνέχθη. See XIX. 128, where Aeschines is charged with joining familiarly in the festivities held by Philip after the destruction of the Phocians (see Hist. § 48). It is fair to give Plutarch's addition to his account in Dem. 20 (quoted above): ἐκνήψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος ἐν νῷ λαβῶν, ἐφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐν

μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

6. τῶν αὐτοχείρων: αὐτόχειρ is properly one who commits any deed *by his own hands* or by his own act, as in XXI. 60, τῆς ἀσελγείας ταύτης αὐτόχειρ, and Soph. Ant. 306, τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου. It also, when φόνου is easily understood, means a *murderer*, as in XXI. 116, τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἔχοντες, like ἀθέντης, cf. Eur. H. F. 1359, παίδων ἀθέντην ἐμῶν.

7. τῇ φωνῇ δακρύνειν: a strong metaphor, opposed to τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν (8). —ὑποκρινόμενον, like a *play-actor*: cf. ὑποκρίνεται, *he plays his part*, § 15<sup>4</sup>. —τὴν τύχην: object of δακρύνειν. Bl. takes it with ὑποκρινόμενον, as in XIX. 246, Ἄντιγόνην ὑποκέκριται.

10. ὑμᾶς, i.e. *any one of you*: cf. ὑμῶν, § 285<sup>6</sup>.

§ 288. 1. οὐχ, negating the two clauses with μὲν and δέ: cf. § 13<sup>10</sup>, and the grand climax in § 179, with notes.

2. πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί: the public funeral was in charge of a committee of relatives of those who had fallen, chosen by the people.

4. τὸ περιδείπνον, *the funeral banquet*: see Hermann (Blümner), Gr. Priv. Ant. § 39 (p. 371); Smith, Dict. Ant. under

5 ὥσπερ τᾶλλ' εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί.  
εἰκότως· γένοι μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἢν  
ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους  
σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφευρον, οὗτος καὶ 322  
παθόντων ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλείστον  
10 μετείχεν.

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεἰλεθ'  
ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς, Λισχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ  
τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρὸν.  
λέγε.

5. εἰώθει Y. 7. γὰρ τὸ vulg.; τὸ om. Σ, L, B. 9. τῶν παθόντων V6.

§ 289. 1. αὐτὸ (for αὐτῷ) A2. τουτὶ Σ, L, B, A1. 2; τοῦτ' vulg. 2. ἢ  
πόλις προεἰλετο V6 (mg.). ἵδης V6 (mg.). 3. αὐτὸν (for σαυτὸν) Y. ὄντα  
καὶ συκοφ. ὄντα Y. ὄντα μιαρὸν O. (δ δημοσίᾳ...λέγε, lines 1—4, omitted  
in V6, added in mg.)

The Epigram is omitted in Σ, A1, V6; also in text of L, added in margin.

*Fumus*; Cic. Leg. II. 25.—ὡς παρ' οἰκειο-  
τάτῳ, at the house of him who stood in the  
closest possible relation to the deceased, as  
at private funerals the nearest relative.  
ὡς belongs to οἰκειοτάτῳ, in the usual in-  
tensive sense: cf. § 246<sup>f</sup>, ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα.

5. ὥσπερ... γίγνεσθαι, i.e. as is the  
custom at private funerals, referring to ὡς  
παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ (West.)—ἐποίησαν: like  
ποιεῖν in 3.

7. ᾧ... διέφευρον, i.e. who had most at  
stake, i.e. in their success.

8. καὶ (end), likewise, with παθόντων  
... ὄφελον.

9. ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελον (sc. παθεῖν), lit.  
which would they had never suffered: this  
rather poetic form of an unattained wish  
is used here for animation, and again in  
§ 320<sup>b</sup>. See M. T. 734, 736.

§ 289. 1. δημοσίᾳ, with ἐπιγράψαι.  
—προεἰλεθ' ἢ πόλις, more formal than  
the usual ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει, perhaps implying  
(as H. Jackson suggests) a choice from a  
number of epigrams sent in by competing  
poets.

2. ἵν' εἰδῆς... μιαρὸν: explained in  
§ 290.

EPIGRAM. This cannot be the genuine  
epitaph inscribed on the public monu-  
ment of the heroes of Chaeronea. This

monument was standing on the road to  
the Academy in the time of Pausanias  
(I. 29, 13), and it is to be hoped that  
excavations may bring the real inscription  
to light. The present epigram, as most  
scholars have seen, has too little poetic  
merit and too slovenly a style to be ac-  
cepted as genuine. The spurious decrees  
and other documents in this oration, more-  
over, establish a presumption against any  
document which professes to have been  
read by the clerk and not by the orator.  
This epigram is not in the older MSS.,  
and it appears in the Anthol. Graeca, III.  
p. 314 (de Bosch), IV. p. 249 (Jacobs).  
We can be sure of one genuine verse (9),  
which is quoted by Demosthenes in § 290<sup>d</sup>  
(see note on this verse). A small frag-  
ment of an inscription has been found  
near the Olympieum at Athens, cut (acc.  
to Köhler) between 350 and 300 B.C.,  
which contains parts of six words of an  
epigram in the Anthol. Pal. VII. 245: this  
epigram was evidently inscribed to the  
heroes of Chaeronea. See C. I. Att. II.  
3, No. 1680. The full epigram is as  
follows, the letters found in the inscription  
being printed in heavy type:—

ᾧ χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπίσκοπε  
δαῖμον,

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

[Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο  
 ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.  
 μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν  
 ψυχὰς ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,  
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες (5)  
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.  
 γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων  
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·  
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν  
 ἐν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.] (10)

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜ. v. 4. βράβην MSS., Bk.; βραβῆ Schneider. 9. θεῶν MSS. (see § 290<sup>2</sup>). κατορθοῦν L. 10. φεύγειν L, F, Φ, Υ. ἔπορευ L, vulg.; ἔπορον O.

Ἄγγελος ἡμετέρων πᾶσι γενοῦ πάθεων  
 Ὡς ἱερὰν σφύζειν πειρώμενοι Ἑλλάδα χώραν  
 Βοιωτῶν κλεινοῖς θνήσκομεν ἐν διαπέδοις.  
 This, though genuine, cannot, of course, be the inscription quoted by Demosthenes, as it does not have the verse μηδὲν... κατορθοῦν: but there were undoubtedly many epigrams commemorating the men of Chaeronea (cf. note on § 289<sup>1</sup>).

v. 1. ἔθεντο ὄπλα, *arrayed themselves* (lit. *placed their arms*): cf. Plat. Rep. 440 E, τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τοῦ λογιστικοῦ (of the θυμός), *arrays itself on the side of the reason*; and Arist. Pol. Ath. 8<sup>29</sup>, ὅς ἂν στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως μὴ θῆται τὰ ὄπλα μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων, i.e. *who takes sides with neither party*. These examples are enough to show, if proof were still needed, that the old interpretation of τίθεσθαι ὄπλα (as in Thuc. II. 2, twice), *to pile and stack arms* (see Arnold's note), is untenable, though it still lingers (see Lidd. and Scott).

v. 2. ἀπεσκέδασαν, *scattered, brought to nought*: a patriotic exaggeration as applied to Chaeronea, perhaps referring to some special exploits of the Athenians. Diod. (XVI. 86) says, μέχρι μὲν τινος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀμφιδοξουμένας εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης. Cf. Lycurgus (Leoc. 49), εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δὲ, ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθανον.

v. 3. ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος must depend on βραβῆ, by an *hyperbaton* which would

be incredible in the genuine epitaph; οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχὰς ἀλλ' being introduced in place of a participial clause like οὐσώσαντες ψυχὰς. The meaning evidently is, *in the battle, while they sacrificed their lives, they left to the God of Death to judge whether they showed courage or fear*. There is a similar *hyperbaton* in Xen. Hell. VII. 3, 7: ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὐ ψῆφον ἀναιμείνατε, ἀλλ' ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐπιμωρήσασθε (West.).

v. 5. οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων belongs to vv. 3, 4.—ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες, a strange expression for classical times, but common in later poetry, as in the Anthology (Blass).

v. 6. ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν (with μὴ), *have about them*, like a yoke: cf. Od. III. 486, σείον ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες.

v. 7. τῶν πλείστα καμόντων, *of men who most grievously laboured*, referring to the defeat; to these words ἐπεὶ (v. 8) refers back.

vv. 9, 10. μηδὲν...ἐν βιοτῇ, *it is the gift of the Gods (for men) never to fail and always to succeed in life*, i.e. this is a miraculous exception in mortal life; opposed to which is the fixed rule that death is appointed for all, μοῖραν...ἔπορευ (sc. Ζεὺς βροτοῖς). The two verses contain the ἐκ Διὸς κρίσις; but the change of construction in μοῖραν...ἔπορευ is awkward, and ἐν βιοτῇ is always felt to be an unnatural addition to v. 9. It is now known



- 290 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μὴδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν  
 ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν  
 τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ᾧ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λαιδορεῖ,  
 5 καὶ λέγεις ἅ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;  
 291 Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορη-  
 κότης αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασα πάντων  
 ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὡς ἂν

§ 290. 1. ὡς τὸ (after τούτῳ) L, vulg.; om. Σ (erasure above the line), ΑΙ. ἐξαμαρτεῖν B. 2. θεον (not θεου), changed to θεῶν, Σ; θεῶν vulg.; θεοῦ Y, ΑΙ. κατορθῶν ΑΙ. οὐ τῷ συμβ. τὴν τοῦ κατ. Σ (mg.), om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 4. ᾧ om. Φ. λαιδορεῖ Σ; λαιδορῆ L, vulg. 5. οἱ θεοὶ om. L. εἰς τὴν κεφ. B.

§ 291. 1. κατηγοροῦντος V6. 2. καταψευσαμένου O, V6. μάλιστ' Σ, ΑΙ; ἐν μάλιστα L, vulg. πάντων Σ, ΑΙ; ἀπάντων L, vulg. 3. ὅτε Σ, ΑΙ; ὅτι vulg.; ὅτι (ε over ι) L. μνησθεῖς Σ, L, ΑΙ, B; ἀναμνησθεῖς vulg.

that the words *μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ* (or *θεῶν*) *καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν* are a verse of the epigram of Simonides on the heroes of Marathon, of which two other lines are preserved:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρα-  
 θῶνι

χρυσόφορων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύνα-  
 μιν.

See Kirchhoff (Hermes vi. 487—489) who quotes a ms. scholium on Gregory Nanzianz. Or. in Julian. II. p. 169 D: τὸ ἀναμάρτητον, φησὶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δὲ μικρόν τι πταίσαντας ἐπανάγεσθαί τε καὶ διορθοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν. λέγει δὲ Σιμωνίδης (εἰς δ' οὗτος τῶν θ' λυρικῶν) ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ῥηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῖς Μαραθῶνι πεσοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὸν στίχον τούτον, Μὴδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ παντὰ κατορθοῦν. See Bergk, Poet. Lyr., Simon. fr. 82, with the note. See Themist. Or. xxii. p. 276 B, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὴδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν ἔξω τῆς φύσεως κεῖται τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ... τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἀληθέστερον δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγέγραπται ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατορθοῦν ἀπονέμει. These two quotations refer beyond doubt to a verse in which "never to fail and always to succeed" is called a divine preroga-

tive; while it is also certain that in the same words in the inscription quoted by Demosthenes these are called a privilege sometimes granted by the Gods to favoured mortals (see § 290). The original verse of Simonides, *μηδὲν...κατορθοῦν* (without *ἐν βιοτῇ*), was probably used 152 years after the battle of Marathon, as a well-known verse, in the genuine epigram on those who fell at Chaeronea, still without *ἐν βιοτῇ*, but with a different meaning; and in this new sense it was quoted by Demosthenes in § 290. The writer of the spurious epigram in § 289 borrowed the genuine line (perhaps from the text of Demosthenes), and added the whole of v. 10. In v. 9, as in § 290<sup>2</sup>, *θεῶν* has the best authority (see critical note). In the scholium on Greg. Nanz. we have *θεοῦ*, which Bergk thinks may be a Christian substitution for *θεῶν*. See notes of West. and Bl.

§ 290. 1. *μηδὲν...κατορθοῦν*: see note on § 289, v. 9, 10.

3. *ἀνέθηκε*: the epigram or its composer, or perhaps ἡ πόλις, is the subject.

5. ἅ...*εἰς κεφαλὴν*: cf. XIX. 130, ἅ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ δεῖ τρέψαι.

§ 291. 3. ὡς ἂν: sc. ἔσχε or σχοίη: cf. § 197<sup>7</sup>.

εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν,  
οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν 5  
323 καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν  
δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις  
ἀνιαιοῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν 292  
νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος  
νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἀλυπεῖσθαι  
καὶ ταῦτ' χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν  
κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι· ὁ σὺ νυνὶ 5  
πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς  
πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς  
πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι  
βοηθεῖν· ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς 293  
ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ,

4. καὶ Σ, L, A1. 2; οὐδὲ vulg. 5. τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Σ, L, A1; οὐδ. τοι. vulg.;  
οὐδὲν om. A2. 6. καὶ (before γεγ.) om. O. 7. δείγμα (ἵ over εἰ) Σ.

§ 292. 3. γ' om. A1. τὸ ταῦτ' L, vulg.; τὸ om. Σ, A1. 3, 4. ταῦτα...  
ταῦτα A1. 5. τετάχθαι μέρει A2. ὅσ (for ὁ σὺ) Y<sup>1</sup>. νῦν O.  
6. φανερώς L<sup>1</sup>, O.

§ 293. 1. δοθείη δωρεὰ A2. τῶσαῦτα δι' ἐμὲ vulg.; τῶσαῦτα om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>,  
A1. 2, Y. ὑμῶν ἐναντιῶσθαι A2.

4. εὔνους: see note on § 173<sup>4</sup>.—ἔσχε  
τὴν γνώμην, *was disposed*.

6. λαρυγγίζων: see Harpocr., τὸ  
πλατύνειν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν  
φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεύειν περιεργότερον  
τῷ λάρυγγι χρῆσθαι οὕτως ἐλέγετο. Cf.  
Ar. Eq. 358, λαρυγγίῳ τοὺς ῥήτορας, *I*  
*will screech down the orators*.

7. δείγμα ἐξέφερε, *he was making an*  
*exhibition, giving a specimen*: cf. XIX. 12.  
—ὅτι...τοῖς ἄλλοις: depending on the  
verbal force of δείγμα. A bazaar in the  
Piraeus, where samples of goods (δείγ-  
ματα) were exhibited, was called the  
Δείγμα: see Harpocr.—τοῖς γεγεν. ἀνια-  
ροῖς: causal dative with ἔσχε, *was affected*:  
cf. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην (4).

8. τοῖς ἄλλοις: with ὁμοίως.

§ 292. 1. τῶν νόμων: Aeschines  
began his speech (1—8) with a grand  
glorification of the laws, and of the γραφὴ  
παρὰ νόμων as the great bulwark of the

constitution.

3. ταῦτα...τοῖς πολλοῖς: cf. § 280<sup>6</sup>,  
τὸ ταῦτ' προαιρεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.

4. τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν: cf.  
§ 192<sup>5</sup> and I. 8 (below); see §§ 93<sup>3</sup>,  
317<sup>2</sup>.

5. τετάχθαι, *to be found (posted)*.

7. πράγματα. *tr. m. l.*: cf. Ar. Ach.  
310, ἀπάντων αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων.  
See Aesch. III. 57, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων  
ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον.  
—οὐκ...βοηθεῖν: this suggests forcibly  
that the policy of Demosthenes of helping  
friendly states against Philip has followed  
the traditional policy of Athens: see §§ 95  
—100. Demosth. here only denies that  
he began this policy (οὐκ ἀρξαμένων).

§ 293. 2. τῇ...πραττομένῃ, *the do-*  
*minion which was growing up*: cf. § 62<sup>1,2</sup>,  
and XXIII. 11, ὁ Κερσοβλέπτη πρᾶττων  
τὴν ἀρχήν, *the active form of ἡ πραττο-*  
*μένη ἀρχή*.

μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὦν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

294 Ἄλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶ σχετλιώτερ' ἄλλα κατηγορηκός τοι αὐτοῦ καὶ καταψευσμένου: ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμῶν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, κατηγορεῖ. τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καί τοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεοὺς. εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὅσοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδασθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν

295 πόλεων εὖροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ, ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῆ μικρὰ, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰσχροκερδίας τὰ κοινῆ συμφέροντα προῖεντο,

3. μείζων L. ἐμοί over ἂν B. ἀπασῶν A2. τοῖς om. A2. 4. ταῦτα om. A2. ἂν (after γάρ) om. O. 5. συγχωρήσετε A1; συγχωρήσῃτ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι A2. τὰ δίκαια A1. 2. 6. πρὸς με A1.

§ 294. 1. ἐπιτιμῶ Σ<sup>1</sup>, ἐπειτιμῶ Σ<sup>2</sup>. 2. καταψευσαμένου V6. 4. καὶ (for καὶ τοι) Φ. πάντας Σ, L, Y, A1; πάντας τοὺς vulg. 5. καταψεύσθαι A<sup>1</sup>. 6. ἀνελόντες V6. 9. εὖροιτ' ἂν Σ, Y, F (γρ), A1; εὖροι τις ἂν L, B, vulg. οὐ Σ, Y, A1. 2; οἷχι L, vulg. τοῖς ἐμοί Φ.

§ 295. 4. ἔνεκεν L. αἰσχροκερδίας Σ, L; -είας vulg.

5. εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι. as usual, parenthetic: οἶδ' ὅτι can be thus used even with a participle, as in IX. 1, XIX. 9.

7. ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν (with ἂν): native.

In §§ 294—296 Demosthenes gives a "black list" of the traitors who have helped Philip or Alexander in subjugating Greece. Seeing that the country from the disgrace of joining or abetting this foul plot against liberty is the great service for which he claims the name of patriot.

§ 294. 2. ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμῶν: the personal is emphatic, as, *for my part*. The word Philippic in all languages is a stand-

ing answer to the charge of Aeschines.

6. ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, *discarding*: cf. XLV. 84.

8. ἀναθεῖεν: cf. § 290<sup>5</sup>.

9. εὖροιτ' (εὖροιτε) ἂν, *you would find*, appealing suddenly to the court or the audience: we must understand ὑμᾶς with ἀνελόντας (6). The other reading, εὖροι τις ἂν, would involve a change from the plural ἀνελόντας (sc. τινάς) to the more usual singular οἷχι τις.

§ 295. 1. ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ, i.e. in the state described in II. 14—21.—τὰ Φ. πράγματα, i.e. *the political*.

2. προλεγόντων...τὰ βέλτιστα, as in the Olynthiacs and the First Philippic.



τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθεί-  
 ροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν.—(Θετταλοὺς Δάσχος. Κινέας.  
 Θρασύδαος· Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς. Ἱερώνυμος. Εὐκαμπίδας·  
 Ἀργείους Μύρτις. Τελέδαμος. Μνασέας· Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος.  
 Κλεότιμος. Ἀρίσταιχος· Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ  
 θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωτίους 10  
 Ἀρίστρατος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους Δείναρχος. Δημάρετος·  
 Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος. Ἐλιξος. Πέριλλος· Θηβαίους Τιμόλας,  
 Θεογεΐτων, Ἀνεμοΐτας· Εὐβοέας Ἴππαρχος. Κλείταρχος.  
 Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέγονθ' ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προ- 296  
 δοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν

7. Θρασύδαος Σ, L, A1<sup>1</sup>; Θρασύδαος vulg.; Θρασύλαος Y, F (γρ), A1 (corr.).  
 Κερκιδᾶς vulg., Polyb.; Κερκιδᾶς Σ; Κερκιδᾶς L<sup>1</sup>, Φ, A1; Κερκιδᾶς L<sup>2</sup>. Εὐκαμπίδας  
 Σ, L, A1, Y; om. V6; Εὐκαμπίδας vulg. 11. Δείναρχος Σ<sup>1</sup>. 12. Περύλλος  
 Σ, L; Πέριλλος Y, F (γρ), Phot.; Περύλλος Harpocr., Suid.; Περύλλος A1; om. A2.  
 (See § 48<sup>9</sup>.) Τιμόλας Σ, L, Polyb.; Τιμόλαος vulg. (See § 48<sup>5</sup>.) 13. Κλεί-  
 ταρχος om. A2.

§ 296. 1. ἐπιλείπει (ι changed to ει) Σ; ἐπιλείψαι A1. 2. ὦ ἄνδρες V6.

5. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας, *their*  
*own fellow-citizens*, those with whom  
 each was concerned or had to deal: see  
 note on § 1<sup>3</sup>. Most of the traitors in the  
 following list have been rewarded by de-  
 served obscurity; those who would rescue  
 them from this may consult Dis-en's,  
 Westermann's, and Blass's collections of  
 the scanty knowledge of them found else-  
 where. I give a few references. Daochus  
 and Thrasydaus were the Thessalian  
 ambassadors sent by Philip to Thebes  
 in 339 B.C. (see note on § 211<sup>5</sup>). See  
 Plut. Dem. 18. Theopompus (Athen. vi.  
 p. 249 c) calls Thrasydaus μικρὸν μὲν  
 τὴν γνώμην, κόλακα δὲ μέγιστον. Hiero-  
 nymus is mentioned in XIX. 11; and in  
 the Scholia as a pupil of Isocrates. The  
 sons of Philiades are mentioned in [XVII.]  
 4—7, as restored to power in Messene by  
 Alexander after they had been expelled  
 by a popular revolution. Perillus and  
 Ptoeodorus are mentioned in XIX. 295;  
 and Perillus, Timolaus, and Aristratus in  
 § 48 (above). Hipparchus and Clitarchus  
 were set up as tyrants in Eretria by Philip  
 about 343 B.C.: see IX. 57, 58, and §§ 71,

80, and 81 (above). Many of the names  
 are found in Harpocration and Suidas.  
 With this whole passage compare §§ 45—  
 49, and Polyb. xvii. 14. Polybius censures  
 Demosthenes for calling some of these  
 men traitors, especially the Arcadians  
 and Messenians, maintaining that they  
 did what they believed to be for the best  
 interest of their own states. He says:  
*εἰ δὲ τηροῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὰς πατρίδας δίκαια*  
*κρίσει πραγμάτων διεφέροντο, νομίζοντες οὐ*  
*ταῦτὸ συμφέρον Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι καὶ ταῖς*  
*ἐαυτῶν πόλεσιν, οὐ δὴ πον διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖ-*  
*σθαι προδότας ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους.* See  
 the whole essay on traitors, Polyb. xvii.  
 13—15. Demosthenes, looking back on  
 his long struggle with Philip, felt that  
 this selfish regard for the temporary  
 interests of special cities, which always  
 proved fatal to Hellenic unity, and this  
 utter disregard of the good of Greece as  
 a whole, really amounted to treachery.

§ 296. 1. ἐπιλείψει... ὀνόματα: em-  
 phatic *asynudeton*. Cf. the Epistle to the  
 Hebrews, xi. 32, ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος,  
 and Cic. Nat. Deor. III. 32 (81), dies  
 deficiat si velim numerare.

αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὧν περ οὔτοι  
 παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες,  
 5 ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δ' Ἀλεξ-  
 ἄνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν  
 εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδέν' ἔχειν δεσπότην  
 αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν  
 10 καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες.

3. ταῖς αὐτῶν V6; ταῖς αὐτῶν Σ, L, vulg. 9. αὐτῶν L, vulg.; αυτων Σ.  
 πρότερον A1. 10. ἀνατετροφότες vulg.; ἀνατετραφότες Σ, Bk.; both -τρα-  
 and -τρο- L.

2. τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων, (men) of  
 the same purposes: this genitive of quality  
 is as rare in Greek as it is common in  
 Latin. See Aesch. III. 168, θεωρήσατ'  
 αὐτὸν, μὴ ὀποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὀπο-  
 τέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, and Thuc. III. 45<sup>29</sup>,  
 ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐθειας.  
 Krüger (Spr. 47, 6, 10) and West. call  
 these possessive genitives; and Weil  
 quotes IX. 56, τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου... τινὲς  
 δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου, which, however, is not  
 the same thing.

4. ἀλάστορες, accursed wretches (ap-  
 plied to Philip in XIX. 305); properly  
 victims of divine vengeance, as in Soph.  
 Aj. 374, μεθῆκα τοὺς ἀλάστορας, the  
 primary meaning (probably) being a  
 divine avenger, as in Aeschyl. Pers. 354,  
 φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων.

5. ἠκρωτηριασμένοι, who have out-  
 raged (lit. mutilated): see Harpocr., ἀντὶ  
 τοῦ λελυμασμένοι· οἱ γὰρ λυμαινόμενοι  
 τισιν εἰώθασι περικόπτειν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄκρα.  
 In Aeschyl. Cho. 439 and Soph. El. 445  
 there is the same idea in ἐμασχαλίσθη,  
 μασχαλίζω being to mutilate a dead body  
 by cutting off the extremities (τὰ ἄκρα)  
 and putting them under the *arm-pits*  
 (μασχάλαι): see Kittredge on *Arm-pitting*  
*among the Greeks*, Am. Journ. of Philol.  
 VI. pp. 151—169. Perhaps such strong  
 metaphors as this suggested to Aeschines  
 the absurd expressions which he pretends  
 to quote from Demosthenes in III. 166,  
 ἀμπελουργοὺσι τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμή-

κασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τὰ τοῦ δήμου,  
 and others. See Dem. III. 31, ὑμεῖς  
 ἐκνευρισμένοι καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα  
 κ.τ.λ.—τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες: for  
 the successive steps by which προπίνω  
 comes to mean *recklessly sacrifice*, see  
 Lidd. and Scott: cf. III. 22. An inter-  
 mediate meaning, *present a cup* (or other  
 gift) *after drinking one's health*, is seen  
 in XIX. 139, πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπεύμενος  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλὰ,  
 οἷον αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τελευ-  
 τῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾷ καὶ χρυσᾷ προπίνεν  
 αὐτοῖς, i.e. in drinking their health, he  
 gave them these various gifts. See also  
 Pind. Ol. VII. 1—6, φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις  
 ἀφνειᾷ ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἐνδον ἀμπέλου  
 καχλάζοισαν ὀρώσω δωρήσεται νεανία  
 γαμβρῷ προπίνων οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, κ.τ.λ.,  
 and the Schol. on v. 5, προπίνειν ἐστὶ  
 κυρίως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι... καὶ Δημοσθένους τοὺς προδιδόντας  
 τὰς πατρίδας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προπίνεν ἔφη.

7. τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες: see note on  
 § 48<sup>5</sup> (on Τιμόλας). See Cic. Nat. Deor.  
 I. 40 (113), quod dubitet omnia quae ad  
 beatam vitam pertineant ventre metiri.

9. ὄροι καὶ κανόνες, bounds and  
 rules, i.e. they applied these as tests to  
 whatever was presented to them as a  
 public good.—ἦσαν: plural, agreeing with  
 ὄροι and κανόνες.

10. ἀνατετροφότες, having overturned  
 (i.e. reversed) these tests.

Longinus on the Sublime, 32, refers to



Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστά- 297  
 325 σεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας,  
 εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις  
 παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολι-  
 τευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ ποίας 5  
 ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευο-  
 μένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων  
 ἀπὸ σοῦ, [πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου,  
 ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν 298  
 μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρην οὐδὲ  
 προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι  
 οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τουτοισί,  
 ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβε- 5

- § 297. 2. ὧ om. A1. 3. δῆ (for δεῖ) O. 4. παρ' ἅπασιν V6.  
 6. δέ Σ, L; δῆ vulg.  
 § 298. 2. οὔτε φόβος οὔτε χάρις L, vulg.; οὔτε χάρις om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added above), O.  
 4. τούτοις A1; τουτοισὶν A2, B. 5. ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη F, Y; ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτανῆ  
 (later εἰ ἐν over αν τρ, ἐ in ἐν now erased) Σ; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνη L, B, O<sup>1</sup>, vulg.;  
 ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνη A1. 2.

this passage (4—10) as a proper exception to the rule (of which Demosthenes was a ὄρος) allowing only two or at most three metaphors on one point (ἐπὶ ταυτοῦ). He says: ὁ τῆς χρείας δὲ καιρὸς, ἔνθα τὰ πάθη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐλαύνεται, καὶ τὴν πολυ-

πλήθειαν αὐτῶν ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἐνταῦθα συνεφέλκεται. Then, after a quotation of this passage, he adds, ἐνταῦθα τῷ πλήθει τῶν τροπικῶν ὁ κατὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ἐπιπροσθεῖ τοῦ ῥήτορος θυμὸς.

THE EPILOGUE, §§ 297—323. Here we have the four characteristics of the ἐπίλογος, as Aristotle gives them (Rhet. III. 19, 1): arguments which will dispose the hearers favourably to the speaker and unfavourably to his opponent, amplification and depreciation, excitement of emotions, and recapitulation. He begins by claiming for himself the credit of keeping Athens free from the notorious conspiracy against Grecian liberty which he has just mentioned; and he charges Aeschines with failing in all the characteristics of a patriotic citizen which his own course exemplifies (§§ 297—300). He recapitulates some of his chief services in providing Athens with means of defence, and asks what similar claims Aeschines has to

the public gratitude (§§ 301—313). He objects to being compared with the great men of former times, though he declares that he can bear such a comparison far better than his opponent (§§ 314—323).

- § 297. 1. περιβοήτου, notorious.  
 3. εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, i.e. to call things by their right names, referring to προδοσίας.  
 4. παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, i.e. in the minds of all men; but παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι (7), among the Greeks; in § 274<sup>1</sup> both ideas are combined.  
 5. ἐρωτᾶς; see Aesch. 236.  
 7. ἀπάντων: exaggeration; but see § 304.—ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, yourself first and foremost.  
 § 298. 4. οὐδ'...ὁμοίως ὑμῖν...συμ-



βούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς  
 ψυχῆς· καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἔμαυτὸν  
 ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολί-  
 299 τευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον,  
 ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρεΐαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ  
 ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἔμαυτῶ  
 πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ  
 5 πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ φρονῶ·

7. πάντα μοι πέπρακται (after ψυχῆς) L<sup>2</sup> (mg.), vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, ΑΙ; μοι om. Φ.  
 τῶν (before κατ') om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added above, now nearly erased). 8. προστ with ἀς  
 added Σ. ταῦθ' om. ΑΙ. δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς ΑΙ. 2.

§ 299. 2. ταφρεΐαν ΑΙ; φατριαν (!) V6. 3. πού om. ΑΙ. 4. οὐ λίθοις  
 Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, F, Φ, ΑΙ; οὐ γὰρ λίθ. B, vulg.

βεβούλευκα (5), *nor have I given my advice, like you, inclining towards gain like a balance*, i.e. as a balance would incline if a weight were put into one of the scales: ὥσπερ ἂν (sc. ῥέποι). This is illustrated by a striking passage in V. 12: προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχει πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρητημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὃ τι ἂν ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης, οἴχεται φέρον καὶ καθείλκυε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτὸ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὃ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιο. (See notes of Westermann and Dindorf on this passage.) See also Lucian, Amor. 4, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὃ πληγεὶς ἐκατέρῳ καθάπερ ἀκριβῆς τρυτάνη ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα πλάστιγξιν ἰσορρόπως ταλαντεύομαι.

7. μεγίστων ... ἀνθρώπων, lit. *the weightiest concerns of (all) the men of my time* (partitive).

§ 299. 1. τειχισμὸν, the repairing of the walls of Athens in 337—336 B.C., for which Demosthenes was τειχοποιός. For the decree providing for the appointment of τειχοποιοί by the tribes in 337 B.C. and its exact date, see Aesch. III. 27. Demosthenes was then appointed τειχοποιός by his tribe, the Πανδιονίς, and received from the treasury (according to

Aesch. 31) nearly ten talents for the expenses (see § 113<sup>n</sup> and note).

2. ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες: cf. τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει § 28<sup>3</sup>.

3. πόρρω, i.e. *far below*.

4. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν: a famous passage, often quoted by the rhetoricians. See the beginning of the ὑπόθεσις of Libanius. Plutarch (Lycurg. 19; Lac. Apophth., Lyc. 28) quotes a saying of Lycurgus the law-giver, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτειχιστος πόλις ἄτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται. Lord Brougham is eloquent on this passage (see p. 200). Whiston refers to Sir Wm Jones's ode, "What constitutes a State?" However familiar the idea may have been, the passage is a most effective answer to the taunts of Aeschines (236) about the walls and ditches.

5. πλίνθοις: not "tiled-roofs" (as Lord Brougham strangely translates), but *sun-dried bricks*, of which no small part of the walls of Athens and of the Long Walls to the Piraeus were built. The brick wall was built on a solid foundation of stone, the height and thickness of which differed according to the importance of the position. Dörpfeld (in Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations, p. 342, Engl. Tr.), in describing the walls of the Second City on the hill of Troy, says: "Such walls of defence, built of brick

ἀλλ' ἔαν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμόν βούλη δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις  
 ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ  
 [πολλοὺς] ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα 300  
 προῦβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ  
 λογισμῶ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν  
 326 κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην  
 ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς 5  
 παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ

6. βούλη (ei over η) Y.                      δικαίως om. V6.                      7. καὶ πόλεις om. A1.  
 8. πολλοὺς MSS., Vöm., Bl.; in [ ] Reiske, Bk.; om. West., Lips.                      ἀμυνο-  
 μένους Σ, L, vulg.; ἀμυνομένους B.  
 § 300. 2. προῦβαλλόμεν Y, V6.                      Ἀτικῆς (τ above) Σ.                      ὅσα Y.  
 3. πόλιν (for χώραν) A2 (with χώραν in mg.).                      τὸν om. O.                      4. κύκλον μόνον  
 vulg.; μόνον om. Σ, L', A1.                      ἄστεως Σ; ἄστεος L, vulg.                      5. τοῖς τοῦ Φιλ.  
 λογ. V6.

with a low substructure of stone, were in use at every period of antiquity, as we see in the brick walls of Eleusis, which are still well preserved, and in the town walls of Athens, of which some fragments are still to be seen." See Vitruvius, II. 8, 9: nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privata, domos etiam regias e latere structas licet videre, et primum Athenis murum qui spectat Hymettum montem et Pentelensem: cf. Plin. N. H. XXXV. 14, 172. See C. I. Att. II., No. 167 (334—326 B.C.), lines 55, 58, 75. See Thuc. I. 93, οἱ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπέκωνται (of the walls of Athens). The stone walls of Mantinea, which are still standing almost complete, have at most only four courses of stone, which were once surmounted by a wall of brick: Pausanias describes this wall as ὡμῆς ὠκοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου, built of raw (i.e. unbaked) bricks (VIII. 8, 7). See Curtius, Peloponnesos, I. p. 236. The common use of unbaked bricks explains the mystery of the disappearance of so many miles of wall between Athens and the Piraeus, and around these towns themselves.

7. τόπους, countries, Euboea, Boeotia, the Chersonese, as opposed to cities.

8. I have bracketed πολλοὺς, to avoid the difficulty of taking it with both ἵππους and τοὺς ἀμυνομένους or changing its posi-

tion to another unsatisfactory one. Vömel, who retains it, refers to § 237<sup>5</sup>, δισχιλίοι ἵππεῖς.—τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους, the defenders of these (our fellow-citizens); τούτων for τουτωνί, "wegen des Hiatus" (Bl.). The present ἀμυνομένους is amply justified by Isoc. VIII. 139, πολλοὺς ἐξομεν τοὺς ἐτοιμῶς καὶ προθύμῶς συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν, and Lycurg. Leocr. 54, ἐλαχίστους ἔξετε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας. (West.)

§ 300. 2. προῦβαλόμην: cf. §§ 97<sup>3</sup> and 301<sup>3</sup>.—ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῶ: cf. § 193<sup>4</sup>.

3. τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς: the circuit of the Piraeus was assigned to the tribe Pandionis, to which Demosthenes belonged. See the decree in Plat. Mor. p. 851 A, δύο τάφρους περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ταφρεύσας (of Demosthenes).

5. λογισμοῖς may refer to the encounter with Python (§ 136) and also to the embassies mentioned in § 244.—Φιλίππου: with ἠττήθην.

6. οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ: the only generals of the allies of whom we hear are the two Thebans, Proxenus, who commanded the mercenary force which was beaten and destroyed by Philip at Amphissa (see Hist. § 78), and Theagenes, who led a phalanx at Chaeronea: of these Dinarchus (I. 74) says, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς

δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

- 301** Τί χρῆν τὸν εὐνοῦν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, 5 ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ
- 302** Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάν- 5 τιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

§ **301.** 1. *χρῆ* ΑΙ. 2. *φιλοτιμίας* (for *προθυμίας*) Φ (γρ). 5. *πρὸς* added in mg. Σ. 6. *σιτοπομπίαν* Σ, L, vulg. (see § 87<sup>6</sup>). 7. *Πειραιῶς* Σ<sup>2</sup> (by corr. fr. *Πειρέως*); *Πειραιέως* L. *περιιδέσθαι* Y.

§ **302.** 3. *Προκόννησον* Σ, vulg.; *Προικόννησον* L; *Προικόννησον* A2, B. 4. *ὑπάρξει* Σ, L, ΑΙ, Φ; *ὑπάρξη* vulg. 5. *ἄβυδον* Σ ('later).

ξένους τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφισσαν συλλεγεῖσι Πρόξενος ὁ προδότης ἐγένετο, ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος κατέστη Θεαγένης, ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχήης καὶ δωροδόκος ὡσπερ οὗτος (Demosthenes). Plutarch (Mor. 259 D) describes Theagenes as having the same public spirit as Epaminondas and Pelopidas. See notes on §§ 264 and 303<sup>7</sup>.

In §§ **301—313** the orator recapitulates his own chief services, with which he compares the public career of Aeschines.

§ **301.** 1. *τί χρῆν κ.τ.λ.*, *what was his duty?*—*ποιεῖν*, of a course of action, to be explained by several aorists, each of a special act. In the following series of questions, all introduced by *χρῆν*, the orator states the various problems which faced the Athenian statesman of that day and the obvious solutions of them.

3. *ἐκ θαλάττης*: cf. § 230<sup>4</sup>.—*προβαλέσθαι*: cf. *πrouβαλόμην*, § 300<sup>2</sup>. With this figure of *throwing up* Euboea as a wall of defence to Attica, compare that in § 71<sup>2</sup> (see note). See Aesch. III. 84, *ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους τείχεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχία*, per-

haps added later, as a sarcastic allusion to this passage.

5. *τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη*, *our neighbours on this side*, as Megara and Corinth (cf. § 237).

6. *παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν* (sc. *γῆν*): i.e. *that the corn-trade should pass along an entirely friendly coast* (cf. § 87<sup>6</sup>). For the subject of §§ 301, 302, see §§ 71, 79—82, 87—89, 240, 241, and Hist. §§ 58, 63, 64, 67, 68.

§ **302.** 1. The measures mentioned in *τὰ μὲν σῶσαι* and *τὰ δ'...πρᾶξαι* (4) were designed to secure a friendly coast for the corn-trade (§ 301<sup>6</sup>).—*τῶν ὑπαρχόντων* belongs strictly only to *τὰ μὲν*, potentially also to *τὰ δὲ*, i.e. places which we depended on securing (cf. *πρᾶξαι ὅπως ἵπάρξει*).

2. *γράφοντα τοιαῦτα*, *by proposing measures accordingly*.

5. *Ἄβυδον*: see Hist. § 63.—*Εὐβοίαν*: Weil proposes *Σηλυμβρίαν*, as Euboea has been just mentioned; but Euboea, with its long coasts, was always essential to the safety of the corn trade.



ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐρέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ 303 βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσ' εἰς ἐνὸς 5 ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτ' 327 ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις ἕως ἀνέτρεψεν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν 304 ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ εἷν' ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ εἷν' ἄνδρ' Ἀρκαδία ταῦτα

6. ἐρέλειπε Σ, L, A1; Y; ἐρέλιπε vulg. 7. τοίνυν ὑμῖν L, vulg.; ὑμῖν om. Σ, A1.  
 § 303. 3. βούληται τις A1. 4, 5. οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προδοθέντα vulg., om. L<sup>1</sup>, add. mg. 5. προεθέντα (for προδοθ.) Σ, Y, A1; παρεθέντα F. ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς Σ, L, Y, V6; ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς vulg. 6. σύνεσις (for δύναμιν) A2. ἐλλειφθέν L, vulg., (late H over εἰ) Σ. 7. τινος after τύχης A2. τῶν στρατηγῶν Φ. 8. ἢ (before πάντα) om. A1; ἢ καὶ Σ (γρ), Φ (γρ). πάντα ταῦτα Σ, L, vulg.; ταῦτα πάντα A1. ἅμα (after ταῦτα) Σ (γρ), vulg.; om. Σ, L, V6.  
 9. ἐλυμαίνετο Σ, L, Y, O (corr.); ἐλυμήνατο vulg. ἀνέτρεψε vulg.; ἀνέτρεψαν Σ, L, Y, Φ; ἀνέτρεψε (a over final ε) B; ἀνέστρεψε V6.  
 § 304. 1. εἰ δ' οἷος L; εἰ οὐ Σ<sup>1</sup> (corr. το εἰ δ' οἷος); εἰ δ' οἷος ἦν vulg.; ἦν om. Σ, L, Y, A1. 2. ἀνὴρ om. A2. 3. ἄνδρα μόνον Σ, L, vulg.; μόνον ἀνδ. A2.

6. τὰς μεγίστας: especially Thebes in 339 B.C.—ὧν ἐρέλειπε τῇ πόλει, *what the city lacked*: ἐλλείπει is sometimes impersonal, like ἐνδεῖ, as here; so Plat. Leg. 844 B, εἴ τισι τόποις...ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων, and 740 C.

§ 303. 2. βεβουλευμένα ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει (*or. obl.*) refers chiefly to πολιτεύματα.

4. οὐ παρεθέντα...προεθέντα, *opportunitatem cuiusque rei non per negligentiam praetermissam nec ignoratam nec predictam* (Disson). παρεθέντα implies *carelessness* (cf. VIII. 34), προεθέντα *wilfulness* (cf. VIII. 56).

5. ὅσ' implies *τοσοῦτων*, depending on οὐδέν.

7. δαίμονος ἢ τύχης: cf. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, Aesch. III. 115, 157. The strength (*ισχύς*) of the superhuman powers

is opposed to the weakness and *incapacity* (*φαυλότης*) or the treachery of men. One of the Athenian generals at Chaeronea, Lysicles, was accused of treachery by Lysicurgus and condemned to death (Diod. XVI. 88): see note on §§ 264<sup>1</sup> and 300<sup>6</sup>.

9. τοῖς ὅλοις: see note on § 278<sup>7</sup>.—ἀνέτρεψεν, *overset*, the familiar figure of the ship of state: the better mss. have ἀνέτρεψαν, which West. defends on the ground that οἱ προδιδόντες is the logical subject; but this should affect ἐλυμαίνετο also.—ἀδικεῖ, not *is doing wrong*, but *is to blame* for a past wrong (M. T. 27).

§ 304. 3. Θετταλία...Ἀρκαδία: see §§ 63, 64. "Philip's party in the one opened Northern Greece to him, and in the other neutralized the Peloponnesians" (Simcox).

φρονοῦντ' ἔσχεν ἐμοὶ, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων  
**305** οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ  
 πάντες ἄν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας  
 ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ὄκουν πατρίδας, τούτων  
 τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθη-  
 5 ναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς  
 λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρώμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον,  
 λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν  
 κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.

### ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

**306** Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Λισχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κάγαθον  
 πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβη-

4. ἔσχεν Σ, L, A1; ἔσχον vulg. οὐδένας (for οὐδεὶς) Cobet, Vöm. 5. ἐκέχρητ' ἄν vulg.; ἐκέχρητ' ἄν Σ, L, Cob., Vöm.

§ 305. 3. τούτων Σ, L<sup>1</sup>; τῶν vulg. 7. λαβὲ (for λέγε) A1.

Σ and L end the text with ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν followed (in Σ) by ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ | ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ (in two lines). (See Vömel's note.)

§ 306. 1. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα vulg.; τὰ om. Σ, O, F, Φ, V6; αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα L. 2. ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ (after μὲν) L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Y. ἐν μεγίστοις vulg.; ἐν om. Σ, L, B, A1. 2.

4. οὐδεὶς...ἐκέχρητ' ἄν: Cobet reads by conjecture οὐδένας (as Σ has ἐκέχρητ' ἄν), referring to v. 5 and XIX. 66. See § 23<sup>b</sup>, πρὸς οὐδέν', where Cobet and Dindorf read οὐδένας with several MSS.

§ 305. 2. ἄν is repeated with ὄκουν, contrary to general usage, because of the change of time from *would have fallen into* (ἐκέχρητ' ἄν) to *would now be dwelling in*. This mention of Thessaly and Arcadia has special reference to the final struggle with Philip (Bl.).

7. λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι: cf. XIX. 70, and note on § 28<sup>2</sup>.—βοηθειῶν: forces sent out for special purposes, like those mentioned in § 302<sup>2</sup>: see IV. 32, μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριούμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων) ἀλλὰ παρασκευῆ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει, and cf. IV. 41. The famous expedition which checked Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C. (IV. 17) is called a *βοήθεια* in XIX. 84. Often *βοήθεια* means a mere *raid*.

§ 306. 1. ταῦτα...πράττειν...δεῖ sums up the reply to the question τί χρῆν...ποιεῖν; in § 301<sup>1</sup>, but with a change in tense. He asked *what was the duty* etc., with special reference to the case in hand; and he replies in general terms *this is the duty*. ποιεῖν and πράττειν have here the same sense, as have χρῆ (in χρῆν) and δεῖ. Spengel and West. changed δεῖ here to εἶδει to complete the correspondence with § 301<sup>1</sup>. But if we read εἶδει here, we must supply δεῖ with the infinitives in § 307; see ἄν...λυπήσῃ (§ 307<sup>b</sup>).

2. κατορθουμένων = εἰ κατορθοῦτο, *if they had been successful* (as they were not), to which the apodosis is ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, *it belonged to us to be*, i.e. *we should properly have been*: ὑπῆρχεν may be used with the infinitive like εἶδει and χρῆν.—μεγίστοις (sc. ἡμῶν)...καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, i.e. *indisputably, and (I might add) justly, greatest*: δικαίως stands as a mere

τήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ  
 συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα  
 μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν 5  
 τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δι' 307  
 οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει μισθώσαντα δ'  
 αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ  
 τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματ' ἄξια  
 τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ 5  
 τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἂν δέ τις ἰδία τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνη-  
 σθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον,  
 328 ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ 308  
 συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς  
 ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν,  
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς

3. ὑπάρχειν Φ, Β, corr. to ὑπῆρχεν F.  
 changed to οὕτω Σ. κρίνουσαν ΑΙ. 2.

5. πόλιν καὶ V6.

6. τούτω

§ 307. 2. οὐκ om. F. 4. τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Φ, Α2. 5. μένειν καὶ O (corr.).  
 6. τούτων προελόμενον Α2; τούτοις προελ. L; τούτον προελ. ΑΙ; προελόμενον om. Σ,  
 vulg. ἂν Σ, L, V6; εἰν vulg. τι om. Α2. λυπήσῃ Σ. 7. οὐδέ γ'  
 Σ, L, Υ, V6; γ' om. vulg. 8. ὃ Σ, L, ΑΙ; ὡς vulg.

§ 308. 2. ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς Σ, L, vulg.; ἀπλῶς ὑμεῖς ΑΙ. 4. δοκῆ (οξ over ok) F.

word with the article; and προσῆν is *be-  
 longed there*, i.e. *might properly be added*.

3. ὡς ἑτέρως, *otherwise*: see note on  
 § 85<sup>5</sup>.

4. συμβάντων, not conditional (like  
*κατορθομένων*), but simply temporal, *when  
 they* (have) *resulted otherwise*.—  
 περίεστι, *there is left to us*: the subject is  
 τὸ εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὸ μηδένα...κρίνασαν (6).

6. κακίζειν: the subject is πάντας, to  
 be supplied from the preceding subject  
 μηδένα. The same carelessness of ex-  
 pression is still common; a famous case  
 is the clause of the United States Con-  
 stitution concerning fugitive slaves: "No  
 person held to service or labor in one  
 state, under the laws thereof, escaping  
 into another, shall...be discharged from  
 said service or labor, but shall be de-  
 livered up etc."

§ 307. 1. οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐκ: emphatic

repetition, not a double negative: δεῖ is  
 understood here from § 306<sup>2</sup>, and on  
 it depend the infinitives θεραπεύειν etc.  
 through ἄγειν (7).

2. ἀποστάντα: strongly opposed to  
 θεραπεύειν (4) and ὑποστάντα (5).

4. τῶν τῆς πατρίδος (sc. καιρῶν),  
 instead of the fuller form with ὑπὲρ (as in  
 3).—τὸν ὑποστάντα, *the man who has  
 bound himself (undertaken)*, object of  
 βασκαίνειν.

7. ὑπουλον, lit. *festering within*, of  
 the quiet of Aesch., *false, hollow*: see  
 Thuc. VIII. 64 (end), τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ὑπουλον αὐτονομίαν (Bl.).

§ 308. 2. οἱ πολλοί, here simply  
*the majority*.

3. ἀπλῶς, *in honest simplicity, with-  
 out pretence*, opposed to ὑπουλος ἡσυχία  
 (307<sup>7</sup>).—οὐ ταύτην: cf. Aesch. III. 215,  
 216.



5 πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ  
 τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν  
 ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τάνθρώ-  
 πινα). εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς  
 ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνει-  
 10 λοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ  
 ἀπνευστεῖ, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν  
 οὐδενὸς, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινῇν  
 309 αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας,  
 Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρί-  
 δος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους  
 καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων,  
 5 πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων

5. φυλάττειν V6. πηνίκ' Σ, L; ὀπηνίκα (or κ') vulg.; ὀπηνίχ' ὑμεῖς A1.2.  
 ἔσεσθαι (ε over αι, now erased) Σ; ἐστὲ L, vulg. 6. ἢ om. Σ (add. mg.).  
 7. γὰρ (for δὲ) V6. 9. ἀνεφάνη A1. συνειλοχῶς vulg.; συνειλεχῶς Σ, B<sup>1</sup>, Φ, Bk.;  
 συνειληχῶς Y, B<sup>2</sup>, F (γρ), O<sup>2</sup>: in XXI. 23, συνείλοχα Σ. 10. συνείρει B<sup>1</sup>, Phot.;  
 συνήρει Σ, B<sup>2</sup>; συνήρει Y. 11. ἀπνευστέι Σ.  
 § 309. 2. Αἰσχίνη after μελέτης (1) A1, om. V6. 3, 4. καλοὺς καὶ γεν-  
 ναίους Φ, A1. 5. παρασκευὴν A2.

5. φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοί, *he watches (to see) when you will be sated*, an indirect question where we might expect a temporal clause: ὀπηνίκα is the common reading.

6. τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος, *with your regular speaker*, i.e. the one who is continually advising you: see Plut. Cim. 5, ὁ δῆμος... μεστός ὢν τοῦ θεμιστοκλέους.

7. τάνθρώπινα: sc. ἐναντιώματα.

8. ῥήτωρ, *as an orator*, predicate to ἐφάνη (gnomic).

9. ὥσπερ πνεῦμ', with ἐξαίφνης.—πεφωνασκηκῶς: cf. § 280<sup>3</sup>.—συνειλοχῶς, the only proper perf. act. of συλλέγω, though here Σ has συνειλεχῶς. Σ has συνείλοχα in XXI. 23. Cf. συμφορήσας, § 15<sup>3</sup>.

10. ῥήματα: cf. § 232<sup>4</sup>.—συνείρει, *reels off (strings together)*.

11. ἀπνευστέι, *all in one breath (without taking breath)*.

12. τῷ τυχόντι, *cuius, to any one who happens to hear them*: see note on § 130<sup>2</sup>.

—κοινῇν, *public*, opposed to τῷ τυχόντι.

13. αἰσχύνην: Bl. refers this to the speech described in § 35.

§ 309. 1. μελέτης, ἐπιμελείας, *practice, study*, referring to § 308<sup>9-11</sup>.

2. τὰ... προηρημένης, *one which had made the interests of the fatherland its choice (προαίρεσιν)*, connected by καὶ to δικαίας.

3. ἔδει εἶναι, *ought to have been*, implying that in the case of Aeschines they were not so.—γενναίους: often used literally of fruits, as in Plat. Leg. 844 E, τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα (Bl.): see also Plat. Rep. 372 B, μάζας γενναίας καὶ ἄρτους.

5. ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν: i.e. securing new commercial rights for Athens in some foreign seaport: see XX. 33, κατασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θεοδοσίαν, with Sandys's note. Weil quotes Dinarch. I. 96, τί κατεσκεύακεν οἰκοδόμημα Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ;

θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθείσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων 310  
 γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν  
 ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ,  
 ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγωνῶς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος,  
 οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστος- 5  
 οὔν, οὐκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμ- 311  
 μαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἡ  
 κτήσις εὐνοίας ἡ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία δι'  
 329 ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμότερα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἡ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν  
 καὶ ξενικῶν οἷς ἐπέστης ἐπηνώρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα 5  
 βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν;  
 τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἡ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἡ τοῖς

§ 310. 2. ἦν καὶ ἐν Α2. ἔδωκεν twice in Σ. 3. τε om. O. 4. φα-  
 νήσει Σ; φανήση vulg. 6. ἐπὶ γ' οἷς Σ, L, Α1; ἐπεὶ γε καὶ vulg.; ἐπεὶ οἷς Υ, F (γρ);  
 ἐπὶ οἷς γε καὶ O.

§ 311. 1. γὰρ om. Α2. 4. ἐντιμότερα γέγονε vulg.; γέγ. om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>.  
 5. οἷς vulg.; αἷς O; ἀς Σ; ἄς L; ἐφ' ἃ Α1; οἷς ἐπέστης om. F. ἐπηνώρθ. διὰ σέ  
 vulg.; διὰ σέ om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>. 7. γέγονας (for εἶ) Α1. 2.

§ 310. 1. τούτων ἦν ἐξέτασις: ἐξέ-  
 τασις is again a military term, as in § 320<sup>9</sup>,  
 where it means a *mustering* or *review*  
 of hirelings etc., in which they were called  
 forth to show themselves. Here, with  
 a genitive denoting public services, it  
 means likewise *calling out* and *arraying*  
 such services to a man's credit. (See note  
 on § 173<sup>1</sup>.)

2. ἔδωκεν...ἀποδείξεις, i.e. the past  
 gave many opportunities for showing such  
 services, as it were, arraying them for  
 a review.

4. ἐν οἷς, in which class (the καλοὶ τε  
 κάγαθοί), as if ἀνδράσι had preceded.—  
 οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 320<sup>5</sup>.

5. οὐχ ὀποστοςοῦν (cf. ὀστισοῦν), not  
 in any rank whatsoever. Dissen thinks  
 this alludes to a Delphic oracle given to  
 the Megarians, quoted in the Scholia to  
 Theoc. XIV. 48, 49, of which the last two  
 verses are:

ὕμεις δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέ-  
 ταρτοι  
 οὔτε δωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν  
 ἀριθμῶ.

For the whole oracle (8 vs.) see the

Scholia in Ahrens's Bucol. Gr. II., p. 381:  
 see also Menander, frag. 154 (Kock).

6. οὐκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς, at all events, not  
 in matters in which, etc.

§ 311. These questions are argu-  
 ments for the judgment just pronounced  
 upon Aeschines. After the third ques-  
 tion, the conjunctions are omitted in the  
 speaker's vehemence. With the whole  
 passage compare XIX. 282.

4. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, opposed to τῶν  
 οἰκείων, is the so-called *foreign policy* of  
 Athens, i.e. her policy with other Greek  
 states: see note on § 59<sup>2</sup>. Here τῶν  
 ξενικῶν is added to include her relations  
 to other than Greek states, both being  
 opposed to τῶν οἰκείων, her *domestic*  
 policy.

5. ποῖαι τριήρεις; sc. γεγόνασι τῇ  
 πόλει.

7. τί...χρήσιμος εἶ; what in the  
 world (τῶν ἀπάντων) ARE you good for?—  
 τίς ἡ...χρημάτων; what public financial  
 aid has ever come from you to either rich  
 or poor? This is commonly referred to  
 an equalization of the public burdens, by  
 which both rich and poor would be bene-

ἀπόροις πολιτικῇ καὶ κοινῇ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.  
**312** ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία· ποῦ;  
 πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὄθ' ἅπαντες ὅσοι  
 πῶποτ' ἐφθέγγαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδουσαν,  
 καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν  
 5 ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότ' οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδὲν, οὐκ

8. [χρημάτων] Weil, Bl. παρά σου (after χρημάτων) vulg., om. Σ, ΑΙ (add. mg.). οὐδεμία περι σου V6.

§ 312. 1. ὦ ταν Σ. μηδὲν πάντων ΑΙ. εὐνοιά τις καὶ Ο. προθυμία· ὅτον ποτέ Σ, L (γέ ποῦ ποτε mg.). 2. ὅτ ἅπαντες (ὅτ corr. to ὅτε) Σ. 3. ἐπέδιδ. εἰς σωτηρίαν ΑΙ. 4. εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀργύριον ΑΙ; ἀργύριον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; ἀργύριον om. Σ, L. 5. οὔτε (after τότ') om. F, Φ, Α2. οὐδὲ (for οὔτ') Φ.

fitted. But Demosth. has always prided himself on transferring such burdens from the poor to the rich (see §§ 102, 103). It must be that "to either rich or poor" means *to anybody at all*.—**πολιτικῇ καὶ κοινῇ** is a rhetorical amplification, like the cases in the note to § 4<sup>b</sup>: see XXV. 22, ἔρανος γάρ ἐστι πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινὸς πάνθ' ὅσα, ταξάντων τῶν νόμων, ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ποιεῖ.

Dinarchus seems to have learnt a lesson from this passage, when in his speech against Demosthenes (96) he says, ποῖαι γὰρ τριήρεις εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι διὰ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Εὐβούλου, τῇ πόλει; ἢ ποῖοι νεώσοικοι τοῦτον πολιτενομένου γεγόνασαι; πότε οὗτος ἢ διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ νόμου ἐπηνώρθωσε τὸ ἵππικόν; κ.τ.λ. In the decree in Plut. Mor., p. 852 C, it is said of the financier Lycurgus, χειροτονηθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς, ὅπλα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ βελῶν μυριάδας πέντε ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τετρακοσίας τριήρεις πλωίμους κατεσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν ἐπισκευάσας, τὰς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ναπηγησάμενος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡμίεργα παραλαβὼν τοὺς τε νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν ἐξειργάσατο καὶ ἐπέτελεσε, τὸ τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκὸν καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κατὰ Λύκειον κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν. This enumeration shows the standard of comparison which Demosthenes had in mind, though he never professed to come up to

it himself in his public improvements.

§ 312. 1. ὦ τᾶν, a familiar form of address, found in three other passages of Demosthenes, I. 26, III. 29, XXV. 78; in all introducing an imaginary retort of an opponent.

3. ἐφθέγγαντ': cf. § 199<sup>b</sup>, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγγω.—εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδουσαν, i.e. *made contributions* (ἐπιδόσεις, § 171<sup>7</sup>) *for the safety of the state*. Such were made after Chaeronea, and again before the destruction of Thebes by Alexander: for the latter see XXXIV. 38, ὅτε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Θήβας παρήει, ἐπέδωκαμεν ὑμῖν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου.

4. τὸ συνειλεγμένον (sc. ἀργύριον), i.e. money *contributed* to pay some debt to the state which made him ἄτιμος, and thus to make him again ἐπιτίμος. Every defaulting public debtor was *ipso facto* ἄτιμος. From this allusion to Aristonicus (who is probably the one mentioned in §§ 83, 223), Schaefer (III. p. 136) argues that Demosthenes refers only to the contributions of 335 B.C., since after Chaeronea the decree of Hyperides restored all public debtors to ἐπιτιμία. The suggestion of Blass, that Aristonicus gave the money contributed for his ἐπιτιμία to the state after his ἀτιμία had been legally removed, instead of returning it to the donors, does not make his generosity so extraordinary as to deserve such public notice.



ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεάν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύει. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

6. γε κεκληρονόμηκας MSS.; γ' ἐκεκληρονομήκεις A. Schaefer (Dem. III. 125), Bl. 7. πέντεταλάντων (as one word, ετ united) Σ; πέντε ταλάντων L, vulg. 8. δωρεάν om. A1 (add. mg.).

§ 313. 4. ἀπέδωκας O. 5. σοῦ above line Σ. πολιτεύη MSS., Bk., Bl. 6. ἡνίκ' ἂν...δέη Σ<sup>1</sup>; ἂν εἰπεῖν τι (bef. κατὰ) vulg.; τούτων εἰπεῖν τι Σ<sup>2</sup>, L, A1; εἰπεῖν om. Σ<sup>1</sup>. 7. δέοι B<sup>2</sup>, O, Y, F, Φ.

6. τῶν Φίλωνος...πεντεταλάντων, *the estate of your brother-in-law Philo, which was (sc. ὄντων) more than five talents.*

7. διτάλαντον ἔρανον, *a contribution of two talents.* There is probably a sarcastic reference to the common meaning of ἔρανος.

8. ἡγεμόνων: see note on § 103<sup>3</sup>.

9. ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, *for the damage you did: οἷς for a cognate ἄ, as in § 18<sup>5</sup>.* This attack of Aeschines on the trierarchic law was not made when the law was enacted in 340 B.C., but probably after Chaeronea. Demosthenes says (§ 107<sup>5</sup>) that *through the whole war* (i.e. 340—338 B.C.) the naval armaments were fitted out under his law; and the statement of Aeschines (III. 222), ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηράρχους ὑφηρημένος, shows that evidence as to the working of the new law in details was derived from actual experience. See Boeckh, Staatsh. I. p. 668, note b; Schaefer II. 527.

§ 313. 2. λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων, *by saying one thing after another.* τοῦ παρόντος (sc. λόγου) ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, *cut myself off from* (discussing properly) *the subject immediately before us.*

3. ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, *that it was not through poverty that you did not contribute; each negative having its own force, as the second is not a compound* (G. 1618).

4. ἀλλὰ connects φυλάττων to δι' ἔνδειαν, both being causal.—φυλάττων τὸ...γενέσθαι: see M. T. 374; and note on § 258<sup>3</sup>.

5. τούτοις, οἷς: not simply *to those for whom* (which would hardly be τούτοις), but *to these persons* (§ 312<sup>8</sup>), *for whom* (*in whose interest*) etc.

6. νεανίας, often used in the sense of *vigorous, lively*, like the adjective νεανικός: it occurs only twice in Demosthenes, here and § 136<sup>1</sup>.—ἡνίκ' ἂν...τι δέη: supply εἰπεῖν, which most MSS. insert either before or after κατὰ τούτων.

8. τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης: see Harpocr., τὸν γοῦν πάλαι μὲν ὑποκριτὴν τραγικὸν ὕστερον δὲ σικοφάντην εἰκότως ὠνόμασε τραγικὸν Θεοκρίνην. Theocrines is the one accused in Or. LVIII. (Bl.). Cf. § 242<sup>4</sup> 5.

In §§ 314—323 the orator complains of the unfairness of judging him, as Aeschines has done (178—190), by comparison with the great men of ancient

- 314** Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες Αθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παρα- 330
- 315** βάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεώτας δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς 5 πρὸ ἑμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτά σοι προηρημένων καὶ

§ **314.** 1. ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν Σ, L, Y, Φ, V6; ἀνδ. ἀγ. vulg. 2. ὦ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὦ om. Σ, L, O, B. 3. τελευτηκότος O. 4. προλαβόντα Σ, O, A1; προσλαβόντα L, vulg. 5. τὸν νῦν ζῶντα Σ, L, O, Y; τὸν συζῶντα vulg.

§ **315.** 2. ἀπάντων V6, Stob. 3. τοὺς δὲ τεθν. A2. 4. οὖν om. O. τούτων ἐχόντ. V6. 5. πρὸ om. A1. κρίνωμαι Σ, B; κρίνομαι L, vulg. θεωρῶμαι Σ, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, Φ, B; θεωροῦμαι L, vulg. 6. ἴσον ἐστίν Φ, A2. L has πρσ (ὁ ἐ above) for πρὸς σὲ. 7. ὄντινα (for εἴ τινα) A1. 2. βούλη Σ. ταυτασδι Σ; σοι om. V6. προηρημένων Σ.

times. But he shrinks from no comparison with his contemporaries. In §§ 321—323 he states two points, which he claims for himself, in the character of the μέτριος πολίτης.

§ **314.** 1. τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων: in III. 181 Aeschines calls on the court directly to compare Demosthenes with Themistocles, Miltiades, the heroes of Phyle, and Aristides; and he does this very effectively.

3. τὴν... ὑπάρχουσαν, the devotion which it is to be assumed you feel towards the dead.

4. προλαβόντα, securing for himself in advance, taking advantage of. Bl. refers to XIX. 277, τὸ πιστευθῆναι προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ μείζω δύνασθαι κακουργεῖν καταχρησθαι.

Dissen quotes [Cic.] in Salust. II. 5: Quare mihi noli antiquos viros obiectare. ...Neque me cum iis conferri decet qui iam decesserunt omnique odio carent et invidia, sed cum iis qui mecum una in re publica versati sunt. See Hor. Od. III.

24, 31, Virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.

§ **315.** 2. τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι... φθόνος, κ.τ.λ.: cf. Thuc. II. 45, φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία τετιμηται.—ὑπεστι, implying more or less concealment: cf. § 36<sup>2</sup>. West. quotes Tac. Orat. 18; Vell. II. 92.

5. κρίνωμαι; am I to be judged? With the answer, μηδαμῶς, we must understand κρίνωμαι in the sense, let me not be judged (M.T. 257): cf. Plat. Rep. 527 C, τιθῶμεν; with answer τιθῶμεν. If the deliberative subjunctive is the interrogative of the hortatory subjunctive, so that ἔλθωμεν; shall we go? is the interrogative of ἔλθωμεν, let us go, the common connection of the two (as here) is most natural (M.T. 291).

6—8. Here πρὸς σὲ and ζώντων were pronounced with special emphasis. Supply ἐμὲ κρίνεσθαι. With προηρημένων cf. § 309<sup>3</sup>.

ζώντων. κάκεινο ἰσκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον **316**  
 τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέ-  
 θεις,—οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικίας,—τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα  
 βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ἄγειν,  
 ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι τῆς τούτων τιμῆς 5  
 καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ μ' **317**  
 εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις σκοπῇ,  
 ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτὰ βουλο-  
 μένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε  
 συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν 5  
 τινες, οἳ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε τοὺς [δὲ] πρότερον γε-  
 γεινημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' ποιῶντες  
 σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὁμοίός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ: σὺ **318**  
 δ' ὁμοιος, Αἰσχίνης; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν

§ 316. 1. ἄμεινον, Αἰσχίνης V6. 2. πρότερον Σ, L, O, A1, B; προτέρων  
 vulg. οὔσας om. L. 3. οὐδὲ μὲν (i.e. οὐ μὲν) Σ, Υ. 3. περὶ (for ἐπὶ) F, Lips.  
 4. ἀχαριστίαν Υ. 5. τῆς om. Σ (γρ). παρὰ τούτων Σ (γρ), L, vulg.; παρὰ  
 om. Σ, Υ.

§ 317. 1. καὶ (after εἰ) om. A1. 2. ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ L, vulg.; ὀρθῶς om. Σ.  
 3. ἀνδρῶν om. Υ. ταῦτα O. βουλευομένη V6. 4. Σ (γρ) has ἢ δὲ  
 σὴ· τίς· τῶν...συκοφ.; τῶν τοὺς ἄλλους συκ. A1. 6. τοὺς χρόνους after τινες L<sup>2</sup>,  
 vulg.; before ἦσαν (5) Φ, A1 (mg.), V6; om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, Υ, A1. οἳ διασύροντες Σ, L (οἳ),  
 B, vulg.; οἳ διέσυρον μὲν A1, οἳ διέσυρον τοὺς ὄντας μὲν A2; μὲν om. Σ, L, O, F,  
 V6; οἳ διασύροντες τ. ὄντ. τότε τοὺς προτ. γεγ. ἐπήνουν (om. δέ), Reiske, Weil.  
 7. ἐπαινοῦντες A2. καὶ ταῦτ' om. V6; καταυτο Φ, F (γρ), B<sup>1</sup>; καὶ ταῦτ' vulg.

§ 318. 2. ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σ.

§ 316. 3. οὐ...ἡλικίας, *no man can tell how great*: οὐ μὲν οὖν, as usual, is emphatic and corrective.—ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας (sc. εὐεργεσίας), *shown to the present generation*.

4. εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ἄγειν: cf. § 112<sup>7</sup>.

5. τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας: cf. § 209<sup>2</sup>.

§ 317. 1. εἰ...εἰπεῖν: he makes this slight apology for asserting even the following claim to be compared with the great men of old, after disclaiming all comparison with them.

2. πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις: cf. §§ 93<sup>3</sup>, 192<sup>5</sup>.

3. ἐπαινουμένων: imperfect, like συκοφαντούντων (5), as is shown by τότε.

6. διασύροντες...ἐπήνουν: I keep the reading of Σ, but omit δὲ after τοὺς. The

reading διασύροντες with τοὺς δὲ is too ungrammatical and needlessly awkward for this oration: διέσυρον μὲν seems an obvious attempt to correct this corrupt combination. διασύρω, *ridicule*, is a favourite word with Demosthenes: it occurs elsewhere in this speech in §§ 27<sup>5</sup>, 126<sup>6</sup>, 180<sup>3</sup>, 218<sup>9</sup>, 299<sup>2</sup>, 323<sup>6</sup>, always in the same sense.

§ 318. 2. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός: Aeschines had two brothers. Philochares, older than himself, and Aphobetus, the youngest of the family. He describes Philochares (II. 149) as a distinguished military man, who was chosen general in three successive years: and Aphobetus as holding a high position in the revenue department, and going as ambassador to



νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς  
 ζῶντας, ὧ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε  
 5 καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τὰλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς, τοὺς 331  
 319 χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ, ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ  
 Καρυστίου καὶ τινῶν ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν  
 ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπήει,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστ' ἐμάχετο,  
 5 ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς  
 νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν  
 320 ἀπάντων· οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ

3. γὰρ om. A2. 5. καθ' αὐτὸν Σ; κατ' αὐτὸν Φ; καθ' αὐτὸν Ο; κατὰ σαυτὸν Α1. 2.

§ 319. 2. ἐτέρων om. Α1. 4. αὐτὸν Σ; αὐτὸν L, vulg.; om. A2.  
 7. οὐδένα Σ, Υ; οὐδένα (δενὶ over δένα) L; οὐδενὶ Σ (γρ), vulg. *see Pickers. Anecd.*

Schol. h. 332, 37

the king of Persia. Demosthenes (XIX. 237, 249) has no praise for them, but casts no reproach upon either. It is generally thought that Aphobetus is here meant: see Schaefer I. 231.

4. ὧ χρηστὲ, *my good man*, ironical: cf. §§ 30<sup>2</sup>, 89<sup>6</sup>.—ἵνα...εἶπω: this is generally understood to refer to the gentle style of address in *χρηστὲ*, *to call you nothing more*: see West. and Bl. But it may refer to *πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας* (3), and imply that he will not press the slight claim to a comparison with the men of old which he makes in § 317: it will then mean, *to claim no more than this*.

5. τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν: with *πρὸς* (3).—ὥσπερ τὰλλα πάντα, i.e. *as in other cases*, less exact than *τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας*.—τοὺς ποιητὰς...ἀγωνιστάς, i.e. *as in dramatic and other contests of that nature, and in the public games*. See § 319.

319. 1. Φιλάμμων is chosen as an Athenian who had recently returned as an Olympic victor. See the verse in Arist. Rhet. III. 11, 13, ὥσπερ Φιλάμμων ζυγομαχῶν τῷ κωρύκῳ. Glaucus, on the contrary, was one of the most famous boxers of the time of the Persian wars, who, besides gaining a victory at Olympia, gained two Pythian, eight Nemean, and eight Isthmian prizes. Pausanias (VI.

10, 1—3) saw his statue at Olympia. See the fragment of the ode of Simonides in his honour (fr. 8, Bergk): οὐδὲ Πολυδέυκος βία χεῖρας ἀντείναιτ' ἂν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ σιδάρεον Ἀλκμάνας τέκος. Aeschines (III. 189) refers to this comparison as one which he "heard that Demosthenes would make." This is evidently a bold addition which Aeschines made to his speech after it was spoken. If Demosthenes had heard this anticipation of his effective allusion, with the weak answer of Aeschines, he would certainly have replied to both in his own speech. The point of the comparison is slightly changed by Aeschines, perhaps to conceal its origin.

4. εἰσελθόντων: cf. Soph. El. 700; Xen. An. VI. 1, 9.

6. ὄρα με: cf. θεωρῶμαι; (§ 315<sup>5</sup>) and ἐξέταξε (§ 318<sup>4</sup>).

7. οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι, *I shrink from no one*: this reading of the best MSS. agrees with Lobeck's rule (note on Soph. Aj. 82), that ἐξίσταμαι, *declinare*, takes the accusative, but in the sense of *cedere*, the dative. But here Lobeck would read οὐδενὶ; and Shilleto agrees with him (note on XIX. 225), remarking "obviously the sense is *I yield to no one*, as Aj. 672." Recent editors are undoubtedly right in

βέλτισθ' ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαιμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδ' εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις 5 ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοιμῶν καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις. τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, 10 ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενὴς, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὐνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

§ 320. 2. αἰρεῖσθαι παρῆν A2. 3. ἐγὼ κράτιστα Σ, L, vulg.; ἐγὼ τὰ βέλτιστα A1. 2. 4. καὶ (after ἐμοῖς) Σ, L, O, Φ; om. vulg. 5. ἦν om. F, Φ. τούτους Φ. 6. ὄφελεν Σ. 8. μισθαρνεῖν (ρ above the line) Σ. ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων A2. 9. ἕτερον Σ, L, Y; ἐτέρους vulg. ἐξέτασις ἦν vulg.; ἦν om. Σ, L. II. τούτοις B, Φ.

preferring οὐδένα (as above). For the dative see Soph. Phil. 1053, νῦν δὲ σοὶ γ' ἐκῶν ἐκστήσομαι.

§ 320. 1. ὦν, partitive with κράτιστα λέγων (3).

2. ἐφαιμίλλου...κειμένης: the figure of a public contest is kept up, the privilege of showing devotion to the state being a prize open to general competition (ἐφαιμίλλου). There is an active use of ἐφάμιλλος: see Xen. Mem. III. 3, 12, οὐδεὶς (χορὸς) τούτῳ ἐφάμιλλος γίγνεται, entering into competition. See also Plat. Rep. 433 D, οὐκοῦν δικαιοσύνην τό γε τούτοις ἐνάμιλλον ἂν εἰς ἀρετὴν πόλεως θέϊης;

5. ἦν οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 310<sup>4</sup>.—εἴ...τι δέοι: the optative implies frequent occasions for insulting the people.

6. ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν (sc. συμβῆναι), i.e. the defeat: see 288<sup>9</sup>, and note οὐκέτι, opposed to ὅτε...παρῆν (1).

9. ἕτερον: this is the vague term by which Demosthenes often alludes to Alexander: see § 323<sup>1,8</sup>.—ἐξέτασις: the familiar military figure recurs, i.e. a call for these, as for a review; and this is carried out in ἐν τάξει: see note on § 173<sup>4</sup>.

10. ἵπποτρόφος: the keeping of horses was a sign of wealth, and the word im-

plies that Aeschines had become a richer and more powerful man at Athens since the complete establishment of Alexander's supremacy. Cf. Ar. Nub. 15. There is also an allusion to the military review implied in ἐξέτασις and ἐν τάξει, in which Aeschines appears in splendour as one of the ἵππεῖς.

II. ἀσθενὴς: Aeschines (159) speaks of Dem. at this time as ὑπότρομος, παρῶν ἡμιθνής ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. Westermann thinks this passage alludes to the time when Philip was made a citizen of Athens and his statue was erected in the city (Plut. Dem. 22; Paus. I. 9, 4). It more probably refers to the recent honours paid to Alexander: see C. I. Att. II. no. 741, dated by Köhler in 331 B.C., fragm. f, g, στεφάνων δυοῖν, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐστεφάνωσε Ἀλέξανδρον]. Köhler thinks two crowns were voted to Alexander, to elude a law forbidding the value of any crown voted by the people to exceed 1000 drachmas. These two gold crowns weighed 97 staters and one drachma (1½ lbs. avoir.) and were worth about 1950 Attic drachmas (silver). See Hist. § 8, note 2.

- 321** δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαντοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ 5 καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὐνοίαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' **322** ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσεθ' ἀπλῶς. ὁράτε δέ. οὐκ ἔξαιτούμενος, οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους 332 ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα

§ **321.** 1. ὦ ἄνδρες vulg.; ὦ om. Σ, L, F, V6. ταῦτα τὸν vulg.; ταῦτα om. Σ, I<sup>1</sup>. 3. γενναίου (ν above the line) Σ. καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρ. L<sup>2</sup>, vulg.; τὴν om. Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, A1, O; τοῦ om. O, V6. 6. τοῦ δὲ δύνασθαι A1, O. ἕτερα Σ, L, vulg.; ἕτερα V6: "sc. ἡ Τύχη" (H. Wolf). *will! See also p. 334, f.*  
 § **322.** 2. οὐκ εἰς ἀμφικτύονας δίκας Σ; οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας L, vulg. ἐπαγόντων μοι L, vulg.; μοι om. Σ, O, A1. οὐκ ἀπειλούντων L, vulg.; om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (added above the line). 3. ἐπαγγελλομένων L. οὐχὶ Σ, L<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; οὐ A2; οὐχ ὅτι L (corr.), Φ, B. 4. προσβαλλόντων (προσ by corr.) Σ. ἐγὼ προδέδωκα Σ, L, O, A1; προσ. ἐγὼ vulg.

§ **321.** μέτριον: see § 10<sup>7</sup>.

2. οὕτω (with εἰπεῖν): he uses μέτριος here modestly, as he is speaking of himself; but he means the man called καλὸς κάγαθος πολίτης in § 278<sup>2</sup> and 306<sup>1</sup> (see Bl.).

3. ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, i.e. ὅτε... ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, 320<sup>1</sup>, in time of power.—τὴν... προαίρεσιν, the policy which aims at nobility and pre-eminence; and τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν, to guard this always for the state. For τοῦ πρωτείου see § 66<sup>7</sup>.

5. πράξει (sc. ἐν πάσῃ) may mean in every act (of the statesman). But Blass is probably right in taking it in the sense of fortune, like εὖ and κακῶς πράττειν: see Aeschyl. Prom. 695, πράξιν Ἰοῦς; Hdt. III. 65 (end), ἀπέκλειε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑνωτοῦ πράξιν; and Soph. Tr. 294, εὐτυχῆ κλύουσα πρᾶξιν τήνδε.—εὐνοίαν, loyal devotion to the state: so in § 322<sup>5</sup>. See note on § 173<sup>4</sup>.—τούτου, i.e. τὴν εὐνοίαν διαφυλάττειν.

6. ἕτερα, other things, as chance or Fortune, which he cannot control. H. Wolf read ἕτερα, another power (i.e. Fortune), which he thus explained: ἡ Τύχη, ἑταῖρα οἶσα καὶ Σειρὴν καὶ δραπέτις.

So Blass: "verdeckter Ausdruck für ἡ Τύχη."—ταύτην: i.e. τὴν εὐνοίαν.

7. ἀπλῶς, absolutely, without exception.

§ **322.** 1. ἔξαιτούμενος, i.e. by Alexander; see the next note and note on § 41<sup>8</sup>.

2. εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας, before the Amphictyonic Council: cf. ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν, XIX. 181 (also without the article). When Alexander demanded the orators of Athens in 335 B.C., he doubtless intended to have them tried by the Amphictyonic Council: see Aesch. III. 161, καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ. Notice the spirit of this sentence. What a trial this would have been for Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Lycurgus!—δίκας ἐπαγόντων, bringing suits (against me): see § 249<sup>3</sup>.

3. ἐπαγγελλομένων: cf. ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος, § 298<sup>1</sup>.—τοὺς καταράτους τούτους, the whole pack of sycophants mentioned in § 249, Sosicles, Diondas, Melantus, etc.

4. προσβαλλόντων, setting them on (as θηρία); cf. προσβάλλεσθαι, to attack.



τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ 5  
δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς, τὰς  
δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας  
αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχί- 323  
μασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι,  
τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν  
ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν

5. εὐθὺς om. B<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>6</sup>. 6. τὴν om. O, Φ, A<sup>2</sup>, V<sup>6</sup>. τῆς πολ. τὴν ὁδὸν L.  
7. τὰς (before τῆς) om. Y, F.  
§ 323. 4. ἐπαγγέλλειν B.

5. ὀρθὴν...εἰλόμην: cf. § 321<sup>3</sup>, τὴν...  
προαίρεσιν.

7. δυναστεία: cf. §§ 67<sup>3</sup>, 270<sup>4</sup>. δυνα-  
στεία means *lordly power*; and when it  
refers to a ruler, it often means *absolute*  
*power* or *despotism*. But it can also  
mean (as here), in a good sense, the  
lordly power which Athens once exercised  
over her dependent states, and which she  
always aspired to exercise.—θεραπεύειν,  
αὔξειν, εἶναι explain ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν.

8. μετὰ τούτων εἶναι, *to be faithful to*  
*these* (τὰς τιμὰς...τὰς τῆς πατρίδος), lit. *to*  
*be on their side*: see Ar. Ach. 661, τὸ γὰρ  
εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξύμμαχον ἔσται.

§ 323. 1. ἐτέρων, i.e. the Mace-  
donians; as ἕτερος (8) and ἕτερον (§ 320<sup>9</sup>)  
refer to Alexander.—εὐτυχίμασι: the  
victories of Alexander at the Granicus  
(334 B.C.), at Issus (333 B.C.), and at  
Arbela (331 B.C.), were still fresh in recol-  
lection, the last not yet a year old.

3. εὐαγγελιζόμενος, properly *announ-*  
*cing good tidings* (cf. εὐαγγέλιον, *Gospel*,  
but here *congratulating on good news*,  
e.g. saying "This is a great victory." It  
cannot mean actually *informing*.—τού-  
τοις οὓς ἂν...οἶωμαι: the apparently  
definite antecedent is peculiar before the  
conditional relative clause. He means  
*any of those men* (a well-known class) *who*  
(on any occasion) *I think are likely to re-*  
*port thither* (to Macedonia) such an event  
as my congratulating them on a Mace-  
donian victory. Cf. § 313<sup>5</sup>, τούτοις, οἷς,  
where, however, the relative is not con-  
ditional. It has, I believe, never been

asked who these men were. There were,  
of course, many Macedonians in Athens at  
this time, and there were many Athenians  
who would welcome news of Macedonian  
victories. But we must remember that  
the greatest Macedonian who ever lived,  
the philosopher Aristotle, was then a  
resident in Athens at the head of the  
Lyceum. His relations with the Court  
of Pella and with Alexander were most  
intimate. Who would be more likely to  
report to Pella, or even to Alexander  
himself, that Demosthenes had congratu-  
lated him on the victory at Arbela, if he  
had any such pleasant fact to report? It  
would be interesting, though not quite  
pleasant, to find an allusion to the great  
philosopher in this striking passage.

4. τῶν...ἀγαθῶν: these *advantages*  
gained by Athens may refer to the early  
successes of the Spartan king Agis in his  
revolt against Macedonia in the spring  
of 330 B.C. (Diod. xvii. 63). Though  
Diodorus says that Athens did not join  
in this insurrection, yet Aeschines (167)  
quotes Demosthenes as saying, ὡς ἀντι-  
πράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, "ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακω-  
νικὰ σιστήσαι· ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοῦς καὶ  
Περραιβοῦς ἀφιστάναι," which shows that  
Demosthenes at least claimed some share  
in this Spartan movement, as well as in  
the Thracian rebellion which occurred  
at the same time (Diod. xvii. 62). See  
Grote XII., Ch. 95. The words τῶν...  
ἀγαθῶν might also refer to the interest of  
Athens in the reverses of Alexander,  
which were occasionally reported from

5 πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὔτοι, οἱ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασὶ  
10 δεῖν τηρεῖν.

324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτους βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε,

5. ἀκούων Φ, Β. στένων Ο. 6. δυσσεβεῖς Ο. καὶ ὥσπερ V6. 7. ἑαυτοὺς Ο. βλέπωσιν (ου over ω) L. 8. εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος Σ, L, vulg.; ἔτ. εὐτύχ. Ο, ΑΙ; ἔτ. ἡτ. V6. 9. μενεῖ Σ; μένει ΑΙ; διαμενεῖ L, vulg.; διαμένη Α2; διαμένει Φ.  
§ 324. 1. ὑμῶν ταῦτ' Ο, ΑΙ. ἐπαινεῖσειεν Α2. 3. οὕτως ἀνιάτως vulg.; οὕτως om. Σ, L, Ο, Υ, ΑΙ. 3, 4. καθ' αὐτοὺς Ο. 4. καὶ προώλεις om. ΑΙ. ποιήσατε Σ, V6; ποιήσοιτε L; ποιῆσαι τε vulg.

Asia: Aeschines (164) describes Demosthenes on one such occasion as ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἰ τι πταῖσμα συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. This was when it was reported that Alexander was shut up in Cilicia, and αὐτίκα μάλα ἐμελλε συμπατηθήσασθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου. But it seems less likely that Demosthenes would refer to such rumours in the present passage. The story shows, however, that the mere report of a disaster to Alexander roused the spirit of liberty at Athens, even in her deep humiliation.

5. κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν: cf. Caes. B. G. I. 32, 2, tristes capite demisso terram intueri.

6. διασύρουσιν: cf. § 317<sup>b</sup>.—ὥσπερ οὐχ with the participle shows that there is nothing conditional in the expression: see note on § 276<sup>1</sup>.

7. ἔξω βλέπουσι: cf. Plut. Arat. 15, ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων.

8. ἐν οἷς (cf. § 19<sup>3</sup>) belongs equally to ἀτυχησάντων and εὐτύχησεν.

9. ταῦτ', this state of things (ἐν οἷς... ἕτερος), understood also as subject of μενεῖ.

§ 324. The Peroration is confined to this single impressive sentence. As he began his oration by beseeching the Gods to put it into the hearts of the judges to hear him impartially, so now he implores them to change the hearts of the traitors within the State, or, if it is too late for this, to annihilate them utterly as the only hope of safety to honest men. See Lord Brougham's remarks on the peroration.

2. μάλιστα μὲν, if possible, best of all.

3. ἐνθείητε, may you inspire in them: this combines the wish with an exhortation, which the optative sometimes expresses in poetry (M. T. 725). In the clause with δὲ we have the imperatives ποιήσατε and δότε: see critical note.—εἰ δ' ἄρ', but if, as may be,—but if after all.—αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς: the strongest expression for by themselves.

4. ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ποιήσατε, cause them to be destroyed utterly and before their time: see Shilleto's note on XIX. 172, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης. The Scholia have: ἐξώλης ὁ ἄξιος ἀπωλείας, προώλης δὲ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ θανεῖν αὐτὸν φθαρεῖς. Westermann quotes an inscription of Halicarnassus from Keil,

ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτη- 5  
μένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

6. δότε vulg.; δότε (η over ι) Σ; δότε over δοιτε L. ἀσφαλῆ + Σ.  
See Essay VIII. § 1.

Sched. Epigr., p. 36: ἐξώλης καὶ πανώλης  
ἔστω καὶ γένος ἐκ γένους, καὶ μήτε γῆ βατῆ  
αὐτῷ μήτε θάλασσα πλωτή.—ἐν γῆ καὶ  
θαλάττῃ, i.e. everywhere, in all their  
ways.

5. ἐπηρτημένων, *impending*: for the  
passive of ἐπαρτῶ see XXIII. 140, τοσοῦ-  
τος ἐπήρτηται φόβος. Cf. Aesch. I. 175,  
φόβους ἐπήρτησα τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, i.e. *I*  
*caused terrors to hang over them* (im-  
pendere). (See Blass.)

6. σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, *safety which*  
*cannot be shaken.*

With these solemn but hopeful words  
of good cheer, Demosthenes leaves his  
case and his reputation with perfect con-  
fidence in the hands of the judges. Since  
the success of his burst of eloquence in  
§§ 51, 52, he has felt no anxiety about  
the judgment, and his courage has in-  
creased steadily in every stage of his  
argument.





## HISTORICAL SKETCH

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON TO THE  
BATTLE OF CHAERONEA.

### I. FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP IN 359 TO 352 B.C.

1. The battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas in 362 B.C. mark the beginning of a new era in Greek history. The brilliant statesmanship and military genius of Epaminondas had raised Thebes to the highest position as a military power, and had reduced Sparta from her leadership of Greece to a condition of extreme danger. Sparta was held in check by the new hostile towns of Megalopolis and Messene, and she had suffered for the first time the humiliation of seeing an invading army within her streets. Athens, alarmed by the aggressive power of Thebes, thought it expedient to forget her ancient enmity and even her recent wrongs, and to make common cause with her old rival: at Mantinea Athens and Sparta fought side by side against Thebes. The death of Epaminondas at the moment of victory broke the spirit and the power of Thebes; Athens was suddenly relieved of her great alarm, and now no longer feared the removal of her Propylaea to the Cadmea of Thebes. Greece was left without a head, and Athens was encouraged to hope for a recovery of the leadership which she had lost by the Peloponnesian War.

2. During the five succeeding years Athens devoted herself to establishing her power in the North, especially in her old dominion, the Thracian Chersonese, which, after a long struggle and many reverses, came anew into her possession in 357 B.C. Earlier in the same year she had made her famous expedition for the liberation of Euboea, of which Demosthenes often speaks with pride<sup>1</sup>, when she cleared the whole island of Thebans in thirty days and wrested it permanently from

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 99.

Thebes, which had held it since the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. In 357 B.C. the new Athenian confederacy reached its greatest power and extent. It included a large part of the islands of the Aegean, Byzantium, the Chersonese and the south of Thrace, Potidaea, Methone, and Pydna, with much of the coast of the Thermaic Gulf<sup>1</sup>. But in the autumn of that year the hopes of Athens were violently shattered by the outbreak of the Social War, in which Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, encouraged by Mausolus of Caria, suddenly revolted and weakened her power at its most vital points. This disastrous war ended in the spring of 355, when Athens was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the four seceding states<sup>2</sup>. Thus crippled she found herself in the face of a new and more dangerous enemy.

3. In 359 B.C. Philip II. succeeded to the throne of Macedonia at the age of twenty-three. Macedonia had hitherto filled only a small place in Greek politics: there was no quarter which threatened less danger to Grecian liberty<sup>3</sup>. Under Philip this was suddenly changed. This crafty king lost no time in laying his plans for his great object, the extension of his power and influence over the states of Greece. His regular policy, which he never deserted and which seldom deserted him, was to interfere in a friendly way in the quarrels of Greek states in the hope of getting one or both of the parties into his own power. He began in the year of his accession by offering help to Athens in her dispute about the possession of her old colony Amphipolis. He proposed a treaty of peace with Athens, with the understanding that he would secure Amphipolis for her and receive Pydna (on his own coast) in exchange. These negotiations, though known to the Senate, were kept secret from the people of Athens<sup>4</sup>; but great hopes were based on Philip's friendship, and Athens not only neglected to take Amphipolis when it was left ungarrisoned by Philip, but refused to help the town afterwards when Philip was besieging it and her aid was asked<sup>5</sup>. But

<sup>1</sup> Dem. IV. 4 refers to this time: *εἶχομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς Πύδναν καὶ Ποτειδαίαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκίον κύκλω.*

<sup>2</sup> See Grote XI. Ch. 86, pp. 310, 325; Schaefer, Demosth. u. seine Zeit, I. pp. 166—172.

<sup>3</sup> See Grote XI. p. 279: "Among the hopes and fears of most Grecian cities, Macedonia then passed wholly unnoticed: in Athens, Olynthus, Thasus, Thessaly, and a few others, it formed an item not without moment, yet by no means of first-rate magnitude."

<sup>4</sup> See Theopompus, frag. 189 (Müller); Schaefer II. p. 20. This state secret was the *θρυλούμενον ἀπόρητον* mentioned in Dem. II. 6 (see the Schol.).

<sup>5</sup> Dem. I. 8.



when Philip captured the place in 357 he refused to give it to her, though he had again promised to do so during the siege<sup>1</sup>. This soon led to a war between Philip and Athens, called the Amphipolitan War, which continued about eleven years, until it was ended in 346 by the Peace of Philocrates. One of Philip's first acts in this war was the seizure of Pydna, which was to have been the price of Amphipolis. He soon afterwards captured Potidaea, a colony of Corinth, then subject to Athens, and gave it to Olynthus, with which he was then forming an alliance. Soon after the capture of Potidaea (356) three messages came to Philip at the same time, one announcing a victory of Parmenio over the Illyrians, another a victory of his horse in the Olympic races, and a third the birth of his son Alexander<sup>2</sup>. In the same year he founded Philippi, near Mt Pangaeus in Thrace, on the site of the Thracian town Crenides, to enable him to work the gold-mines of that region, from which he soon derived a revenue of over a thousand talents yearly<sup>3</sup>. In 353 he besieged and captured the Athenian possession Methone<sup>4</sup>.

4. He now entered upon a grander scheme of intervention, of which perhaps he hardly suspected the issue. This was to end, after many years of unremitting exertion, in the bitter humiliation of Athens, the annihilation of an ancient Greek race, and his own instalment as a member (and the leading member) of the venerable Amphictyonic Council. About 356 B.C. the disastrous Phocian War between the Amphictyonic Council and Phocis had begun. It resulted from a quarrel between Phocis and Thebes about military service, in the course of which the Thebans and Thessalians induced the Council to fine the Phocians for some act of real or constructive sacrilege<sup>5</sup>. They refused to pay the fine, and the Council voted to treat them as it had treated the sacrilegious Cirrhaeans in the time of Solon<sup>6</sup>, by seizing their land and consecrating it to the Delphian Apollo, and putting the whole Phocian race under a terrible curse. The Phocians, under their

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XXIII. 116: Φίλιππος, ὅτε μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐπολιόρκει, ἔν' ὑμῖν παραδῶ πολιορκεῖν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔλαβε, καὶ Ποτειδαίαν προσαφείλετο. Cf. [VII.] 27.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander was born (Plut. Alex. 3) on the 6th of Hecatombaeon (July 21), 356 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XVI. 8: see below § 8, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Philip's successive aggressions on Athens from 357 to 353 B.C. see Grote XI. 331—336; Schaefer II. 21—31; and Dem. I. 12, Cor. 69.

<sup>5</sup> See Paus. X. 2, 1: κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς (the Phocians) ζημιωθῆναι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων· οὐδ' ἔχω τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀληθές ἐξευρεῖν, εἴτε ἀδικήσασιν ἐπεβλήθη σφίσι, εἴτε Θεσσαλοὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μῖσος γενέσθαι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἦσαν οἱ πράξαντες. Schaefer I. 488—490.

<sup>6</sup> See below, § 72 (end).

leader Philomelus, decided to resist; and they revived an old claim to the management of the temple of Delphi, which had caused a short Sacred War in 448 B.C. At that time the Phocians, under the protection of Athens, had seized the temple and expelled the Delphians; the Spartans sent an army which restored the temple to the Delphians, soon after which the Athenians sent another army which placed the Phocians again in possession<sup>1</sup>. Athens was thus committed by her action ninety years before to the Phocian side of the question; Sparta was herself already under the Delphic ban by her refusal to pay a fine imposed on her for seizing the Cadmea of Thebes in 382 B.C.

5. Under these circumstances Philomelus with a body of Phocians seized the temple. The loyal Amphictyons, now chiefly Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, raised a large army to attack them, and they in turn raised a large mercenary force to defend the temple. After many promises to respect the sacred treasures, Philomelus was soon reduced to the necessity of using these to pay his soldiers; and in a few years the costly offerings of gold and silver, with which the religious pride of Greece and the munificence of strangers like Croesus had stored this venerable temple, had been melted down to supply the needs of the Phocian mercenaries. Philomelus was killed in a skirmish in 354 B.C., and was succeeded by Onomarchus, who continued the spoliation of the temple with still greater energy. He even used the bronze and iron relics to make arms for his troops. He and his successors gave the most precious relics, as the necklaces of Helen and of Harmonia (daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and wife of Cadmus), to their wives or mistresses to wear; and Diodorus piously relates the sad fates which befel these unfortunate women<sup>2</sup>. This state of things caused a scandal throughout Greece, which was easily magnified by the enemies of the Phocians, and obliged even their traditional friends, like the Athenians, to be cautious in expressing their sympathies by word or deed<sup>3</sup>. The religious excitement also made it easy and attractive for an unscrupulous outsider like Philip to intervene on the side of piety, and thus to pose as the champion of the God of Delphi. This Philip did at the earliest opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. I. 112. After the decline of the Athenian power the Phocians lost their control of the temple, and the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) recognized the Delphians as managers.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. VI. p. 232 E; Diod. XVI. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See the cautious words of Demosthenes (Cor. 18) on the feeling and the policy of Athens concerning the Phocians. For the earlier account of the Phocian War see Grote XI. Ch. 87, Schaefer I. 488—507.

6. He had already interfered in the affairs of Thessaly by aiding the Aleuadae of Larissa in their contest against Lycophron, despot of Pherae. In 353—352 B.C., soon after his capture of Methone, he attacked Lycophron with such vigour that the despot invoked the aid of Onomarchus and his Phocian army. The Phocians had now become so powerful with their ill-gotten wealth that they had marched forth from Delphi and were practically masters of Boeotia and of the whole region south of Thermopylae. A force of Phocians under Phayllus, the brother and afterwards the successor of Onomarchus, who marched to the aid of Lycophron, was defeated by Philip, and compelled to retreat beyond Thermopylae. Onomarchus then entered Thessaly with his whole army, and defeated Philip in two battles. But Philip soon returned with a new army, and defeated the Phocians completely. Onomarchus, it was said, was slain in the retreat by some of his own men. Lycophron was obliged to abandon Pherae, which was taken by Philip, who also captured the important seaport of Pagasae, which gave him control of the whole Pagasaeon Gulf. The Phocian army was annihilated; but Phayllus took his brother's command, and easily raised another mercenary force by offering double pay, which the sacred treasures still provided<sup>1</sup>.

7. While this new force was collecting, the road through Thermopylae lay open to Philip; but he delayed his march southward until he could settle the affairs of southern Thessaly. Since his defeat of the Phocians he was hailed as a protector by their enemies, and he was already recognized as the avenger of Apollo, who was to restore the holy temple to its rightful lord; and it was confidently expected that he would pass Thermopylae with his army and become a power in Central Greece. But at this momentous crisis Athens became fully alive to the danger which threatened Greece and especially herself. With an energy which was unusual at this period and recalled the most glorious of her older days, she sent a force by sea to Thermopylae, which was sufficient to prevent Philip from even attempting to force the pass, and which (strange to say) arrived in time. Demosthenes often alludes with pride to this exploit of Athens, and compares it with her many expeditions which were sent too late<sup>2</sup>. This took place shortly before midsummer, 352 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Though Philip received a temporary check at this time, he was now recognized as a power to be reckoned with in the

<sup>1</sup> See Grote XI. 408—418; Schaefer I. 505—510, II. 31—32.

<sup>2</sup> See Dem. Cor. 32, IV. 17, 35, XIX. 84 (cf. 322).

<sup>3</sup> See Grote XI. 415; Schaefer I. 510.



settlement of the Sacred War; and he used this position with great skill, until six years later he was enabled to end the war on his own terms, to humiliate Athens, and by a single blow to make himself a recognized partner in Greek affairs.

## II. EARLY LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.—EVENTS FROM 352 TO 348 B.C.

8. In 354 B.C., two years before Philip was repulsed at Thermopylae by Athens, a statesman appeared in the Athenian Assembly who was to be his most able and persistent opponent, and to whom it was chiefly due that his plans for the subjugation of Greece were delayed more than fifteen years. Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, was born at Athens, according to the date now generally accepted, in 384—383 B.C., the year in which probably Aristotle was born at Stageiros<sup>1</sup>. The father of Demosthenes died in 376—375, leaving his son in his eighth year and a daughter in her fifth. He left an estate of about fifteen talents (£3000 or \$15000)<sup>2</sup>, to be managed during the

<sup>1</sup> We have the most conflicting statements of the year in which the orator was born. The date 384—383 agrees with what Demosthenes says in XXX. 15, that Aphobus was married in the last month of the archonship of Polyzelus (i.e. mid-summer 366 B.C.), and that immediately afterwards he himself became of age (18) and passed his *δοκιμασία*. It also agrees generally with his statements in XXVII. 4, 17, and 29, that he was seven years old (*ἔπτ' ἐτῶν ὄντα*), i.e. in his eighth year, at his father's death, and that he was under guardianship ten years (before 366). It is confirmed by Hyperides (in Dem., Col. XXII. 5), who refers to Demosthenes (in 324—323 B.C.) as "over sixty years old." It is directly opposed to Dem. XXI. 154, where the orator says that he is thirty-two years old (in 349—348): there is probably an error in the text here: and this is repeated by Dion. Hal. (Amm. p. 724), who gives 381—380 for the birth of Demosthenes. See Schaefer I. 269, with Beilage II. (1st ed.); Blass, Chron. Dem. (in Teubner ed.), p. 5.

The lives of Demosthenes and Aristotle coincide almost exactly, as Aristotle died at Chalcis in the autumn of 322 B.C., a few weeks before the death of Demosthenes at Calauria.

For another opinion on these dates, by which Demosthenes was born in 383 and the Midiana is dated in 350, when he was 32 years and 11 months old, see Unger in the *Berichte* of the Munich Academy, 1879, II. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> I give the modern value of the weight of pure silver which made the Solonic talent ( $57\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. avoirdupois) at £200 or \$1000, this being the average value for many years before the recent decline in the value of silver (see Lidd. and Scott under *τάλαντον*). This assumes a value of 57 pence per ounce Troy of pure silver, and  $52\frac{7}{10}$  pence per ounce of English standard silver (.925 fine). If standard silver were to fall to  $26\frac{7}{10}$  pence per ounce (Oct. 6, 1899, it was  $26\frac{5}{8}$ ), the actual value of a talent weight of silver would be £100.

son's minority by three guardians, Aphobus, Demophon, and Therippides. These faithless trustees mismanaged the property ten years in the most dishonest manner, so that the estate had nearly vanished when their ward attained his majority in 366 at the age of eighteen. Demosthenes immediately began legal proceedings against his guardians, from each of whom he claimed ten talents; but he brought only one suit to trial, that against Aphobus, the chief guardian and the chief offender. During two years he attempted to bring his guardians to terms by private negotiations; and the young man hesitated long and anxiously before appearing in the courts against men of wealth and influence, with whom he must contend at a great disadvantage with his inexperience and his broken fortunes. All this time and even earlier he was preparing for the great contest. He secured the services of Isaeus, a jurist of great experience in the courts, who was deeply learned in the Attic law, especially in that relating to inheritance and the management of estates. According to one account Isaeus lived in the house of Demosthenes four years as his adviser<sup>1</sup>.

9. At length, in 364 B.C., the suit against Aphobus was ready for trial in the Archon's court. But four or five days before the day of trial Aphobus tried a last desperate trick to compel Demosthenes to abandon his suit. Thrasylochus, a friend of Aphobus, on whom the duty of the trierarchy had regularly been imposed, came with his brother, the rich and powerful Midias<sup>2</sup>, to Demosthenes, and demanded that he should either take the trierarchy or accept *ἀντίδοσις*. This meant that Demosthenes must either assume the trierarchy without further question, as if it were legally imposed on him, or else submit to a *διαδικασία* before the board of Generals to decide whether he was bound to bear the expense rather than Thrasylochus, regard being had to their respective wealth and to the time since either had borne the burden. If this decision went against him, he must either assume the trierarchy or exchange property with Thrasylochus. The first step in the process called *ἀντίδοσις* was an official sealing of both estates to prevent diminution, and the *suspension of all lawsuits* the issue of which might impair the value of either property. This last was the real object of the whole trick, as it was assumed that Demosthenes in his poverty could not take the trierarchy, and that the time was too short for a *διαδικασία*. Demosthenes at first accepted the *ἀντίδοσις*, i.e. he refused to take the trierarchy thus fraudulently tendered, and decided to submit his case to

<sup>1</sup> See Plut. Dem. 5; Vit. X. Orat. p. 844 C.

<sup>2</sup> See § 15, below.

the regular *διαδικασία*, in which he felt sure of obtaining justice. But the time proved to be too short for this; and he therefore was compelled to take the trierarchy, as the only means of bringing his suit to trial<sup>1</sup>. He paid twenty minae (one-third of a talent), the sum for which Thrasylochus had already hired a contractor to perform the duties of the trierarchy, which was a *συντριηραρχία*<sup>2</sup>.

Though the estate of Demosthenes had been so grossly squandered, the crafty guardians had allowed their ward to be assessed for the property tax in the highest class, as one of the "leaders of Symmories." This obliged him to bear all the special burdens of the richest citizens, including the trierarchy<sup>3</sup>.

10. As was the rule in private suits<sup>4</sup>, the case came first before a public arbiter (*δαιτητής*), who condemned Aphobus. In the Heliastic court, to which he appealed, the result was the same, and Demosthenes was awarded his full damages, ten talents. In this trial he delivered his two orations against Aphobus (xxvii. and xxviii.). But he found it impossible to obtain either his estate or his damages from his wily opponent. In attempting to seize a piece of land belonging to Aphobus he was met by Onetor, brother-in-law of Aphobus, who asserted that the land was his own, having been taken by him as security for the dowry of his sister, whom Aphobus had married and divorced. Demosthenes now brought a *δίκη ἐξούλης*, or suit of ejectment, against Onetor, charging him with "ejecting" him illegally from land to which he had a legal claim<sup>5</sup>. In this case he delivered his two orations against Onetor (xxx.

<sup>1</sup> See Dem. xxviii. 17: *ἀντίδοσιν ἐπ' ἐμέ παρεσκεύασαν, ἢν', εἰ μὲν ἀντιδοίην, μὴ ἐξεῖη μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιδικεῖν ὡς καὶ τῶν δικῶν τούτων τοῦ ἀντιδιδόντος γιγνομένων, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων ποιόην, ἢν' ἐκ βραχείας οὐσίας λητουργῶν παντάπασιν ἀναιρεθείην... ἀντέδωκα μὲν, ἀπέκλεισα δὲ ὡς διαδικασίας τευξόμενος· οὐ τυχῶν δὲ ταύτης, τῶν χρόνων ὑπογύων ὄντων, ἵνα μὴ στερηθῶ τῶν δικῶν, ἀπέτισα τὴν λητουργίαν ὑποθείς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ μαυτοῦ πάντα.* Dem. accepted the *ἀντίδοσις* (*ἀντέδωκα μὲν*), but with the common proviso (*ἀπέκλεισα δὲ*) that a *διαδικασία* should finally settle the case; but Thrasylochus had skilfully left no time for this. See also xxi. 78. For *ἀντίδοσις*, as applicable to all forms of *λητουργία*, see Boeckh, Staatsh. d. Ath. i. pp. 673 ff. (esp. 677), with Fränkel's note 883 (ii. p. 130\*).

<sup>2</sup> Dem. xxi. 80, 154. The whole trierarchy, of which Thrasylochus had one half imposed on him, cost forty minae. See Boeckh, Staatsh. d. Ath. i. 642, 671.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. Cor. 103<sup>3</sup> and note, xxvii. 7, 9; Boeckh, *ibid.* pp. 599—601, 613.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. Pol. Ath. 53, a passage which finally settles a disputed question.

<sup>5</sup> The *δίκη ἐξούλης* has many points in common with the old action of ejectment, on which see Encyclop. Britann. under Ejectment. See hypothesis to Dem. xxx.: *διόπερ ἐξούλης αὐτῷ δικάζεται ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἀφόβου πρότερον, νῦν δὲ εαυτῷ γεγεννημένων, ἐξελληλαμένους... τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξούλης ὄνομα Ἀπτικόν· ἐξέλλειν γὰρ*



and xxxi.), probably in 362—361. The issue of this second suit is not known. It is certain that Isaeus advised and supported the young orator in all these suits, and he probably composed many passages in the speeches themselves<sup>1</sup>.

II. The training in law and rhetoric which Demosthenes gained in preparing for this early contest, and his long experience in the various processes of the courts, were by no means lost. He found himself, at the age of twenty-three, mainly dependent on himself for support; and he adopted the profession of *λογογράφος* or legal adviser, the duties of which included writing speeches for clients to deliver in court (whence the name). In the period from 360 to 356 B.C. he composed for clients the private orations numbered xli., li., and lv.<sup>2</sup> It is very plain, however, that Demosthenes soon aimed at something much higher than writing speeches and giving advice in private lawsuits. Before he was thirty years old he had distinguished himself as an advocate in cases of important public interest, in which the constitutionality of laws or decrees was judicially tested<sup>3</sup>. His arguments in such cases of *γραφὴ παρανόμων* (of which more will be said elsewhere) are those against Androtion (xxii., 355—354 B.C.), against Leptines (xx., same year), against Timocrates (xxiv., 353—352), and against Aristocrates (xxiii., 352—351). But he had already twice appeared as a speaker in the Athenian Assembly, once in 354—353, when he delivered his speech on the Symmories (xiv.), proposing a reform in the system of assessing taxes and equipping the navy, and once again in 353—352, when he defended the rights of Megalopolis (xvi.) against Spartan aggression. In neither of these public speeches is there anything which shows that the orator was seriously anxious about the dangers which already threatened Athens from the north. It is impossible that less than a year before the First Philippic none of the forebodings which there appear should have been felt; but probably Demosthenes thought that the moment for open and energetic speech and action on his part against Philip had not yet come.

*ἔλεγον τὸ ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἐκβάλλειν βία*. *ἐξούλης* is therefore the act of *ejctment*, which is charged as an offence, used like *κλοπῆς* in *δίκη κλοπῆς*. See Harpocr. s.v. *ἐξούλης*; Smith, Dict. Ant. *Exoules Dike*; Meier and Schömann 665—668.

<sup>1</sup> For example, a long passage in xxx. 37, which approves the examination of slaves under torture and has often been quoted as a reproach against Demosthenes, is found almost verbatim in Isaeus viii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of these and other early speeches see Blass, Chron. Dem. pp. 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* see Essay II.

12. Probably the sudden panic about midsummer 352, which roused Athens to her energetic movement to Thermopylae (§ 7), gave the question of checking Philip's aggressions a new and serious importance<sup>1</sup>. A few months later (Nov. 352) the alarming news came that Philip was besieging Heraion Teichos, a fortified post near the Thracian Chersonese<sup>2</sup>. Again Athens acted with energy, and voted to equip forty triremes, to be manned by Athenians, and to levy a tax of sixty talents. But a report that Philip was ill, followed by another that he was dead<sup>3</sup>, stopped these preparations, and nothing was done. Philip's cruisers committed some daring aggressions on the coasts of Euboea and even of Attica. In the spring of 351 the Athenian Assembly met to consider his hostile behaviour, which was now a familiar subject. Demosthenes was the first to speak, and he spoke with no uncertain sound. This earliest of his speeches against Philip, the First Philippic<sup>4</sup>, is an earnest and solemn appeal to the people to take decisive steps against an enemy who is every day becoming more dangerous. Demosthenes is now thoroughly aroused, and henceforth the single object of his political life is to excite the Athenians to effective action against Philip. He now proposes a new plan for a permanent military and naval force, to supersede the spasmodic efforts of the past, which had generally failed of their purpose. In this speech he established his claim to statesmanship, on the ground of "seeing things in their beginning and proclaiming them to others"; and in his final review of his political life twenty-one years later he appeals to this with honest pride<sup>5</sup>. So far as we know, this great speech produced no effect<sup>6</sup>. The dull honest conservatism of Eubulus, who held the attention and controlled the votes of the Assembly, lulled the people into a dream of false security and prevented immediate action on each emergency. The policy of Eubulus was that of "peace at any price," at this critical time a most disastrous one, of which he failed to see the danger.

13. A few months after the First Philippic, probably in the autumn of 351, Demosthenes made his speech in the Assembly for the Freedom

<sup>1</sup> The opening of the First Philippic shows that, though Philip's encroachments had been often discussed, no serious action had ever been proposed.

<sup>2</sup> See III. 4: μέμνησθε ὄτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θράκη τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τοῦτ' Ἡραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοίνυν μὴν μὲν ἦν Μαιμακτηριῶν. This was in Nov. 352, more than three years before the Third Olynthiac (349—348).

<sup>3</sup> See IV. 11: τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δι'. ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ; τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει;

<sup>4</sup> See Schaefer II. 73; Grote XI. 431.

<sup>5</sup> ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ. Cor. § 246. See Grote XI. 442.

<sup>6</sup> But see Schaefer II. 76.

of the Rhodians (xv.)<sup>1</sup>. The now penitent Rhodian democracy, four years after the Social War, sought help from Athens against the oligarchy which had been supported by Mausolus, who had recently died. The Athenians, however, could not so soon forget their grievances, and refused their help.

14. Philip's intrigues in Euboea soon made new troubles. Since the victorious expedition in 357 (§ 2) Euboea had been nominally in friendship with Athens. But after Philip gained control of southern Thessaly in 353—352 (§ 6), he constantly used his influence to alienate the island from Athens. In the First Philippic letters were read from Philip to Euboeans, showing hostility to Athens; and we hear of his cruisers off Geraestus<sup>2</sup>. Early in 350 the Athenians were asked for help by Plutarchus, a sort of despot in Eretria, who was hard pressed by his enemies and professed to be a friend of Athens. Against the strong opposition of Demosthenes, it was voted to send an army to Euboea to help him, under the command of Phocion. This expedition had various fortunes in a few weeks. Plutarchus proved treacherous, and the Athenians were for a time in great danger; but Phocion gained a decisive victory at Tamynae, the news of which was brought to Athens by Aeschines just before the Great Dionysia (end of March)<sup>3</sup>. Later Phocion returned to Athens with most of his army, leaving a garrison in Euboea to be captured by the enemy and ransomed. Affairs remained in this position two years, until a peace was made in 348, in which the independence of Euboea was recognized. Athens and Euboea remained unfriendly, until the intrigues of Philip in 343—342 (§ 58, below) again brought them into amicable relations<sup>4</sup>.

15. The Great Dionysiac festival of 350 was important for the fortunes of Demosthenes. His tribe, the Pandionis, chose no choregus for this year, and he volunteered to take the duties and bear the expense of the *χορηγία*. While he was sitting in the orchestra of the theatre at the festival, amid all the pomp and state of the ceremony, being a sacred as well as a public official, wearing his crown of office, his old enemy, the wealthy Midias (§ 9), came forward and struck him several

<sup>1</sup> Schaefer I. 473—487.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. IV. 34, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 169—171; Dem. XXI. 163. The chronology of this period is very uncertain: I follow Dion. Hal., and Schaefer II. 79.

<sup>4</sup> In XIX. 75 (earlier in 343 B.C.) Demosthenes speaks of *τοὺς καταράτους Εὐβοέας*: cf. Cor. § 234<sup>8</sup>. For the judgment of Demosthenes on the Euboean War of 350—348 see v. 5. For the campaign see Grote XI. 473—481; Schaefer II. 78—86.



times in the face with his clenched fist<sup>1</sup>. This was not merely a personal outrage, but an insult to the state and to a great religious festival; and it could be dealt with only by the most public legal process. This was the *προβολή*, in which the case first came before the Assembly for its preliminary judgment, and afterward, if the decision was adverse to the accused, could be tried before an ordinary popular court. The Assembly, at a special meeting in the Dionysiac Theatre, unanimously condemned Midias. This adverse vote (*καταχειροτονία*) of the people was not a judicial condemnation; it merely sent the case to the court, if the accuser saw fit to bring it there, with a *praejudicium* against the defendant, which would stand for what it was worth with the judges. A man of influence and wealth, like Midias, might easily, after the lapse of many months, put obstacles in the way of a judgment by the Heliastic Court, which would not be available in the public Assembly, held immediately after the outrage. It is not surprising, therefore, that the young orator, after his decisive victory over Midias in the unanimous popular vote, yielded to the advice of judicious friends and avoided a further contest with a powerful man, who could always give him trouble in his public career. He compromised the case, and received a sum of money as damages<sup>2</sup>. The existing oration against Midias (xxi.), which appears to have been carefully composed for delivery in court, was of course never spoken: its professed date (according to the chronology here followed) is 349—348 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

16. A year later (in 349) Philip took a most important step in his grand plan by attacking the Olynthiac confederacy of thirty-two free Greek towns in the Chalcidic peninsula. In less than a year he had captured and destroyed all these, including Stageiros, the birth-place of Aristotle, and sold the inhabitants into slavery<sup>4</sup>. Olynthus, the head of this confederacy, had long been an important and flourishing city, generally hostile to Athens, and before 352 friendly to Philip. He

<sup>1</sup> For the affair of Midias and its consequences, see Dem. xxi., the speech against Midias; Schaefer II. 94—101; Grote XI. 478, 479.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines (III. 52) speaks of this compromise as a disgraceful proceeding: ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν (half a talent) ἅμα τήν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τήν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν. He is of course no authority for the price.

<sup>3</sup> See xxi. 13, where he mentions midsummer 351 as τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, as if he were speaking in 349—348.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. IX. 26: "Ολυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐῶ, ἅς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ὤκλήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν. Cf. XIX. 266: πρὶν ἐξελεθεῖν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ πολέμου τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀπολωλέκεσαν τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ οἱ προδιδόντες.

encouraged her in her enmity to Athens by giving her Potidaea, which he took from Athens in 356, having already given her the Macedonian Anthemus. But the rapid advance of Philip's power in 353—352, which brought him to Thermopylae and almost carried him further, alarmed the enterprising city, and in the autumn of 352 she was in friendship, if not in alliance, with Athens<sup>1</sup>. In the autumn of 349 an embassy from Olynthus came to Athens, asking help against an attack from Philip, and proposing a formal alliance<sup>2</sup>. Athens accepted the alliance; but nothing was done with sufficient energy to save Olynthus or any of her confederate towns. Three embassies came from Olynthus to Athens, and three fleets were sent by Athens to Olynthus; the last fleet was still at sea when Olynthus fell. The city was captured, after a brave defence, by the help of traitors within the walls, probably in the early autumn of 348<sup>3</sup>. Many Athenian citizens were captured with the city<sup>4</sup>. With or before Olynthus fell the other Chalcidic towns, and the destruction was complete and terrible. Seldom had anything shocked the feelings of the Grecian world like this. Travellers in Peloponnesus (Aeschines among others) saw on the roads troops of Olynthian captives driven off to slavery<sup>5</sup>.

17. During the Olynthian war Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiacs, masterpieces of eloquence, full of earnest appeals to the patriotism and public spirit of the Athenians and to their sense of duty and honour<sup>6</sup>. The wise prediction of the First Philippic, "if we do not now fight Philip there (in the north), we shall perhaps be compelled to fight him here<sup>7</sup>," is now repeated in fresh words and with redoubled force. No more powerful arguments were ever addressed to any people;

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XXIII. 109, εἴτ' Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν ἴσασι τὸ μέλλον προορᾶν, κ.τ.λ. Liban. ὑποθ. to Dem. I. (§ 2), ἀποδημοῦντα δὲ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν (Φίλιππον Ὀλύνθιοι) πέμψαντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατέλυσαντο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. Schaefer II. 121 refers to these negotiations with Athens; also to C. I. Att. II. no. 105, of 351 B.C., which is too mutilated to count as historical authority for an alliance.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. I. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XVI. 53, φθείρας χρήμασι... Εὐθυκράτην τε καὶ Λασθένην, κ.τ.λ. See Dem. VIII. 40, IX. 56, 66, XIX. 265. For the details of the Olynthian war, see Schaefer II. 124 ff., for the dates 156—159; Grote XI. 454 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See § 19.

<sup>5</sup> See the account given by Aeschines of his meeting the Arcadian Atrestidas returning home with thirty Olynthian women and children. Dem. XIX. 305, 306. See Grote XI. 505, 510.

<sup>6</sup> The traditional order of the Olynthiacs is defended by Schaefer II. 159—165; for other opinions see Grote XI. 499—504.

<sup>7</sup> IV. 50.

and yet the quieting influence of Eubulus and his party prevented all efficient and timely action. The Third Olynthiac has a forcible appeal to the Athenians to use the Theoric (or festival) fund for military purposes<sup>1</sup>, a measure which was never passed until shortly before the battle of Chaeronea. At the end of the Olynthiac war (348) Demosthenes was probably in his thirty-sixth year. All the public speeches made by him before the events of 346 have already been mentioned.

### III. THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES.

347—346 B.C.

18. When Philip had destroyed Olynthus and the thirty-two Greek towns of Chalcidice, he naturally turned his eyes southward and be-thought himself of the land of his hopes beyond Thermopylae. Experience had shown him that while he was at open war with Athens he could hardly hope to pass Thermopylae without a desperate struggle; and for this he hardly felt prepared. Whether he had already planned the artful scheme by which two years later he entered Greece, hailed with acclamation as the champion of Apollo and the protector of Delphi, or whether he had some less pretentious plan in view, he now saw that at least a temporary peace with Athens was absolutely necessary. Even before the capture of Olynthus, envoys from Euboea had brought to Athens a pleasant message from Philip that he wished for peace. Soon after this, Phrynon of Rhamnus was captured by one of Philip's cruisers, as he claimed, during the Olympic truce (i.e. about mid-summer 348). He was released on payment of a ransom; and he persuaded the Athenians to send a public envoy with him to ask Philip to restore his ransom money. Ctesiphon (not the defendant in the suit on the Crown) was sent on this mission<sup>2</sup>. Philip received both Ctesiphon and Phrynon with great kindness and granted their request. Ctesiphon reported that Philip wished to make peace as soon as possible<sup>3</sup>. The Athenians were delighted; and it was unanimously voted, on the motion of Philocrates, that Philip might send a herald and envoys to Athens to treat for peace. A certain Lycinus brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against this decree, with a penalty of a hundred talents, on what ground we are not directly informed. Demosthenes

<sup>1</sup> III. 18—20. See Grote XI. 491—499.

<sup>2</sup> For this and the following events of §§ 18 and 19, see Aesch. II. 12—19.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 12, 13.



appeared as the advocate of Philocrates, and Lycinus failed to get a fifth of the votes of the court<sup>1</sup>.

19. At about this time Olynthus was captured<sup>2</sup>. The consternation caused by this event did much to cause the almost universal desire for peace at Athens. Among the Athenians captured at Olynthus were Iatrocles and Eueratus, whose relatives appeared in the Assembly with suppliant olive branches and besought the people to rescue their kinsmen. Their entreaty was supported by Demosthenes and Philocrates, but not by Aeschines<sup>3</sup>. The people were deeply moved by this solemn supplication, and voted to send the actor Aristodemus, who was professionally intimate at the Macedonian court, to intercede with Philip for the two prisoners<sup>4</sup>. This mission also was perfectly successful. Iatrocles soon returned to Athens, released by Philip without ransom. Afterwards Aristodemus, who was probably detained by professional engagements, appeared after a summons from the Senate, and reported that Philip was full of kindness and wished both peace and alliance with Athens. Aristodemus was complimented by a crown, on the motion of Demosthenes<sup>5</sup>. The return of Aristodemus to Athens took place after the beginning of the year 347—346, the archonship of Themistocles, in which Demosthenes was for the second time a senator, the year of the peace of Philocrates<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 14. In III. 62 Aeschines uses this support of Philocrates by Demosthenes as evidence of an early collusion between the two. But Demosthenes might consistently help to remove a mere technical obstruction to this preliminary step towards peace. Even a vote forbidding negotiations for peace with Philip, such as Aeschines obscurely hints at (II. 13), could not have been a νόμος, which alone could justify the *γραφή παρανόμων*. The whole process of Lycinus looks like a mere political trick. Moreover, Philocrates was not yet discredited as a minion of Philip.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. *συνηγόρου Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης, ἀλλ' οὐκ Αἰσχίνης*. This is said after the condemnation of Philocrates.

<sup>4</sup> See Grote XI. 516, 517: he compares this with the memorable scene in the Assembly in 406 B.C., when the relatives of the men who had been left on the wrecks to perish after the victory at Arginusae came before the people, dressed in black and with shaven heads to excite sympathy.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. II. 15—17. Demosthenes twice (XIX. 12, 315) speaks of the actor Neoptolemus, in connection with Aristodemus and Ctesiphon, as bringing deceitful messages from Philip. Grote (XI. 517) thinks that he was one of the envoys to Philip. But his may have been private messages, sent informally at about the same time with the others.

<sup>6</sup> Though Aeschines (II. 14, 15) puts the first proposal of Philocrates for peace and his indictment (§ 18, above) at about the time of the capture of Olynthus (autumn of 348), he distinctly puts the return of Aristodemus from Macedonia in the next

20. In the previous year, after the fall of Olynthus, a significant movement against Philip was made by Eubulus, with the active aid of Aeschines, of whom we then hear for the first time in political life. The famous rival of Demosthenes was the son of respectable parents, who had been reduced to poverty in the Peloponnesian War. We cannot accept as historical either of the two accounts of his parentage and his youth which are given by Demosthenes<sup>1</sup>. Neither orator is authority for the life or personal character of the other. Like Demosthenes, he was left to his own resources to earn his living; but he was less favoured by genius and by fortune than his rival. As a young man he was a play-actor and took many important parts, as that of Creon in the *Antigone* and that of Oenomaus in the tragedy of Sophocles of that name<sup>2</sup>. He also did service as a clerk, publicly in the Senate and Assembly, and privately in the employ of Aristophon and Eubulus<sup>3</sup>. His friendly relations with Eubulus were often of great service to him in his public life. He was strong and vigorous, had a powerful voice, and was a ready speaker. In all these respects Nature had given him a great advantage over Demosthenes; but he lacked the steady rhetorical training by which his rival, even as a young man, made himself an accomplished orator<sup>4</sup>. Though he was about six years older than Demosthenes, he appeared in public life much later. He served in various campaigns, in Euboea in 357 and 350, and at Mantinea in 362.

21. On the occasion referred to (§ 20), probably in the winter or spring of 348—347, Eubulus addressed the Assembly against Philip, calling him the common enemy of the Greeks and swearing by his children that he wished that Philip were dead<sup>5</sup>. He proposed a decree for sending embassies to the Peloponnesus and all other parts of Greece—Demosthenes says, “all but to the Red Sea”—to summon an Hellenic synod at Athens and inaugurate a general Greek war against

Attic year, 347—346 (II. 16, 17). Aristodemus must have gone to Macedonia early in 347; and *ἐπῆει χρόνος* (Aesch. III. 62) covers nearly a year after the acquittal of Philocrates. The new movement of Eubulus and Aeschines (§ 21, below) probably diverted the minds of the people from peace at this time (see Dem. XIX. 12).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XIX. 249, 250; Cor. 129, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 246, 247; Cor. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 70; cf. Cor. 162; Anon. Vit. Aesch. § 3, *ὄντα δὲ λαμπρόφωνον γραμματεῦσαι Ἀριστοφῶντι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐβούλῳ, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>4</sup> See Cic. de Orat. III. 28: *suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit.*

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 292.

Philip. This measure was eloquently supported by Aeschines and was adopted with enthusiasm. Aeschines brought before the Senate and Assembly an actor, Ischander, with whom he had once played, and who professed to bring reports from friends of Athens in Arcadia. Demosthenes says that Aeschines then professed to be the first Athenian who had discovered that Philip was plotting against the Greeks and corrupting leading men in Arcadia<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines was one of the envoys sent out; and on his return from Arcadia he repeated the many fine speeches which he had made in behalf of Athens before the great Arcadian assembly called the Ten Thousand (*οἱ μύριοι*) at Megalopolis<sup>2</sup>, where he attacked Hieronymus, a partizan of Philip, a reputed scholar of Isocrates, who opposed him<sup>3</sup>. Demosthenes appears to have taken no interest in these embassies, of which he speaks in a disparaging tone. He probably distrusted any movement in which men like Eubulus were the leaders, and experience had shown him that the grand plan of uniting all Greece in a war against Philip would end in failure and give Philip fresh encouragement for conquest. The event proved Demosthenes right. No Hellenic synod met in Athens, and within a year Eubulus and Aeschines were both playing into Philip's hands. It must be remembered that the "still absent envoys," who play so important a part in the story of the peace (as told by Aeschines in 330 B.C.), for whose return Demosthenes is said to have refused to delay the negotiations *for peace*, are these very messengers of war<sup>4</sup>.

22. But whatever the Athenians may have thought of the jingoism of Aeschines and Eubulus at this time, there can be no doubt that a year later (347—346) the prospect of an honourable peace with Philip was extremely welcome to all sober-minded men at Athens. Her recent losses and disasters secured a favourable hearing for the friendly messages from Pella. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes then felt strongly inclined to peace, as a matter of policy; and it is hardly

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 10, 303, 304. For Ischander see Harpocr., and Schaefer I. 246—248.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless in the Thersilion, the great hall in which the Arcadian Assembly met, adjoining the theatre of Megalopolis, excavated by the British School at Athens in 1890—91. See Supplem. Papers of the Hellenic Society I., with plates.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 11, with Schol. (p. 344, 8); Aesch. II. 157. See Schaefer II. 169—172; Grote XI. 508—511. It was on this mission to Arcadia that Aeschines met Atrestidas with his Olympian captives (§ 16, above).

<sup>4</sup> See § 32 (below); Aesch. II. 57, ἵνα κοινῇ καὶ πολεμοῖεν, εἰ δέοι, Φιλίππῳ μετ' Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, εἰ τοῦτο εἶναι δοκοῖη συμφέρον, μετέχοιεν. Cf. Aesch. III. 58, 64, 68; though he now always includes eventual peace as one of the objects, yet παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φιλίππον (68) still emphasizes the hostile character of the missions.



possible that he had yet begun to suspect the crafty scheme by which peace with Philip would be turned to the disgrace of Athens and the triumph of her bitterest foes<sup>1</sup>. And yet it seems hardly possible that the terrible spectre of the Sacred War, just beyond their borders, should not have filled all sober Athenians with alarm, especially when they remembered Philip's march to Thermopylae five years before. Philip, himself, we may be sure, never lost sight of the prize which had once seemed within his grasp.

23. Since Philip's repulse from Thermopylae in 352, the Sacred War had been waged with increasing bitterness, but with no prospect of a conclusion. In 351 the death of Phayllus left the leadership to Phalaecus, son of Onomarchus (§ 6), a mere boy, who at first had a guardian and military adviser, appointed by his uncle Phayllus. The Thebans were now the chief opponents of the Phocians, and Boeotia became the chief seat of war. Neither side gained any decisive advantage. At one time the Phocians held three fortresses in Boeotia, Orchomenus (the ancient Minyan stronghold), Coronea, and Corsiae. But the resources of both parties were now exhausted. The Thebans called on Philip for help; but he sent only a few soldiers, wishing to check their "Leuctric pride<sup>2</sup>." The Great King sent them 300 talents of silver. The Phocians had come to the end of the Delphic treasures, after robbing the temple of gold and silver of the value of about 10,000 talents. They received help from various Greek states, including 1000 men from Sparta and 2000 from Achaea. It is probable that their army never fell below 10,000<sup>3</sup>.

24. The Phocians were now anxious lest a new invasion from Thessaly with help from Philip might suddenly end their power. Their army was mutinous from lack of pay, and the authority over it which remained was divided. Envoys were sent to Athens asking help, and offering the Athenians the towns commanding the pass of Thermopylae,—Alponus, Thronium, and Nicaea. This offer pleased the Athenians greatly; and they ordered Proxenus to take possession of the three towns, and voted

<sup>1</sup> A few years later Demosth. admits that the Athenians (doubtless including himself) were deceived by Philip's friendly messages: cf. XIX. 12, τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγγελλόντων οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ὑγιές. There is no inconsistency between this judgment after the facts and his proposing a crown for Aristodemus when he brought back one of these very messages (Aesch. II. 17).

<sup>2</sup> Diod. XVI. 58.

<sup>3</sup> The Phocian force which surrendered to Philip in 346 numbered over 10,000: see Dem. XIX. 230. For the events of the Phocian war above briefly mentioned, see Schaefer II. 180—192; Grote XI. 519—521, with the authorities cited.

to call out the citizen soldiers up to the age of thirty and to man fifty triremes. But Proxenus now found men in authority at Thermopylae who repudiated the message sent to Athens, and the envoys themselves were in prison for making the offer. Proxenus was dismissed with insult, and the fleet and army were never sent. The Phocians remained in possession of Thermopylae, confident of their ability to hold it. A friendly offer of Sparta to garrison the pass was also rejected with insult<sup>1</sup>. In spite of her discouraging repulse, Athens felt that the fate of Greece depended on having Thermopylae held secure against any invasion from the North. Notwithstanding the sacrilegious plundering of Delphi, which no one ventured to approve openly, Athens had the strongest political reasons, which were easily reinforced by moral motives, for protecting the Phocians, especially against Philip<sup>2</sup>. A formal alliance had existed for many years between Athens and Phocis<sup>3</sup>, and it was naturally assumed at Athens (except by Philip's friends) that peace with Philip would protect the Phocians against all danger from him. Proxenus was all this time with his fleet north of Euboea. It was probably in this spirit that Athens received the friendly propositions which Aristodemus brought from Philip<sup>4</sup>.

25. Soon after the cordial reception of Aristodemus (§ 19), Philocrates, supported by Eubulus and Cephisophon, proposed a decree for sending ten ambassadors to Philip, to discuss terms of peace and to ask him to send ambassadors to Athens with full powers to negotiate<sup>5</sup>. The following were sent: Philocrates (the mover), Demosthenes, Aeschines, Ctesiphon (the former envoy to Philip), Phrynon, Iatrocles, Aristodemus, Nausicles, Cimon, Dercylus<sup>6</sup>. To these Aglaocreon of Tenedos was afterwards added by the Assembly as a representative of the allies. The embassy was appointed and sent in February, 346 B.C.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult and often impossible to give a trustworthy account of the events from the sending of the first embassy to the return of the second in

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. II. 132—134.

<sup>2</sup> The mixed feelings of Athens are well described by Demosthenes, Cor. 18<sup>2-4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 61, 62: cf. Aesch. III. 118.

<sup>4</sup> See § 19 (end).

<sup>5</sup> Dem. Cor. XIX. 95.

<sup>6</sup> The ten names are given in the second *ὑπόθεσις* to Dem. XIX. p. 336<sup>1</sup>. All except Nausicles are mentioned in Aesch. II. 8, 19, 20, 21, 42, 47; for Nausicles see II. 18, for Aglaocreon II. 20.

<sup>7</sup> This date is fixed by the return of the embassy about the first of Elaphebolion (March 28): we may allow from 30 to 50 days for the time of absence. The second embassy, which Demosthenes charges with criminal waste of time, was absent less than 70 days. See Schaefer II. 194, n. 3.

July. We generally have to depend on the testimony of either Demosthenes or Aeschines, or on the contradictory statements of both; and these are given in the arguments of the lawsuits of 343 and 330 B.C., in which the two witnesses are the opposing speakers. Demosthenes is, however, fairly entitled to greater credence; for there is no fact stated by him which can be proved to be positively and intentionally false by other evidence, while several of the strongest statements of Aeschines are proved to be absolutely false by his own previous or later accounts of the same transactions.

26. We depend chiefly on Aeschines for the account of the first embassy<sup>1</sup>; and there is little doubt that, due allowance being made for exaggerations and prejudiced views of the behaviour of Demosthenes, this is in general substantially correct. According to this, on the journey to Pella Demosthenes made himself disagreeable to his colleagues, and boasted loudly of the way in which he meant to stop Philip's mouth<sup>2</sup>. The envoys went by land to Oreus, in the north of Euboea, and thence by sea to Halus, on the south side of the Gulf of Pagasae, a town claimed by Athens as an ally<sup>3</sup>. Parmenio, Philip's general, was then besieging Halus, which Philip wanted to give to his friends the Pharsalians. The embassy passed through the Macedonian camp to Pagasae, Larissa, and Pella<sup>4</sup>. On arriving at Pella, the envoys were courteously received by Philip at a formal interview, in which they addressed the king in the order of their ages, Demosthenes speaking last, directly after Aeschines. Aeschines says nothing of the speeches which preceded his; but he devotes the greater part of his story to his own eloquent argument, in which (as he says) he made a powerful appeal to Philip in defence of the right of Athens to Amphipolis, reminding him of the early history of the town, and going back to the children of Theseus. He spoke of the appointment of Iphicrates as the Athenian commander there, and reminded Philip of the occasion

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. II. 20—43. The account of the two embassies to Philip and of the negotiations for peace is given in Grote XI. Ch. 89, and Schaefer II. Buch 3, Ch. 5, Buch 4, Ch. 1; and no further general references to these will be necessary. As the first embassy had no power to negotiate, the details of its conduct are less important.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 21: ὥστε ἀπορράψειν τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα ὀλοσχοίνῳ ἀβρόχῳ, *he would sew up his mouth with an unsoaked rush*, i.e. with no great trouble.

<sup>3</sup> Philip thought it necessary to specify in his proposed terms of peace that Halus should be excluded from the allies of Athens: see Dem. XIX. 159, 174, and § 33 (below).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 433; Dem. XIX. 163: ἀπῆραν διὰ τοῦ πολεμίου στρατεύματος. This siege of Halus, after negotiations for peace were begun, illustrates Dem. Cor. 26.



when his mother, Eurydice, placed him with his brother Perdicas (both children) on the knees of Iphicrates, and begged the general to treat her two boys with brotherly affection, as their father Amyntas had adopted him as a son. This harangue about a matter which had been settled more than ten years shows how Aeschines failed to see the real questions at issue, or possibly how he carefully avoided all questions which it would be unpleasant to Philip to discuss, i.e. all real questions. He could hardly have imagined that Philip would allow his title to Amphipolis to be called in question at this time.

27. Aeschines then describes the appearance of Demosthenes before Philip. He was (we are told) so embarrassed that he could hardly utter a word; and after a few vain attempts to speak, he became silent. Philip encouraged him and tried to relieve his embarrassment, but all in vain. He remained speechless, and the herald conducted the embassy from the royal presence. This account is probably much exaggerated; but it is hardly possible that the whole story is an invention. Grote is probably right in thinking that Demosthenes was taken with a kind of "stage fright" when he suddenly found himself formally addressing the king whom he had so often denounced, and when he was probably insulted by the officers of Philip who were in attendance at the palace on this ceremonious occasion, so that he may well have been physically unable to speak<sup>1</sup>. It is significant that Demosthenes does not mention his own speech or that of Aeschines. Philip soon recalled the embassy, and replied to their arguments, especially those of Aeschines, but made no allusion to Demosthenes<sup>2</sup>. He ended his address with the usual assurances of friendship. Most of the envoys were struck by the dignity, wit, and gracious manners of Philip, and by his skill in replying to what had just been said to him<sup>3</sup>.

28. The returning envoys arrived in Athens about the first of Elaphebolion (March 28) 346 B.C.<sup>4</sup> They made their regular reports

<sup>1</sup> Grote XI. 530. Schaefer (II. 202—205) has little faith in the whole tale of Aeschines about the interview with Philip. Strangely enough Demosthenes (XIX. 253) reports Aeschines as telling the Assembly (apparently on his return from the first embassy) that he said nothing to Philip about Amphipolis, but left the subject to Demosthenes. It seems incredible that Aeschines could have repudiated a speech just made, which a few years later he reports at length, partly *verbatim*; and equally incredible that Demosthenes could forget or overlook such an occasion as his first interview with Philip. The evidence here is conflicting, but unimportant.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch (Dem. 16) says that Philip replied to Demosthenes *μετὰ πλείστης ἐπιμελείας!*

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 41—43: cf. 51, 52.

<sup>4</sup> See § 25 (above), n. 7, and § 29 (below).

to the Senate and the Assembly; and they received the regular complimentary votes and the invitation to dinner in the Prytaneum, on the motion of Demosthenes as senator. They brought home a letter from Philip, expressing great friendship and his hope of both peace and alliance<sup>1</sup>. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes returned fully persuaded that *some* peace should be made as soon as possible, to settle the important questions which the war kept open<sup>2</sup>. Down to this time—in fact, until the nineteenth of Elaphebolion—he had no suspicion of the loyalty and political honesty of Aeschines<sup>3</sup>. There can be little doubt that Philocrates was already secured for Philip's interest; and it was not long before Aeschines (perhaps honestly at first) was acting with him to gain Philip's ends.

29. Immediately after the return of the embassy, Demosthenes proposed two decrees in the Senate to secure peace at the earliest moment. The Great Dionysiac festival was approaching, during which all public business would be suspended. These decrees enacted that safe-conduct should be granted to Philip's envoys and herald, who were now on their way to Athens, and that the Prytanes should call a special meeting of the Assembly, to be held on the eighth of Elaphebolion (April 5) if Philip's embassy should then have arrived, to discuss terms of peace. The envoys came too late for this day; but after their arrival Demosthenes proposed another decree appointing the eighteenth and nineteenth of Elaphebolion (April 15 and 16) for two meetings, in which both peace and alliance with Philip should be considered. It was further voted that the first meeting should be given to debate, and that in the second the votes should be taken without discussion<sup>4</sup>. The usual result followed, and speeches were made in both meetings.

30. The two meetings were held on the appointed days, after the Dionysia. The Macedonian envoys, Antipater, Parmenio, and probably Eurylochus, were present during a part of the sessions<sup>5</sup>. Demosthenes,

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 45, 46, 50; Dem. XIX. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. III. 63: *κάκεϊθεν ἐπανάγκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 13: *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ... διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐλάνθανεν.* The remainder of XIX. 12—16 shows his opinion after his eyes were opened.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 63, 66—68: cf. II. 54, 65, 109. See § 36, below.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 69 gives Antipater and Parmenio: the 2nd Argument to XIX. (p. 336<sup>10</sup>) adds Eurylochus. It is hardly possible that the foreign envoys were present during the discussion of the terms of peace: this is shown by *καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις*, XIX. 144.

as senator, showed the distinguished envoys all proper courtesies, inviting them to a grand private entertainment and proposing decrees to admit them to the Assembly and to make them guests of honour at the Dionysia. He personally escorted them to the theatre, where curtains had been provided to shield them from the early morning air and cushions to cover the stone seats. And when they departed for home, he hired three yokes of mules for them and escorted them on horseback to Thebes<sup>1</sup>.

31. One of the strangest charges made by Aeschines against Demosthenes is that of corrupt collusion with Philocrates in making the peace. Philocrates went into exile as a convicted criminal early in 343 B.C., fleeing from Athens to escape the sentence of death which was soon passed upon him for treachery and bribery in making the peace which is a reproach to his name<sup>2</sup>. Aeschines can henceforth think of no graver charge than this, with which he introduces his accusation of Demosthenes with regard to the peace: "Now I return to the peace which you and Philocrates proposed<sup>3</sup>." Can it be believed that this is the same Aeschines who fifteen years before had described this same peace as "the peace made by me and Philocrates<sup>4</sup>"! His chief argument for the collusion is that Demosthenes caused the peace to be made in such unseemly haste that the Greek states which had been invited by Athens to an Hellenic council for mutual defence could not be represented in the negotiations. He constantly alludes to "the still absent embassies, which you sent to the Greeks."

32. These are the "roving envoys," which were sent out on the motion of Eubulus, more than a year before, to unite the Greeks in a common cause against Philip. Aeschines himself says that, when Philip's envoys came to Athens, the Athenian envoys were still absent, "summoning the Greeks against Philip<sup>5</sup>." All these Greeks, it must be remembered, were already at peace with him<sup>6</sup>. On what possible

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 235; Aesch. II. 55, 110, 111, III. 76. See the reply of Dem. (Cor. 28) about the invitation to the theatre.

<sup>2</sup> See Essay IV. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 57: *καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε*. Cf. II. 56. See the reply to this in Dem. Cor. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. I. 174: *τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην*.

<sup>5</sup> See § 21, note 4, with references. See Aesch. III. 65, *ὀρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον*, and 68, *ἀπεδήμοιον παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον*.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. Cor. 24<sup>δ</sup>.



ground now could Aeschines, who had been one of the embassy which invited Philip's envoys to Athens to negotiate a peace, demand after their arrival that all negotiations should be suspended until the return of envoys who had been absent more than a year stirring up hostility against Philip, and had shown no signs of returning or reporting? These "absent envoys" were pure inventions. Aeschines declares positively that not one of them had returned when the peace was made, and Demosthenes that there was no embassy then out<sup>1</sup>. This contradiction can be reconciled only by the explanation given by Demosthenes, that all the Greeks had long ago been tried and found wanting,—in fact, that Athens could find no states ready to join her in resisting Philip<sup>2</sup>. Aeschines expressed the same opinion in 343 B.C.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that Aeschines uses the word *πρέσβεις* in a very wide sense: his envoys were probably in great part not ambassadors with regular commissions, who were expected to report formally to the Senate and Assembly, but informal messengers, who were asked to sound public opinion in various states, to which many of them may have been going on business of their own, with the understanding that no reports were expected unless they had some message of importance to give. It is most probable that no reports had been made simply because there were no favourable responses to report, and that no delay of the peace would have changed this result. At the same time, it is not surprising that the assembled allies, who knew little of the facts, were made to believe (as their vote shows) that delay might bring some new states to join in the peace<sup>4</sup>.

33. We have the most contradictory accounts from the two orators

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 58, 59; Dem. Cor. 23<sup>6,7</sup>. See note on the last passage, and the whole of Cor. 20 and 24. It is said in Dem. XIX. 16, to which Aesch. II. 58, 59 is a reply, that Aeschines spoke on the 19th of Elaphebolion in the presence of envoys (*πρέσβειων*) οὐς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεπέμψασθε ὑπὸ τούτου πεισθέντες. This seems to show that some states had sent envoys in response to the invitations of the previous year, who were actually present when the peace was made. But it is hardly credible that any state could have been so far influenced by the Athenian embassies, which Demosthenes (Cor. 23) says were all failures, as actually to send envoys to the proposed Hellenic synod at Athens, which never had even a prospect of meeting. Schaefer (II. 215) suggests with great probability that these "envoys" were *θεωροί* sent by certain states to the Dionysiac festival, who remained in Athens to watch the negotiations for peace. Such visitors might have brought informal messages from home in response to the Athenian proposals of the previous year. In this case Demosthenes uses *πρέσβεις* in as misleading a sense as Aeschines.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. II. 60.

of the proceedings in the two meetings of the Assembly. In the first, on the eighteenth of Elaphebolion (April 15), the Macedonian envoys appeared before the people and stated plainly and firmly the terms on which Philip would make peace. These were, in general, *ἐκατέρους ἂ ἔχουσιν ἔχειν, uti possidetis*; that is, no questions were to be raised as to Philip's right to any of the places which he had taken from Athens and still held, of course including Amphipolis<sup>1</sup>. It was also stated that Philip would not recognize as allies of Athens either the Halians (whom he was besieging) or the Phocians<sup>2</sup>. In conformity with these announcements, probably after Philip's ambassadors had withdrawn, Philocrates, who was now acting in harmony with them, proposed a formal decree, establishing peace and alliance between Philip and his allies and Athens and her allies, excepting the Halians and Phocians<sup>3</sup>. It is evident that the clause excluding the Halians and Phocians was heard by most of the Athenians with surprise and alarm. It signified plainly that Philip would do, in spite of the peace, the very thing which it was supposed the peace would prevent, that is, pass Thermopylae and overwhelm the Phocians with the help of the Thebans, while Athens would have her hands tied by the peace. Demosthenes now had his eyes thoroughly opened. Though he had favoured and even urged peace, as preferable to disastrous war, he was no advocate of "peace at any price," and he now saw that the price was to be too high<sup>4</sup>. He strongly opposed the motion of Philocrates, and advocated "the resolution of the allies," which was, according to Aeschines, favoured by himself and all the other speakers in the first assembly<sup>5</sup>. From Aeschines, who appears to be not yet in the complete confidence of Philocrates and the Macedonian envoys, we have a final burst of exalted patriotism. As Demosthenes reports him, he declared that, though he thought a peace should be made, he would never advise Athens to make the peace proposed by Philocrates so long as a single Athenian

<sup>1</sup> [Dem.] VII. 26: φησὶ δ' (sc. Φίλιππος) Ἀμφίπολιν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι· ὑμᾶς γὰρ ψηφίσασθαι ἐκείνου εἶναι ὅτ' ἐψηφίσασθε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἂ εἶχεν. See Schol. on VII. 18 (p. 81<sup>4</sup>): ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γέγραπεν ἐκατέρους ἂ ἔχουσιν ἔχειν, χαρίζομενος Φιλίππῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀλλότρια ἠρπάκει.

<sup>2</sup> Schaefer II. 225. Cf. Just. VIII. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 159 and 321 (quoted § 35, note 1), with 278. The motion of Philocrates in the Assembly presupposes some previous authority granted by the Senate: see Schaefer II. 225, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 96: βουλευομένων ὑμῶν οὐ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ποιητέον εἰρήνην ἢ μὴ (ἐδέδοκτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῖαν τιναί.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. III. 71.

was left alive<sup>1</sup>. Finally, on the motion of Demosthenes, the Assembly rejected the proposition of Philocrates and adopted what was called the resolution of the allies, whose regular synod (*συνέδριον*) was then in session at Athens. The Macedonian envoys were then recalled and informed of this action<sup>2</sup>.

34. It is somewhat uncertain what is here meant by "the resolution of the allies" (*τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα*). We have two accounts of this from Aeschines<sup>3</sup>. In one he mentions only a clause recommending a postponement of the discussion about peace until the return of the "absent envoys"; but the fact that the discussion was going on by general consent makes it impossible that this clause was advocated by "all the speakers in the former Assembly." In the other he mentions a recommendation that only peace, and not alliance, should be discussed; but this he deduces from the entire omission of the word "alliance" in the resolution, and it is obvious that neither Demosthenes nor all the other speakers could have opposed alliance<sup>4</sup>. He there mentions also the proposed provision that three months should be allowed, after the making of the peace, in which any Greek state might claim the advantages of the peace and be recorded on the same column with Athens and her allies<sup>5</sup>. This is the only part of the resolution which had any significance whatever on that day; and it must be this, *and this alone*, which was adopted by the Assembly. This provision, if it were granted by Philip, would ensure the safety of the Phocians; for they could then have claimed the protection of the peace as Greeks, without being recognized by Philip as allies of Athens. This important provision, supported, as it appears, by the authority of the synod of allies, was advocated by Demosthenes, as the only substitute for the fatal proposition of Philocrates which was at all likely to be accepted by the Assembly<sup>6</sup>. Aeschines says that the general opinion, when the first

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 13—16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 144: *κρατοῦντος ἐμοῦ τὴν προτέραν ἡμέραν, καὶ πεπεικῆτος ὑμᾶς τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα κυρῶσαι καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Φιλίππου.*

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 60 and III. 69, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 68, 71.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. III. 70: *ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν.* A decree of 378—377 B.C. in C. I. Att. II. no. 17 provides for a similar inscription upon a στήλη (ll. 69—72): *εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλην ταύτην ἀναγράφειν τῶν τε οὐσ[ῶ]ν πόλεων συμμαχίδων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ [ἧ]τις ἂν ἄλλη σύμμαχος γί[γ]νηται.*

<sup>6</sup> See Dem. XIX. 144 (quoted above, note 2). The skill of Demosthenes in persuading the Assembly to adopt this proposition, which completely nullified the proposition of Philocrates, even if this passed with the excluding clause, is hardly



Assembly adjourned, was that there would be peace, but that alliance would be made (if at all) later, in conjunction with all the Greeks.

35. The following night brought about a great and sudden change in the whole situation. Philocrates had been too bold in pressing on the Assembly the plan of the Macedonian envoys. The sudden disclosure of Philip's designs against the Phocians and of his determination to use the peace for their destruction had caused so great excitement and roused so much opposition, that it was hopeless to attempt to pass the original excluding clause. At the same time it was seen to be fatal to all Philip's plans to allow the proposition of the allies to be finally adopted. Philocrates was therefore compelled to amend his decree during the night, probably in consultation with Antipater and Parmenio. He brought it before the Assembly the next day without the excluding clause, reading simply "the Athenians and their allies<sup>1</sup>." This change, which after the statements of the previous day meant nothing, appears to have allayed the excitement in great measure, and the decree in this form was finally passed without much opposition. This could not have been effected until the public apprehensions about the Phocians had been quieted by diplomatic promises, like those which were so effectual after the return of the second embassy a few months later. Antipater and Parmenio simply maintained their ground, that Philip could not admit the Phocians as parties to the peace; but their friends in the Assembly (Philocrates and perhaps Aeschines) assured the people "on authority" that, though Philip could not offend the Thebans and

appreciated by Grote, who condemns Demosthenes for not opposing Philocrates with greater energy. He was doubtless taken by surprise by the excluding clause, and it was a triumph to cause its rejection and the adoption of an effective substitute. That Philip's envoys were able to cajole the Assembly the next day by plausible promises into adopting the amended form of the decree of Philocrates, which then seemed innocent to the majority, is not surprising, nor a reproach to Demosthenes.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 159: *τὴν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην οὐχὶ δυνηθέντων ὡς ἐπεχείρησαν οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἀλέων καὶ Φωκέων, γράψαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ταῦτα μὲν ἀπαλεῖψαι, γράψαι δ' ἀντικρὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους.* See also 321: *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις προὔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι Φωκέας οὐ προσδέχεται Φίλιππος συμμάχους· οὗτοι δ' ἐκδεχόμενοι τοιαύτ' ἔδημηγόρουν, ὡς φανερώς μὲν οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσδέξασθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμμάχους διὰ τοὺς Θεβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, ἃν δὲ γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τύχη, ἅπερ ἂν συνθέσθαι νῦν ἀξιῶσαιμεν αὐτόν, ταῦτα ποιήσει τότε.* See further 220: *μεῖζονα ἢ κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν εἰ ποιήσειεν ὑμᾶς εἰάν τύχη τῆς εἰρήνης.* *Εὐβοῶν Ὠρωπῶν ἀποδέσταιν. ἰ. τ. λ.* Demosthenes says (XIX. 15, 16) that he still opposed Philocrates, and advocated the resolution of the allies, adopted the day before, while Aeschines made the admirable speech which he quotes (see below, §§ 36, 37). It would be interesting to know how Aeschines spent the night before the second meeting.

Thessalians by publicly recognizing the Phocians, he would still, when the peace gave him greater freedom of action, do all that Athens could ask of him<sup>1</sup>.

36. It is impossible to determine precisely what was said or done by Aeschines and Demosthenes in the second meeting of the Assembly, in which the peace was actually voted. Nowhere are our two witnesses more hopelessly at odds. Demosthenes says that Aeschines, after his eloquent speech the day before, protesting vehemently against the motion of Philocrates, now told the people not to remember their ancestors nor to listen to stories of ancient sea-fights and trophies, but to enact that they would not help any one who had not previously helped Athens (meaning the Phocians)<sup>2</sup>. Instead of simply denying that he made such a speech and proving his denial by witnesses, Aeschines undertakes to show that he could not have spoken at all on the second day because by the decree of Demosthenes no speeches were to be made on that day!<sup>3</sup> But this argument (in 343 B.C.) is answered by his own account thirteen years later of a speech made by Demosthenes in that very meeting. He repeats what he calls a "disagreeable metaphor" then used by Demosthenes, that we must not *wrench off* (*ἀπορρηξάει*) alliance from peace. Demosthenes (he says) then called on Antipater formally to answer a question, doubtless concerning Philip's unwillingness to make peace without alliance, which Antipater answered, probably reaffirming Philip's refusal<sup>4</sup>. Aeschines calls this "collusion with Philocrates."

37. Though Aeschines denies so stoutly that no one could have spoken in the second meeting, he further recounts a speech of his own, which must have been the one to which Demosthenes alludes, in which he says he advised the people to remember the glorious deeds of their ancestors, but to forget their mistakes, like the Sicilian expedition and the delay in ending the Peloponnesian war<sup>5</sup>. But he maintains that this speech was made in the first meeting, and that he made but one speech in the discussion, which Demosthenes has divided. When we consider that our testimony comes from the two opposing orators at the trial of Aeschines, and make all possible allowance for exaggeration and

<sup>1</sup> See quotations in the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 63—66: see end of § 29 (above).

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 71, 72.

<sup>5</sup> See Aesch. II. 74—77, where the substance of the speech is given. An historical mistake is made in 76, where he says that the Sicilian expedition was sent after the fortification of Decelea by the Spartans!

misrepresentation, we must admit that Aeschines reports his speech more fairly than Demosthenes. But when we weigh the testimony as to the date of the speech which Aeschines reports, we must decide that it was delivered on the second day, as Demosthenes declares. Eubulus finally threw the weight of his dignity and influence into the scale, and told the people plainly that they must either accept the terms proposed by Philocrates and advocated by Aeschines or man their fleet, levy a war tax, and use their festival fund to pay soldiers<sup>1</sup>. We have no statement of the final position of Demosthenes except his assurance that at the second meeting he opposed Philocrates (whom the people at first refused to hear) and tried to amend his proposition for the peace<sup>2</sup>, still advocating the resolution of the allies adopted the day before. He put no trust in the flattering assurances of Athenians like Philocrates, who professed to speak for the absent Philip while his own ambassadors were silent. But he was probably made more hopeful by the refusal of the people to exclude the Phocians by name, which left Athens free to act; and he perhaps trusted in the power of Athens to stop Philip again at Thermopylae if he should attempt to force the pass after the ratification of the peace<sup>3</sup>. There is no reason to doubt that he did his best, fighting almost single-handed in a desperate strait.

38. The peace of Philocrates, thus voted by the Athenian Assembly on the nineteenth of Elaphebolion (April 16), 346 B.C., ended the Amphipolitan War, which was begun in 357. A few weeks later, the aged Isocrates sent to Philip his address called *Φίλιππος*, in which he expressed his joy at the peace and his hopes of much good to result from Philip's leadership.

A few days after the peace was voted, the same ten ambassadors, with Aglaocreon as representative of the allies<sup>1</sup>, were appointed to return to Macedonia and receive the oaths of Philip and his allies to the peace and alliance. In an Assembly held on the twenty-fifth of Elaphebolion, in which Demosthenes presided<sup>2</sup>, it was voted that the

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 15: ἐμοῦ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων συνηγοροῦντος δόγματι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπως ἴση καὶ δίκαια γένηται πράττοντος. Cf. 292: αἰσχρὰν ἀντ' ἴσης συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

<sup>3</sup> The rather mixed feelings of Demosthenes at this time appear in XIX. 150: μέχρι τούτου γε (the departure of Philip's envoys) οὐδὲν ἀνήμεστον ἦν τῶν πιπραγμένων, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀναξία τῆς πόλεως, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων δὴ τὰ θαιμάσια ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ἐμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 163—165; Aesch. II. 97, 126. See Schaefer II. 240.

<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes was still senator; and he was the one of the nine πρόεδροι (chosen each morning by the ἐπιστάτης of the Prytanes from the senators of the nine other



representatives of the allies of Athens then present in the synod should take the oath on that day before the Macedonian envoys in the name of their respective states<sup>1</sup>. The Phocians were probably not represented in the synod: otherwise the whole question of their admission to the oaths would have been raised and finally decided at this time. Whether Cersobleptes, the Thracian king, whose friendship Athens valued, was represented in the oath-taking or not, cannot be determined. In either case, he was excluded from the treaty by Philip, and his country in Thrace had been occupied by Philip's troops on the day before the oaths were taken at Athens<sup>2</sup>.

39. As Aeschines gives us our chief account of the first embassy, so Demosthenes tells the story of the second<sup>3</sup>. When the oaths had been taken, Demosthenes urged his colleagues on the embassy to set out with all speed to administer the oaths to Philip, knowing well that every day might be of the greatest importance to Athens. Philip was all this time vigorously pressing his conquests in Thrace, after Athens had tied her hands by making the peace. As his entreaties availed nothing, he procured (3rd of Munychion, April 29) a decree of the Senate (which the people had empowered to act until the next Assembly), directing the embassy to depart at once, and ordering Proxenus, who still kept his fleet north of Euboea, to convey them to Philip, wherever he might be<sup>4</sup>. In defiance of this vote, the embassy first waited a long time at Oreus in Euboea<sup>5</sup>; and then, instead of sailing with Proxenus, travelled by a

tribes) to whom it came by lot to preside in the Senate or the Assembly, as *ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων*. See Aesch. II. 82, III. 73, 74.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 82—85.

<sup>2</sup> See Dem. XIX. 174; Aesch. II. 90. Aeschines tells us (in III. 73, 74 and II. 83, 84) two directly opposite stories of the exclusion of Cersobleptes from the oaths; one, that he had no delegate in the synod and therefore was excluded; the other that a person claiming to be his representative was admitted on a motion put to vote by the other *προέδροι* after Demosthenes had refused (as *ἐπιστάτης*) to take the vote. The spelling *Κερσεβλέπτης* occurs in a newly found Delphic inscription of about 350 B.C. See Bull. de Corresp. Hellén. 1896, pp. 466—496. See also C. I. Att. IV. 2, no. 65, *δ*.

<sup>3</sup> We have in Dem. XIX. a clear and full account of the second embassy and its disastrous results, generally in the following order: 150—173, 17—66; and in Cor. 25—27, 30—36, a brief but graphic résumé of the same events, somewhat modified by the changes of the past thirteen years. Though Aeschines denies some of the details, he says nothing which breaks the force of the clear and straightforward statements of Demosthenes.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes is said by Aeschines (II. 89) to have charged him with waiting in Oreus to secure appointments as *πρόξενοι* for himself and some of his colleagues, *προξενίας κατασκευαζόμενοι (γινόμενοι πρόξενοι, Schol.)*. This is confirmed by Dem.

circuitous land route to Pella, where they arrived twenty-three days after leaving Athens. There they waited twenty-seven days for Philip's return from his conquests in Thrace<sup>1</sup>. In the time thus gained he had captured several Thracian towns, (among others) Doriscus, Serrhium, and *Ἰερόν ὄρος*, in which Cersobleptes was taken prisoner. Demosthenes constantly protested against this delay in the most vigorous terms<sup>2</sup>.

40. The Athenians found at Pella envoys from Thebes, Thessaly, Sparta, and other Greek states, awaiting Philip's return<sup>3</sup>. There were also envoys from Phocis, anxiously waiting to learn their fate<sup>4</sup>. Philip received the Athenians in the presence of the other envoys, and surrounded by his army, which was ready for his march to Thermopylae<sup>5</sup>. Demosthenes says nothing of the speeches at this interview; but Aeschines says that Demosthenes abused his colleagues and flattered Philip, recounting his services in supporting Philocrates and hastening the peace. Aeschines then made his own speech, in which he exhorted Philip to enter Greece as the friend of the Phocians and the enemy of the Thebans, intimating to him quite plainly that, though the Phocians by the fortunes of war succeeded in seizing the temple of Delphi, the Thebans intended to seize it and were therefore no less guilty than the Phocians<sup>6</sup>. The result of this speech, when it was repeated in much plainer language at Athens after the return of the embassy (see §§ 44, 45), in preventing the Athenians from doing anything to protect the Phocians, shows that Philip had as yet given no public indication of his real intentions to either side.

While the envoys were at Pella, Philip sent them large presents of gold, of which Demosthenes refused to accept his share<sup>7</sup>. He devoted

Cor. 82<sup>3</sup> (see note), where Aeschines is said to have entertained the envoys of the tyrants of Oreus and Eretria in 343—342 as their *πρόξενος*. See Schaefer II. 249, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 154, 155; Cor. 25—27. In Cor. 30 Demosthenes says that the embassy "sat three whole months in Macedonia" before Philip returned. Of course there is no attempt to deceive in this rhetorical exaggeration, as it is from Demosthenes himself (XIX. 155) that we know the exact time (50 days), including the journey from Athens. In XIX. 158, just after giving this exact time, he says the embassy was absent "three whole months."

<sup>2</sup> Dem. VIII. 64, IX. 15, Cor. 27, XIX. 156: cf. Aesch. III. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 108, 112, 136; Dem. XIX. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Justin VIII. 4; Dem. IX. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. II. 103, 132.

<sup>6</sup> For the two speeches see Aesch. II. 108—112, 113—117; and Dem. XIX. 20, 21, for the report made by Aeschines in Athens of his address to Philip.

<sup>7</sup> Dem. XIX. 166—168.

much of his time to procuring the release of the Athenian captives who were still in Philip's hands. He lent several of these the money needed for their ransom, which he later refused to receive back when Philip released the other prisoners without ransom<sup>1</sup>.

41. When the time came for Philip to swear to the peace, the majority of the embassy supported Philocrates and Aeschines in allowing him formally to exclude the Phocians, the Halians, and Cersobleptes from the recognized allies of Athens. In the same way the Cardians were later accepted as allies of Philip<sup>2</sup>. In fact, Demosthenes was generally outvoted in the deliberations of the embassy<sup>3</sup>. The embassy refused by vote to send to Athens a letter written by Demosthenes, and sent one of their own with a different account of their doings<sup>4</sup>. Demosthenes hired a vessel to take him home alone; but Philip forbade him to depart<sup>5</sup>. In this state of things we can easily believe what Aeschines says, that no one would willingly mess with Demosthenes or lodge at the same inn with him<sup>6</sup>.

42. After Philip had sworn to the peace, the embassy had no further pretext for wasting time at Pella. They had been instructed also to administer the oaths to Philip's allies in their respective cities; but nothing like this had yet been done<sup>7</sup>. Here Demosthenes makes a downright charge of corruption against Philip, that of bribing the embassy to wait until his army was ready to march to Thermopylae<sup>8</sup>. All was now ready. Then followed a most disgraceful and humiliating spectacle. Philip marched forth from his capital with his army for the invasion of Greece, the result of which—whether he favoured the Thebans or the Phocians—must be the humiliation of a proud people; and in his train followed meekly (with one exception) an Athenian embassy which had basely betrayed the interests of Athens. There followed also a band of Phocian suppliants, who must now have known that the downfall of their race was impending. When they arrived at Pherae, the

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 169, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 44: ἐκ τοῦ, ὅτε τοὺς ὄρκους ἡμελλε Φίλιππος ὀμνῦναι τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐκσπόνδους ἀποφανθῆναι τοὺς Φωκέας ὑπὸ τούτων. Cf. 278: οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχοις, οὗτοι δὲ Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους ἀπέφηναν; and 174. For the Cardians see v. 25, VIII. 66; and § 61 (below). For the ψήφισμα see § 35 (above), and Dem. XIX. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 51, 323.

<sup>6</sup> Aesch. II. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Dem. XIX. 278: οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀρκοῦν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὗτοι δὲ οὖς Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, τούτους ὠρκισαν;

<sup>8</sup> Dem. Cor. 32: ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἄπιμεν.



long-neglected duty of administering the oath to Philip's allies — or rather to those whom Philip saw fit to summon as their representatives — was performed in a tavern, "in a manner which was disgraceful and unworthy of Athens," as Demosthenes adds<sup>1</sup>.

43. After this ceremony the embassy returned to Athens without more delay, arriving on the thirteenth of Scirophorion (July 7), after an absence of about ten weeks. When they arrived, Philip was already at Thermopylae, negotiating with the Phocians for a peaceable surrender of the pass<sup>2</sup>. This was just what Philip had planned: the Athenians had now little time to consider whether they should send a fleet to defend Thermopylae, and he trusted to the quieting reports of his friends on the embassy to prevent any hostile action. The scheme worked perfectly. A temporary obstruction was caused by the report of Demosthenes to the Senate. There he told the plain truth, that Philip was at the gates of Hellas, ready to attack the Phocians; and he urged that an expedition should even then be sent to Thermopylae with the fifty triremes which were kept ready for such an emergency. The Senate believed Demosthenes, and passed a vote expressing their approval of his conduct. They insulted the embassy in an unprecedented manner, by omitting the customary vote of thanks and the invitation to dine in the Prytaneum<sup>3</sup>.

44. But Philocrates and Aeschines had planned their scheme too artfully to be thus thwarted; and in the Assembly of the sixteenth of Scirophorion, probably held the day after the meeting of the Senate, all was changed. Here Demosthenes found a body of his enemies, who would not permit him to be heard or the vote of the Senate to be read<sup>4</sup>. Aeschines at once took the platform, and easily carried the meeting with him by disclosing the private information about Philip's real plans which (he said) Philip had confided to him at Pella. He admitted that Philip was at Thermopylae with his army; but he assured the people that, if they would stay at home quietly two or three days, they would hear that Philip was besieging Thebes, restoring the smaller Boeotian towns to independence, and compelling the Thebans (not the Phocians) to pay for the treasure stolen from Delphi. He repeated the advice

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 58. From the 3rd of Munychion, when the Senate directed the embassy to depart (see § 39), to the 13th of Scirophorion is 69 days. We do not know how soon the order of the Senate was obeyed.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 18, 31, 32; and 322, τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ἔδει κωλύσαι τὴν εἰς τὰς Ἡέλλας, ἐφ' ἣν αἱ πεντήκοντα τριήρεις ὁμῶς ἐφώρμουν. See Cor. 327-9.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 23, 35.

which (he said) he had given to Philip, for which a price had been set on his head at Thebes. He also implied that Euboea was to be given to Athens as a recompense for Amphipolis, and hinted obscurely at a restitution of Oropus to Athens<sup>1</sup>. Then Philip's letter was read, full of general friendliness, but containing absolutely nothing about the Phocians and no promises of any kind. Demosthenes charges Aeschines with being the writer of this letter<sup>2</sup>. After the astounding disclosures made by Aeschines, it is not strange that Demosthenes could gain no hearing, and that the people felt hopeful and happy, proud of the diplomatic triumph of Aeschines and convinced that Demosthenes was a hopeless grumbler<sup>3</sup>.

45. In this temper the Assembly was ready to vote almost anything which would make it easy for Philip to carry out his beneficent plan. A decree was passed, on the motion of Philocrates, publicly thanking Philip for his friendly promises, extending the peace and alliance to posterity, and (what was more important) enacting that, if the Phocians still refused to surrender the temple "to the Amphictyons," the Athenians would compel them to do so by force<sup>4</sup>. They then appointed ten ambassadors, chiefly members of the previous embassies, to report these proceedings to Philip at Thermopylae. Demosthenes at once refused to go on this embassy. Aeschines made no objection at the time; but afterwards, when it was thought that his presence in Athens would be important at the coming crisis, he excused himself on the ground of illness, and his brother, probably Aphobetus, went in his place<sup>5</sup>.

Soon afterwards came two letters from Philip, inviting the Athenians to send a force to join him at Thermopylae<sup>6</sup>. As Demosthenes shows,

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 19—22, 35, 74, 220, 324—327; Cor. 35; v. 9, 10; vi. 30; cf. Aesch. II. 136. The obscure language of Aeschines (II. 121) οὐκ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι μόνον ἡμᾶς ἐπήγει is rightly explained by Schaefer (II. 269 n.) as meaning that *it was not by a mere decree* (as after the first embassy) *that Demosthenes expressed his approval of us*. This "approval" consisted in a sarcastic remark, οὐκ ἔφη με, ὡς περ ἐκεῖ εἶπον, οὕτως ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ διπλάσιως ἄμεινον (122), i.e. Demosthenes implied that Aeschines's address to Philip *far outdid* (in enormity) his account of it to the Assembly.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 36—41.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 23, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 48—50: here it is said of the so-called Amphictyons, ποίους; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 121—124 (see § 47, below).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 51, 52: ἐπιστολὰς δύο καλοῦσας ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἕν' ἐξέλθοιτε. See Aesch. II. 137: ὑμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολήν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξιέναι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσοντας τοῖς δίκαιοις; *to help the cause of justice!*

these were really sent to prevent them from marching out, as Philip thought this cordial invitation would quiet their alarm, and so be the surest means of keeping them at home. We hear of no appeals from Aeschines or his friends urging the acceptance of the invitation. Indeed, public opinion at Athens was changing, so that perhaps there was danger of the invitation being accepted in a different spirit<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines even says that some of the party of Demosthenes prevented its acceptance, professing to fear that the Athenian force might be held as hostages by Philip<sup>2</sup>.

46. There were Phocian envoys at Athens on the return of the embassy from Pella, and they remained until after the assembly of the sixteenth of Scirophorion. The action then taken showed them that they had nothing to hope from Athens, and they returned home with this unwelcome news. With the help of Athens by land and sea, Phalaecus and his army of 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry might still have held Thermopylae against Philip. But without help this was impossible<sup>3</sup>. The Lacedaemonians had already deserted them<sup>4</sup>, and now nothing was left but to surrender on the best terms which could be made. Demosthenes declares that the action of the Assembly on the 16th was the direct cause of the surrender of the Phocians on the 23rd<sup>5</sup>.

47. The third Athenian embassy set out for Thermopylae about the 21st of Scirophorion (July 15). When they came to Chalcis, they heard that the Phocians had surrendered, while Philip had openly declared himself for the Thebans, and all the hopes in which Athens had indulged were at an end. As the envoys had no instructions to meet this emergency, they returned to Athens at once. One of them, Dercylus, who was in advance of the rest, came directly into a meeting of the Assembly in the Piraeus (on the 27th) and reported his alarming news from Thermopylae<sup>6</sup>. The people were struck with panic at the

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 122 (end).

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 58, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 73, 76, 77.

<sup>5</sup> See the calculation in Dem. XIX. 58, 59. Allowing four days for the news of the 16th to reach the Phocians and three days more for making terms, he puts the surrender on the 23rd (July 17). Four days later (on the *τετράς φθίνοντος*, the 27th) the news came to the Assembly in the Piraeus. Usener (Rhein. Mus. XXXIV. 440), who omits the *ἐνάτη φθίνοντος* (though it is expressly mentioned in the text of Demosthenes), places the surrender a day earlier. See Schaefer II. 282, note 1. If we assume that Scirophorion this year had 30 days, there is no day to be omitted.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. XIX. 60, 125; cf. Aesch. II. 94, 95.



tidings, and voted, on the motion of Callisthenes, to remove the women and children from the country into protected towns or fortresses, to put the Piraeus and the forts in a state of defence, and to hold the coming festival of the Heraclea, usually held in the country, within the city walls<sup>1</sup>. Such a panic had not been known in Athens since the last days of the Peloponnesian War. They also voted to send to Philip the same embassy which had returned from Chalcis, with instructions to watch the proceedings of the Amphictyonic Council, which Philip was expected to summon at once<sup>2</sup>. The Athenians were not only in great alarm, but in absolute uncertainty about Philip's next step. He might even join the Thebans in a march upon Athens; and the road was open. Even Aeschines admits the bitter disappointment at Athens and the bitter feeling against the ambassadors<sup>3</sup>.

Soon after the surrender of the Phocians, Philip addressed a diplomatic letter to the Athenians, evidently in an apologetic tone, deprecating their indignation at his unexpected course, and trying to conciliate them by assurances of his continued friendship. As Demosthenes says, it was written really to inform the Thebans and Thessalians that he was acting directly against the wishes and the hopes of Athens<sup>4</sup>.

48. The embassy soon departed on its new mission by way of Thebes. Aeschines had now no fear of the Thebans or of the price they had set upon his head<sup>5</sup>. They arrived at Philip's camp just in time to be present at the festivities with which he and the Thebans were celebrating the joyous conclusion of the war and their triumph over the sacrilegious Phocians; and they appear to have had no scruples against

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 86, Cor. 36; Aesch. III. 80. Aesch. II. 139 says *ἔσκεναγώγησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, πρεσβεύοντας ἐμοῦ τὴν τρίτην ἤδη πρεσβείαν*, from which Schaefer (II. 293, n. 3) infers that the decree was not passed until after the next departure of the embassy (§ 48). But Dem. XIX. 125 implies clearly that the decree was passed either at the meeting in the Piraeus or immediately afterwards; and the words of Aesch. state only that the *execution* (not the passage) of the decree followed his departure.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 95: *προαναγκάζοντος τοῦ δήμου μηδὲν ἤττον πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς*. This seems to imply a reappointment of the embassy, and this agrees with Dem. XIX. 172, *ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην πρεσβείαν δις με χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν δις ἐξωμοσάμην*. In XIX. 126 Demosthenes charges Aeschines with going on this embassy without any authority at all.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 328: *γέγονε τὰ πράγματα πάνθ' ὥσπερ αἰνίγμα τῆ πολει*. Aesch. III. 80.

<sup>4</sup> See Dem. Cor. 39, 40, with notes.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 21, 127. We have only the repeated authority of Demosthenes (see § 44, above) for the reported statement of Aeschines on this point.

joining in the celebration<sup>1</sup>. Philip had himself accepted the surrender of the Phocians on condition that Phalaecus with his 8000 mercenaries should be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased; and they withdrew to Peloponnesus<sup>2</sup>. But the Phocian people were handed over to a far less merciful power. Philip had entered Phocis as the champion of Apollo, whose violated temple he was to restore to its rightful guardians, the Amphictyonic Council. He therefore lost no time in calling a meeting of this venerable body, or rather what he chose to call by this distinguished name<sup>3</sup>. The Council voted to expel the Phocians, and to give their two votes to Philip, thus putting a foreign king in the place of one of the original Amphictyonic tribes. The Phocian towns, except Abae with its ancient temple of Apollo, twenty in number, were to be destroyed, and the people to be divided into villages of not more than fifty houses; their horses were to be sold for the benefit of the temple, and their arms thrown down precipices; and they were to pay sixty talents yearly to the temple until the stolen treasure should be made good<sup>4</sup>. We have records of payments made by the Phocians on this account from 344 to 337 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Any Phocian who was personally guilty of plundering the temple was declared accursed and outlawed<sup>6</sup>. This

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 128, 130, Cor. 287. See the lame defence of Aeschines, who does not deny that he took part in these festivities, II. 162, 163: *ἐκλήθη ἐπὶ ξένια μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβων, κ.τ.λ.* He seems to think that the number of guests, about 200, and the fact that he only joined in the chorus as a common singer, excused him. See Essay IV. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> See § 52, below.

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes (v. 14) calls this assembly *τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι*. See XIX. 50: *οὐδενὸς δ' ἄλλον παρόντος τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων πλήν Θετταλῶν καὶ Θηβαίων*. Cf. XIX. 327. Athens had no part in the Ionian representation, nor Sparta in the Dorian; the Phocians were gone; Boeotia was only Thebes; the Locrians were present; six of the other Amphictyonic tribes (Aesch. II. 116) were Thessalian.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. XVI. 60; Paus. X. 3, 3; Dem. XIX. 81, 141, Cor. 36, 42, IX. 19, 26. Cf. Aesch. II. 9, III. 80.

<sup>5</sup> The French explorers at Delphi have found an interesting inscription recording several payments made by the Phocians, published by Emile Bourguet in the *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* 1897, pp. 321—344. By comparison of this with another inscription containing temple records (*ibid.* pp. 477—496), Bourguet shows with great probability that the Phocians made eight semi-annual payments of thirty talents each in 344—340 B.C., two annual payments of thirty talents in 339 and 338, one of ten talents in 337, and an "eighteenth" of ten talents in a later year, which assumes six intermediate payments. The reduction to ten talents followed the battle of Chaeronea. These talents were probably of the Aeginetan standard, about  $\frac{2}{3}$  heavier than the Attic (see above, § 8, note 2). See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1899, p. 306.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. XVI. 60.

terrible sentence was executed with more than strict exactness, with the Thebans for executioners<sup>1</sup>. When Demosthenes went to Delphi more than two years later, he witnessed the pitiable condition of Phocis and its wretched people, with walls and houses destroyed, and nobody to be seen except old women and little children and miserable old men<sup>2</sup>. A harder fate still befell Orchomenus, Coronea, and probably Corsiae in Boeotia, for their adherence to the Phocians. Their walls were razed and the inhabitants sold into slavery. Boeotia, with a substantial piece of Phocis<sup>3</sup>, was then brought under the dominion of Thebes. Sparta, for assisting the Phocians, was excluded from the Delphic temple. The *προμαντεία*, precedence in consulting the oracle, which the Phocians had granted to Athens in the time of Pericles for her help in the short Sacred War of 448 B.C., was taken from her and given to Philip<sup>4</sup>. Still, it was the decided policy of Philip to have no open breach with Athens at this time<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 325: τὰ Φωκῶν τείχη κατεσκάπτετο· Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 64—66. Demosthenes saw good reason for exclaiming τούτων δεινότερα οὐ γέγονεν οὐδὲ μείζω πράγματ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. For a graphic account of the state of Phocis at this time, see Justin, VIII. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 112, 127, 325; VIII. 65, οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλὲς (λέγειν τὰ Φιλίππου), πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτιαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνείλεν. XIX. 141, Ὀρχομενὸς, Κορώνεια, Κορσιαί, τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον, τῆς τῶν Φωκῶν χώρας ὀπίσθη βούλονται.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Per. 21; Dem. IX. 32 (one of the doubtful passages), XIX. 327 (end). For Sparta see Paus. x. 8, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Among the most interesting inscriptions recently found at Delphi are two of the fourth century B.C. containing business accounts of the Amphictyonic Council and especially of the board of *ναοποιοί*, Temple-builders, who probably had charge of building the still unfinished temple (see § 72, p. 287, note 3). See Bull. de Corresp. Hellén. 1896, pp. 197—241, 1898, pp. 303—328. During the time from 353 to 346 B.C. only two of the semi-annual meetings of this board are mentioned, one with four members present, and one in the spring of 348 with ten (a Delphian, an Athenian, two Locrians, a Megarian, an Epidaurian, a Lacedaemonian, two Corinthians, and a Phocian). Four times the omission of the meeting is noted, οὐ συνῆλθον. This was during the hardest stress of the Phocian War. But in the archonship of Damoxenus, which Bourguet identifies with great certainty as 346—345 B.C., we find this entry: Ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου ἀρχοντος, ὀπωρινᾶς πυλαίας, ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ναοποιοὶ συνῆλθον. Now there were present 36 members, including nine Thessalians and three Thebans (long strangers to Delphi), two Athenians, three Spartans, and one Delphian. No Phocians are present; but in their place is the ominous entry, Φίλιππος Μακεδῶν, Τιμανορίδας Μακεδῶν (Philip's name standing thus, the tenth in the list). This was at the meeting of the Council called by Philip in the autumn of 346, after the surrender of the Phocians (see above, § 48). The *ναοποιοί*, being a permanent board, had not yet been reconstituted, except that Philip and another Macedonian had quietly stepped into the places of the absent Phocians.



49. The Pythian games were celebrated at Delphi at their regular time, in September 346 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Philip was empowered by the Amphictyonic Council to hold the festival with the Boeotians (i.e. the Thebans) and the Thessalians<sup>2</sup>. The games were celebrated by Philip with unusual splendour, but with no delegates present from either Athens or Sparta. For 240 years Athens had sent her deputation to these games with great pomp and ceremony over the Sacred Way, which Apollo had once trodden on his progress from Delos to Delphi; and her absence now was an historic event<sup>3</sup>. Thus was Philip formally installed in his long-coveted position as a power in Greece, representing in his own person one of the original Greek peoples which had in immemorial antiquity established the Amphictyonic union.

Thus ended the disastrous Sacred War, after a duration of more than ten years, with the exaltation of Philip and the humiliation of Athens, though neither was a party to the war or was even interested in it when it began.

50. Before returning home after the Pythian games, Philip determined to secure from Athens at least a formal recognition of his new position as an Amphictyonic power. He therefore sent thither a deputation of his own with Thessalian envoys (probably Amphictyons), to ask for a confirmation of his election to the Council<sup>4</sup>. The conspicuous absence of Athens from both Council and games embarrassed and annoyed Philip greatly. Athens also was in a delicate position. Philip still had his powerful army with him, and he could summon Thebans, Locrians, and Thessalians to support him in an Amphictyonic war, if Athens should refuse his request. It would have been simple madness for Athens, in her isolation and humiliation, to defy him by a downright refusal. But the people were in no mood to assent to what they deemed a disgrace to Greece and an insult to themselves. When

<sup>1</sup> The Pythian games were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, near the end of the Delphic month *Βουκάτιος*, which corresponds generally to the second Attic month, Metageitnion. The year 346—345 B.C. began July 25. See Essay III. § 3, p. 329, n. 2. Pausanias X. 7, 8 refers to this Pythian festival as *πρώτη Πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Ἰολαΐδας ἐνίκα Θηβαῖος*, i.e. the 61st, counting from 586 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. XVI. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 128, *ὥστε μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς μήτε τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὰ Πύθια πέμψαι*. See Aeschyl. Eumen. 9—16.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 111—113: this describes the exciting scene in the Assembly, ending with the sarcastic remark of Aeschines before Philip's envoys (113), *πολλοὺς τοὺς θορυβοῦντας εἶναι, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ὅταν δέη*. Demosthenes makes no allusion to his own speech.

Aeschines came forward alone to urge compliance, he was hooted and could get no hearing. Demosthenes was perhaps the only man in Athens who could persuade the Assembly to take the humiliating course which prudence now made necessary. This he did in his speech *On the Peace* (v.), in which, while he makes no attempt to conceal the false position in which Athens had ignorantly allowed herself to be placed, he yet advises her not to court further calamity by a vain resistance to an accomplished fact<sup>1</sup>. We do not know what reply he proposed to the Amphictyonic message; but we may be sure that it conceded nothing in principle, while it formally declined to oppose the will of the Amphictyons in electing Philip to their Council.

#### IV. SIX YEARS OF NOMINAL PEACE.

346—340 B.C.

51. The peace of Philocrates lasted, at least in name, until the formal renewal of the war with Philip in 340 B.C. But all this time Philip was busy in extending his power, especially to the detriment of Athens. In 344 we find him subjugating Illyrians and Triballi<sup>2</sup>, and soon afterwards breaking up free governments in Thessaly, putting garrisons into the citadels, seizing the revenues of the ports, and establishing a decadarchy<sup>3</sup>. He interfered in the disputes of Sparta with Argos, Messene, and Megalopolis, sending help to the latter. Athens, on the motion of Demosthenes, voted to send envoys to Peloponnesus to counteract this dangerous influence, and of these Demosthenes was chief. In the *Second Philippic* he repeats parts of his speech to the Messenians, in which he warned them of the fate of Olynthus and exhorted them to repel Philip's friendly advances<sup>4</sup>. But Philip's promises were more powerful than the eloquence of Demosthenes, and we soon find Argos and Messene (instigated by Philip) sending envoys to Athens, complaining that she supported Sparta in preventing

<sup>1</sup> See the whole speech *On the Peace*. For remarks on this speech, the genuineness of which has often been doubted, see Schaefer II. 295—303. The striking contrast between this and the *Second* and *Third Philippics* is to be explained by the difference in circumstances, which made the former a political necessity.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 44<sup>1</sup> (see note).

<sup>3</sup> Dem. VI. 22, IX. 12, [VII.] 32; cf. Cor. 64, 65. For the later tetrarchies in Thessaly, see IX. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See VI. 9, 13, 15, 20—25.

them from gaining their freedom. With these came envoys from Philip, complaining that Athens had charged their master with breaking his promises<sup>1</sup>.

52. In the assembly which discussed the reply to be given to these embassies (late in 344 B.C.), Demosthenes delivered his Second Philippic<sup>2</sup>. This gives a statesmanlike review of Philip's conduct towards Athens since the peace, showing that he had been constantly aggressive and deceitful, while Athens had been kept quiet by his partisans in the Assembly, who assured her of his goodwill and friendly intentions. He proposed a definite answer to the embassies, of which we can judge only by the firm character of the speech itself. We hear of no positive results of this mission, but we hear no more of the disputes in Peloponnesus which caused it. Still, Philip continued to acquire influence there, and the governments leaned on him for support and became more and more subservient to his wishes. Many Arcadian towns erected statues to him, and offered to open their gates to him if he would visit them: the Argives were of the same mind<sup>3</sup>. The Eleans were also under his spell; and the party in power, supported by Philip, murdered in cold blood the last remnant of the Phocian mercenaries, who were captured in the service of the opposite party<sup>4</sup>. At about the same time (344—343) Philip made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Megara by the help of his friends Perillus and Ptoeodorus: but the scheme failed, and Megara remained independent, probably by the help of Athens<sup>5</sup>.

53. In the same year there occurred the summary arrest and condemnation of Antiphon, a disfranchised citizen, who offered his services to Philip to burn the dockyards at the Piraeus. He was arrested by the authority of Demosthenes, who was probably ἐπιστάτης τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Libanius, Hypoth. to Dem. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Grote (XI. 615) doubts the presence of envoys from Philip on this occasion, and Dion. Hal. (ad Amm. p. 737) speaks only of those from Peloponnesus. Schaefer (II. 355) points out that the statement of Libanius is supported by the tone of VI. 28—37, which seems to be a reply to some complaints on the part of Philip.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. XVI. 63; Dem. XIX. 260. For this relic of the Phocian army see § 48 (above). It is probable that the three Elean traitors named in Dem. Cor. 295 belong to this time. For Aristratus, tyrant of Sicyon in Philip's time (Cor. 48, 295), see Plut. Arat. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. Cor. 71<sup>3</sup>, XIX. 294, 295: cf. 87, 204, 326, 334, IX. 17, 27, [X.] 9. Schaefer (II. 366) refers the expedition of Phocion to the aid of Megara (Plut. Phoc. 15) to this time. Megara appears to be in friendly relation with Athens in 341—340: see Dem. IX. 74.



ναυτικοῦ or invested with some other magisterial power, and brought before the Assembly; but was released on the protest of Aeschines. He was again arrested by the intervention of the Areopagus, brought to trial and condemned to the rack and to death<sup>1</sup>.

54. Not much later<sup>2</sup> occurred an important trial before the Amphictyonic Council, in which the ancient right of Athens to control the temple of Delos was contested by the Delians. The Athenians chose Aeschines as their counsel in this case; but the Areopagus, to which the people had by special vote given the right to revise the election, rejected him and chose Hyperides in his place. The election was made in the most formal and solemn manner, each senator taking his ballot from the altar<sup>3</sup>. At the trial Hyperides delivered his famous Delian oration, in which he defended the cause of Athens so eloquently that her rights in the Delian temple remained undisturbed<sup>4</sup>. The cause of Delos was argued by Euthykrates, the traitor who betrayed Olynthus to Philip<sup>5</sup>. Demosthenes attributes the rejection of Aeschines as counsel to the effect on the Areopagus of the recent affair of Antiphon: but this probably had only intensified the increasing indignation against the partisans of Philip, which had recently expressed itself in the condemnation of Philocrates<sup>6</sup>.

55. A little later in 343 B.C. (probably before midsummer) Philip sent Python of Byzantium to Athens, to tell the old story of his unalterable friendship and of his grief on hearing the calumnies which his enemies reported in the Assembly and the Athenians believed. He assured the people that he was ready to revise the peace if there was anything amiss in it, and begged them not to believe the orators who misrepresented him and his intentions<sup>7</sup>. Python was an eloquent orator,

<sup>1</sup> See Dem. Cor. 132, 133, with notes.

<sup>2</sup> Schaefer (II. 372—374) with great probability places the Delian contest in the spring of 343 B.C., when Demosthenes went to the Amphictyonic Council as *πυλάγορος* of Athens. See Dem. XIX. 65: ὅτε νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα εἰς Δελφούς (said later in 343), and Aesch. III. 113, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. Cor. 134, 135.

<sup>4</sup> Some passages of this oration are to be found in the fragments of Hyperides, 67—75 (Bl.).

<sup>5</sup> See frag. 76 of Hyperides: ὅτι ἀντέπραξε τῇ πόλει περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Δηλίων. It appears from Apsines (IX. p. 547 W.) that this refers to Euthykrates.

<sup>6</sup> See Essay IV. § 4.

<sup>7</sup> Dem. Cor. 136. For the date of Python's visit, see Schaefer II. 377, 378. He identifies this Python with great probability with one of the brothers, Python and Heraclides, of Aenos, who murdered Cotys and were afterwards received with honour at Athens: see Dem. XXIII. 118, 119.

a pupil of Isocrates, and his statement of Philip's grievances moved the Assembly greatly<sup>1</sup>. He was accompanied by envoys from all Philip's allies, and he was supported by Aeschines<sup>2</sup>. But his "tide of eloquence" was stemmed by Demosthenes, who replied to Philip's complaints so effectively that the feeling of the Assembly was soon turned against Python. He was followed by Hegesippus, another patriotic Athenian, who professed to accept Philip's offer to revise the peace and made two propositions to this end<sup>3</sup>. He proposed (1) that the clause which provided that *each should keep what they had*, ἐκάτερος ἔχει ἃ ἔχουσιν, *uti possidetis*, should be changed to *each should have their own* (ἐκάτερος ἔχει τὰ ἑαυτῶν); (2) that the freedom of all Greek states not included in the treaty should be recognized by both parties to the peace, who should agree to defend them if they were attacked. A decree was passed with these two provisions: and Hegesippus was sent with other envoys to Philip to ask his approval of these terms, and further to ask for the return to Athens of the island Halonnesus, which Philip then held, and for the surrender of the towns in Thrace (Serrhium, Doriscus, etc.) which he had taken after the peace was made<sup>4</sup>. This embassy was rudely received by Philip, who ignored all his promises about a revision of the peace, and it returned to Athens with nothing accomplished. Philip even banished an Athenian poet, Xenocides, for the offence of entertaining the embassy in Macedonia<sup>5</sup>.

56. Eight or nine months later (early in 342 B.C.) Philip sent a letter to the Athenians, in which he once more deplored the odium into which the misrepresentations of hostile orators had brought him at Athens, and gave a tardy reply to some of the demands of Athens'. We have the speech of Hegesippus (as we may now safely call it) in the

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 125, with the Schol. (p. 65, 25).

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 136<sup>10</sup>; Epist. Phil. [Dem. XII.] 18.

<sup>3</sup> Heges. (Dem. VII.) 18, 25, 30, 31. For the authorship of this speech see p. 272, note 1. Dem. XIX. 181, ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, refers to this proposed revision of the peace.

<sup>4</sup> Heges. 2, ὅτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρεβεύσαμεν, with 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 331. If we can trust a story told by Seneca (de Ira, III. 23, 2), which is referred to this occasion by Schaefer, of the insolence of Demochares, one of the embassy, we can easily pardon Philip for his rude treatment of the whole party. According to this, when Philip politely asked the embassy what he could do for them, Demochares replied, "Hang yourself."

<sup>6</sup> This letter, which is now lost, was read to both Senate and Assembly. It must not be confused with the later letter of Philip (written in 340 B.C.) of which document No. XII. among the speeches of Demosthenes purports to be a copy. (See § 68.)

Assembly, in which this letter is discussed<sup>1</sup>. Philip made the following answers :—

(1) As to Halonnesus he repeated his former answer to the embassy, that he had taken the island from a nest of pirates, not from Athens. Still, he would *give* it to Athens if she would take it as a gift from him. He further offered to submit the whole question to arbitration<sup>2</sup>.

(2) He proposed a treaty with Athens (*σύμβολα*) providing for the trial of lawsuits between Macedonians and Athenians, claiming, however, that the final ratification of such a treaty should be left to himself<sup>3</sup>.

(3) He claimed the right to cruise about the Aegean at pleasure, and to aid Athens in suppressing piracy—a claim which might embarrass Athens in many ways<sup>4</sup>.

(4) He denied that he had ever agreed to modify the peace so as to allow each party “to hold what belonged to them.” He held Amphipolis, for example, by the terms of the peace; and he could not allow his right to be questioned<sup>5</sup>.

(5) He agreed that the freedom and independence of the Greeks who were not parties to the peace should be recognized and defended, as Athens proposed<sup>6</sup>.

(6) He denied absolutely that he had ever broken any of his promises to Athens: indeed, he declared that he had never made any. He maintained that he had released all Athenian prisoners of war<sup>7</sup>.

(7) He offered to submit to arbitration all questions about places alleged to have been captured by him after the peace was made, including the dispute about Halonnesus and the quarrel with Cardia: indeed, he offered to compel the Cardians to submit to arbitration if they refused<sup>8</sup>.

57. Hegesippus in his replies<sup>9</sup> objects to receiving Halonnesus as a gift from Philip while the right of Athens to the island is denied. He sees in the offer of *σύμβολα* to settle lawsuits only a device of Philip to secure himself (by some provision of the treaty) against suits for recom-

<sup>1</sup> This (No. VII. in editions of Demosthenes) is now universally recognized as a speech of Hegesippus: see Schaefer II. 440, 441 with n. 1. It professes to be made by the mover of the two proposals sent to Philip, who was also one of the embassy (2).

<sup>2</sup> Heges. 2—8: see § 66 (below).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9—13: see p. 273, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 14—16.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 18—29.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 30—32.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 33—35, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 36, 37, 39—44.

<sup>9</sup> He gives the replies in connection with the statements of Philip's demands.



pense for confiscated property brought by Athenians who were settled in Potidaea at the time of its capture; these settlers having had a special treaty of alliance with Philip, so that they could not legally be treated as enemies<sup>1</sup>. He also repudiates with indignation Philip's claim to the right to ratify (i.e. to revise or reject) the treaty after it had been properly made and had been ratified by the Heliastic Court at Athens<sup>2</sup>. He ridicules the idea that Athens needs Philip's help in suppressing piracy. He calls on the people to remember the offers to revise the peace which Python made to them in Philip's name. He repeats the old charge of breaking promises, and denies that Philip has liberated all his Athenian captives. He spurns the proposal of arbitration concerning the towns captured by Philip after the peace was made, saying that this is a question of time to be settled by the calendar, not one for arbitration.

Demosthenes also discussed Philip's letter, objecting to receiving Halonnesus as a gift from Philip, and to allowing arbitration as to certain claims of Athens. It is probably this speech to which Aeschines alludes when he ridicules Demosthenes for "quarrelling about syllables." So far as we know, no result followed these negotiations with Philip, except a stronger conviction at Athens of the insincerity of Philip's

<sup>1</sup> Heges. 9, 10: οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς πολέμου πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλὰ συμμαχίας, καὶ ὄρκων ὁμωμοσμένων οὐς Φίλιππος τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ (sc. Ἀθηναίοις) ὤμοσεν. As it was generally established that restitution should be made for property confiscated in time of peace, Philip naturally desired some special security on this point. It was generally provided in *σύμβολα* that suits should be brought in the defendant's court (*forum rei*), so that suits of this nature would be tried in Macedonia, where Philip would have ample opportunity to take advantage of any ambiguous provisions in the treaty, such as he might easily smuggle in at a final revision.

<sup>2</sup> By the Attic law, such *σύμβολα*, after they were made by negotiation, like other treaties, must be ratified by the Heliastic Court under the presidency of the *θεσμοθέται*. See Heges. 9: ταῦτα δὲ κύρια ἔσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν κυρωθῆ, ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὡς ἐαυτὸν ἐπανενεχθῆ. Aristotle (Pol. Ath. 59<sup>16</sup>) says of the *θεσμοθέται*, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι κυροῦσι, καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων εἰσάγουσι, which may refer to a later law, or may (as Meier and Schömann explain it, Att. Proc. p. 999) mean the *θεσμοθέται* presiding over a court. Pollux (VIII. 88) repeats Aristotle. The passage of Aristotle, interpreted in either way, with its distinction of *σύμβολα* and *δίκαι ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων*, now makes untenable the view of Reiske, which I once followed (Am. Journ. of Philol. I. 10—12), that *ταῦτα* in the speech on Halonnesus (above quoted) refers to the *δίκαι* and not to the *σύμβολα*. See Att. Proc. 1001. It seems that Philip and Athens both claimed the right of final ratification, of course with the option of rejecting the treaty altogether.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 83: Ἀλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περι συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος.

professions of friendship and of the necessity of ultimately meeting his aggressions by force of arms.

58. The account of the transactions which followed the mission of Python has brought us down to the time before midsummer 342 B.C., when Hegesippus delivered his oration on Halonnesus<sup>1</sup>. We must now recur to events in Euboea which began in the previous year.

The formal peace which Athens made with the towns of Euboea in 348 B.C. recognized the independence of the island<sup>2</sup>. Philip saw more and more plainly the importance of Euboea as a basis of operations against Athens<sup>3</sup>, and he never lost an opportunity of establishing his influence there. In 343—342 he supported Clitarchus, who had made himself tyrant of Eretria, and he sent troops to expel the popular party. An embassy sent by Athens on the motion of Demosthenes to counteract the intrigues of Philip was refused a hearing at Eretria, and the town fell into Philip's power<sup>4</sup>. The banished democracy took possession of Porthmus, a harbour of Eretria, and Philip sent against them 1000 soldiers and destroyed the walls of Porthmus<sup>5</sup>. He also sent troops to Oreus, to establish there the tyrant Philistides; and under the Macedonian influence the popular leader, Euphraeus, was sent to prison, where he slew himself to escape the vengeance of his enemies<sup>6</sup>. Athens, by the help of Demosthenes, was more fortunate in establishing her influence at Chalcis, where two brothers, Callias and Taurosthenes, who had once acted in Philip's interest, were now firm friends of the Athenians. Callias sent an embassy to Athens, and a treaty of alliance was made, providing for mutual defence<sup>7</sup>. The brothers were intimate with Demosthenes, who caused them to be made citizens of Athens. Aeschines

<sup>1</sup> In the late summer or autumn of 343 Aeschines was brought to trial on the charge of *παραπροσβεία*, and acquitted by a small vote. See Essay IV. § 7.

<sup>2</sup> See § 14, above.

<sup>3</sup> As an *ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν*, Cor. 71<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. IX. 57, 58, 66, Cor. 71<sup>5</sup>, 79<sup>7</sup>; cf. Cor. 295<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. IX. 12, 58; cf. VIII. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. IX. 59—62, 66, Cor. 81. The somewhat earlier attempt of Philip to secure Megara (§ 52) is sometimes connected with his intrigues in Euboea. Both had the same object, to weaken Athens. The two are often mentioned together, as in Dem. Cor. 71, XIX. 87, 334. For the final overthrow of the despotisms in Euboea by the help of Athens in 341—340, see § 64, and note on Dem. Cor. 79<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Aesch. III. 91—93. We do not know whether the Athenian embassy which was rejected at Eretria about this time (see note 5, above) was sent also to negotiate with Chalcis; but this is highly probable. This embassy is the one mentioned in Dem. Cor. 79<sup>7</sup>, *ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο*.

violently attacks Callias as a friend of Demosthenes and an enemy of Athens<sup>1</sup>.

59. In the winter of 343—342 Philip with a motley force marched over the mountains into Epirus, to place Alexander, brother of his queen Olympias, on the throne. Neoptolemus, Alexander's father, had reigned there jointly with his brother Arybbas, in whose house Alexander and Olympias had been brought up. After his brother's death Arybbas reigned alone. Philip soon expelled his uncle-in-law from his throne, and made Alexander king<sup>2</sup>. He thus made the settlement of a family quarrel the means of extending his own influence to the Ionian Sea. He captured three Elean towns in Cassopia, in the south of Epirus, and gave them to Alexander<sup>3</sup>. He was now on the borders of Ambracia, and he also threatened to attack Leucadia and to cross into Peloponnesus. He made a treaty with the Aetolians, in which he agreed to restore to them Naupactus, which the Achaeans then held. In these later schemes he was foiled by Athens, which sent Demosthenes and other envoys to urge Corinth and Achaëa to defend their rights<sup>4</sup>. She also sent troops to Acarnania<sup>5</sup>. Athens received the dethroned Arybbas with great honour, but nothing appears to have been done to restore him to his dominions<sup>6</sup>.

60. On his return from Epirus, Philip entered Thessaly, where he had previously established a decadarchy (see § 51). He now appointed tetrarchs, one for each of the original districts of Thessaly,—Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis<sup>7</sup>. This completed the subjugation of Thessaly, which had been one of his main objects since his attack on the despots of Pherae in 353—352<sup>8</sup>. At about this time (342) Philip sent for Aristotle and made him the tutor of his son Alexander, who was

<sup>1</sup> Hyper. in Dem., Col. xx.: *τούτους γὰρ ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης Ἀθηναίους εἶναι καὶ χρῆται τούτοις πάντων μάλιστα.* So Dinarch. I. 44; Aesch. III. 85—97. Demosthenes makes no formal reply to these charges.

<sup>2</sup> See Paus. I. 11<sup>3-5</sup>, giving many details of the family history; Just. VII. 6, VIII. 6. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Heges. 32: see Schaefer II. 426 (notes).

<sup>4</sup> Dem. IX. 27, 34, 72: both Leucadia and Ambracia were Corinthian colonies. For Naupactus see § 78 (below), p. 294, with n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XLVIII. 24 (343—342 B.C.; see ὁ ἄρχων Πυθόδοτος in 26).

<sup>6</sup> See decree in his honour in C. I. Att. II. no. 115.

<sup>7</sup> Dem. IX. 26: *Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν;* cf. Cor. 48, 295.

<sup>8</sup> See § 6 (above).



now fourteen years old<sup>1</sup>. In this year he gave great offence to Greece by sending a deputy to hold the Pythian games in his name<sup>2</sup>.

61. Early in 342 B.C. Philip undertook to complete his conquest of Thrace, and especially to wrest from Athens her control of the Thracian Chersonese. This ancient possession of Athens was equally important to her as a protection to her trade with the Euxine, and to Philip as a point of departure for invading Asia. Soon after the peace, Athens had sent a body of settlers to the Chersonese under Diopithes<sup>3</sup>, an able and enterprising general, who was determined to defend the rights of Athens to the last extremity and to brook no interference from Philip. The Cardians, who had been admitted to the peace in 346 as Philip's allies by the consent of the Athenian embassy, annoyed the Athenian settlers in every possible way. Philip sent troops to aid the Cardians, and Diopithes raised an army in Thrace to attack them. With this force he invaded Philip's territory beyond Cardia<sup>4</sup>. Against this Philip protested vehemently in a letter to the Athenians<sup>5</sup>, and a meeting of the Assembly was held to consider the question. In this Demosthenes delivered his eloquent oration on the Affairs of the Chersonese. He admits that the action of Diopithes has not been precisely peaceful, but maintains that Philip has broken all the terms of the peace and that Athens is really at war with him by his own act. He stoutly objects to making any concessions to Philip at this crisis, and above all he protests against recalling Diopithes or passing any vote which might discredit him or his conduct in Thrace.

62. Soon after this speech, certainly before midsummer 341, Demosthenes delivered his Third Philippic. This powerful argument deals with the whole history of Philip's aggressions since the peace was made, and enforces the argument of the speech on the Chersonese. He declares that Athens has been actually at war with Philip for a long time, indeed ever since the destruction of the Phocians<sup>6</sup>. He earnestly

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Alex. 7; Diog. Laert. v. 1, 7, ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου (343—342). Alexander was born July 21, 356 (see § 3).

<sup>2</sup> To this refers the indignant remark in Dem. IX. 32, τοὺς δούλους ἀγνωθετήσοντας πέμπει.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. VIII. 6, IX. 15; see Schaefer II. 451, notes.

<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of these important events, which led directly to the renewal of the war with Philip, see the two orations of Demosthenes On the Chersonese (VIII.) and the Third Philippic (IX.). See Grote XI. 623—625; Schaefer II. 450—455.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. VIII. 16, IX. 16, 27; Hypoth. to VIII. p. 89<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. IX. 19: ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέιλε Φωκίας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. See also IX. 9, 15—18, and many similar passages in this speech.

beseeches the people to recognize this fact and to prepare for active warfare<sup>1</sup>. He makes no attempt to justify the recent proceedings of Athens in the Chersonese, except as measures of defensive war, to which Philip's offensive acts of war have driven her. It would be madness, he urges, for the Athenians to allow Philip to wage war on them and not to defend themselves by arms.

The whole tone of the Third Philippic shows that Demosthenes had no longer the least expectation of maintaining even a nominal peace; while the increasing boldness of Philip's aggressions shows that he merely aimed at securing all possible advantages before the inevitable declaration of war<sup>2</sup>.

63. We have only meagre and scattered accounts of the events of the year 341—340, before the outbreak of the war. One important result of the discussions in the Assembly and the powerful arguments of Demosthenes was that Athens now universally recognized his leadership and gave him almost complete control of her foreign affairs. For this department, from this time until the battle of Chaeronea, he declares himself responsible in the fullest sense<sup>3</sup>. One of his wisest strokes of policy was his forestalling of Philip's designs on Byzantium by his embassy thither, probably in the early summer of 341. He thus secured for Athens the friendship and alliance of that important city, the control of the Hellespont, and the protection of her trade with the Euxine. Athens and Byzantium had had so many grounds of enmity, especially since the Social War, that it now required no ordinary diplomatic skill to bring them into friendship<sup>4</sup>. About the same time he negotiated an alliance with Abydos, an old enemy of Athens, and visited the "kings

<sup>1</sup> See IX. 70—end.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting decree of 341—340 B.C. concerning Elaeus, a town on the southern point of the Chersonese, in C. I. Att. II. no. 116: εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἐλαιουσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπ[ερ] ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισται τοῖς Χερρ[ονη]σίταις· τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Χά[ρητα] ἐπιμεληθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ [τρόπ]ῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντ[ες Ἐλα]ιοῖσι τὰ αὐτῶν ὁμῶς καὶ δικ[αίως] οἰκῶσιν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, καὶ καλέσαι το[ὺς Ἐλα]ιοῖσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰ[s τὸ πρυ]τανεῖον εἰς αὐριον. In no. 701 Elaeus and other towns in the Chersonese are recorded as offering crowns to the people of Athens in 347—346. See C. Curtius in *Hermes* IV. 407. Cf. Dem. XXIII. 158. Schaefer (II. 482) refers C. I. Att. nos. 136 and 137 to this time.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. Cor. 59, 88, 218, 298 (*μεγίστων...προστάς*): in Cor. 320 he compares his power at this period with his humble position after Chaeronea, when Aeschines and his party again became powerful and insolent. Aeschines (III. 130) alludes to Demosthenes before Chaeronea as *ἐμπιμπλάμενος τῆς δεδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας*.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. Cor. 88, 94, 244; Aesch. III. 256.

of Thrace," probably Cersobleptes and Teres, who were soon afterwards dethroned by Philip<sup>1</sup>. Later in 341—340 an embassy was sent to the King of Persia, perhaps on the suggestion of Demosthenes, asking for help against Philip; but this was not well received by the King, who sent back to Athens a very insulting letter, refusing his assistance<sup>2</sup>. Embassies were sent also to Rhodes, under Hyperides, and probably to Chios, the effects of which were seen in the help sent to Byzantium when she was besieged by Philip<sup>3</sup>.

Even more important were the embassies to Peloponnesus which were undertaken by Demosthenes with Callias of Chalcis. These resulted in the formation of a powerful league against Philip, which, according to Aeschines, proposed to raise 100 talents, and to equip 100 ships of war, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 1000 horsemen, besides 2000 militia from Peloponnesus and 2000 from Acarnania. The leadership of the league was given to Athens, and a formal meeting of the allies at Athens was appointed for the 16th of Anthesterion (March 9) 340 B.C.<sup>4</sup> We have no further mention of this synod, and we may fairly assume that it was never held. But the proposed forces appear to have been actually raised, as Demosthenes gives the number of the allies in the field as 15,000 mercenaries and 2000 cavalry, besides the militia<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 302<sup>5</sup>; XXIII. 158, 'Αβύδου τῆς τὸν ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν χρόνον ἐχθρᾶς. For the Kings of Thrace see Epist. Phil. 8—10.

<sup>2</sup> See Epist. Phil. 6: this shows that the result of the Persian mission was not yet known. See below, § 67, n. 2. Aeschines (III. 238) probably refers to the King's reply: ἐγὼ ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε. On the contrary, in Vit. X. Orat. 847 F, 848 E, the King is said to have sent 3000 darics to Demosthenes, and also a gift to Hyperides. (A daric, or gold stater, by weight of gold, would be about £1. 2s. 10d.) Aristotle (Rhet. II. 8, 11) mentions money sent by the King to Diopithes, which came after his death. See Schaefer II. 483. It is hard to see why, on the eve of a war with Philip, there was any crime in receiving money or other help from Persia, to be used against a common enemy. "Persian gold" was still a phrase for demagogues to conjure by, a century and a half after the term had any real meaning, as "British gold" still is in certain quarters in the United States.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. IX. 71: ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις [πανταχοῦ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω]. Vit. X. Orat. (Hyper.), p. 850 A: ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥοδίουσιν. A λόγος Ῥοδιακός and probably a Χιακός of Hyperides are mentioned: see frag. 161 and 194 (El.), and Böhmcke, Forschungen I. p. 461 (with note, p. 657). Diod. XVI. 77 mentions help sent to Byzantium by Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, the three islands which had joined her in the Social War. See Schaefer II. 484, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 94—98; Schaefer II. 486—489.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. Cor. 237, where he includes the later Theban allies. He also includes the Leucadians and Corcyraeans, and omits the Ambraciots. For the Acarnanians see



64. These vigorous preparations, which preceded the open outbreak of the war, amply justify the boasts of Demosthenes about the allies and the revenues which were raised for Athens by his influence. One of the most important results of the close union between Demosthenes and Callias was the formal alliance of Athens and the cities of Euboea, which grew out of the treaty for mutual defence made two years before.<sup>1</sup> This alliance was made on a new basis. Instead of bringing back the Euboeans to the Athenian confederacy as tributaries, the wise policy of Demosthenes established a new Euboean confederacy, with Chalcis at its head, as an independent ally of Athens. Aeschines represents this as a corrupt bargain, by which Demosthenes, for a bribe of three talents, cheated Athens out of ten talents of revenue which she ought to have received from Eretria and Oreus.<sup>2</sup> This alliance was closely connected with the expulsion of the two tyrants whom Philip had supported at Oreus and Eretria. In the summer of 341, on the motion of Demosthenes, an expedition was sent to Euboea, which with help from Chalcis and Megara freed Oreus from the tyrant Philistides, who was put to

Aesch. III. 256. The *Ἀριθμὸς βοηθειῶν* (Dem. Cor. 305) probably contained all the forces raised directly or indirectly by Demosthenes. See Cor. 301, 302; and Vit. x. Orat. pp. 845 A, 851 A (decree).

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 234—237.

<sup>2</sup> See § 58.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 94, 100. The nature of the alliance is shown by the criticisms of Aeschines. He sarcastically speaks of the embassy to Eretria, proposed by Demosthenes in his decree "longer than the Iliad," as sent to beg the Eretrians to pay their assessment (*σύνταξις*) not to Athens, but to Callias. This signifies that Clitarchus was making a last effort to maintain himself by contributing to the new Euboean confederation. Aeschines offers, as proof of a bribe of a talent promised (but not paid) by Oreus to Demosthenes, a decree of that city pledging him the public revenues for the payment of that sum with twelve per cent. interest (104). That the payment of a bribe should be secured in this public manner is too absurd a story to be seriously discussed. Schaefer (II. 491, 492) finds a most probable explanation of the decree of Oreus in two Attic inscriptions. In C. I. Att. II. no. 804 B a (334—333 B.C.), twenty-three Athenians, among them Demosthenes, are named as *ἐγγυηταί*. Köhler says of the mutilated introduction, *θεο...γγυηται τ.* "suspicieris scriptum fuisse ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοντος· ἐγγυηταί τούτων κ.τ.λ." This is made almost certain by no. 809 c, 42 (325—324 B.C.), where payments are recorded from 15 of the same men, including Demosthenes, *παρὰ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν τῶν τριήρων ὧν οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἔλαβον ἀπελάβομεν*. These men evidently had given security for money advanced by Athens to Chalcis, in 340—339 B.C., to enable her to supply her quota of ships to the new confederacy; and it is probable that Demosthenes was likewise security for a talent lent to Oreus for the same purpose, and that the town gave him security for the principal and interest. We may well say, with Aeschines (III. 75), *καλὸν, καλὸν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή*.

death<sup>1</sup>. Several months later a more decisive expedition was sent under Phocion. On a report that Philip was about to invade Euboea with his fleet, Hyperides raised a fleet of forty ships for Athens by voluntary contributions. He gave two triremes, one for himself and one for his son<sup>2</sup>. Though Philip made no attack on Euboea, this fleet was sent under Phocion, on the motion of Demosthenes, to liberate Eretria from Philip's tyrant Clitarchus. This was soon effected, and Clitarchus was put to death<sup>3</sup>. This completed the liberation of Euboea from despotism and from Philip's influence, and made the island a firm friend and supporter of Athens. The Athenians expressed their gratitude to Demosthenes for these successful labours by the gift of a crown of gold, which was conferred in the theatre, at the Great Dionysia of 340, in the very terms which were subsequently used by Ctesiphon in his own decree<sup>4</sup>.

65. About this time, a man from Oreus, Anaxinus, who came to Athens ostensibly to make purchases for Queen Olympias, was arrested as a spy and examined under torture through the action of Demosthenes, who also moved his condemnation to death. Aeschines mentions this proceeding as an outrage upon an innocent visitor, whose hospitality Demosthenes had once enjoyed at Oreus; and he implies that the affair

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 79<sup>8</sup>, τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον: cf. 87. Charax fr. 31 (Müll. III. 643): Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα Χαλκιδεῦσι...καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Ὀρεὸν Φιλιστίδην τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ὀρείτας ἠλευθέρωσαν. Schaefer II. 491, n. 1, quotes the new scholia on Aesch. III. 85 (Jahrb. für Philol. 1866, p. 28), assigning June 341 as the date of this event. In Dem. IX. 66 (before midsummer 341) we find Philistides in full power at Oreus.

<sup>2</sup> Vit. X. Orat. 850 A (Hyper. 24): Φιλίππου δὲ πλεῖν ἐπ' Εὐβοίας παρεσκευασμένον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐλαβῶς ἔχόντων, τεσσαράκοντα τριήρεις ἤθροισεν ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως, καὶ πρῶτος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπέδωκε δύο τριήρεις. In the next year (340—339) we find Hyperides an appointed trierarch in command of an ἐπίδοσιμος τριήρης, named Ἀνδρεία: see C. I. Att. II. no. 809 d, 236 (also 808 c, 98), τῶν μετὰ Φωκίωνος καὶ Κηφισοφῶντος πλευσασῶν ἐπίδοσιμος τριήρης Ἀνδρεία τριήραρχος Ὑπερείδης, with Vit. X. Orat. 848 E (Hyperides, 5), τριήραρχός τε αἰρεθεὶς ὅτε Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει Φιλίππος, βοηθὸς Βυζαντίοις ἐκπεμφθεὶς κ.τ.λ. Hyperides probably commanded at Byzantium one of the triremes which he had given for Euboea the year before.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XVI. 74 (under 341—340 B.C.): Φωκίων μὲν κατεπολέμησε Κλείταρχον τὸν Ἐρετριάς τύραννον καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. See new schol. to Aesch. III. 103 (note 1, above): ἐπ' ἀρχόντος Νικομάχου (341—340), Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος κ', Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Εὐβοίαν Φωκίωνος στρατηγούντος τὸν τε τύραννον τῶν Ἐρετρίων Κλείταρχον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἐρετριεῦσι παρέδωκαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν. (See Schaefer II. 495, n. 3.) Eretria was probably freed in the spring of 340 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> See Dem. Cor. 83<sup>2-4</sup>, with note.

interfered in some way with an *εἰσαγγελία* which he was about to bring against Demosthenes. Demosthenes alludes to the case chiefly to mention that Aeschines was detected in a private interview with Anaxinus in the house of one Thrason: and the suspicion thus cast on the patriotism of Aeschines may have caused him prudently to abandon his prosecution of Demosthenes. Schaefer is probably right in connecting this affair with the efforts of Philip to maintain his ascendancy in Euboea<sup>1</sup>.

66. The dispute between Athens and Philip about Halonnesus in 343—342 left the island in Philip's hands, as Athens refused to take it as a gift from him, while he refused to "restore" it. At last, probably in 341—340, the people of Peparethus seized Halonnesus and made the Macedonian garrison prisoners. Philip soon avenged this act by sending a fleet to ravage Peparethus. Athens then directed her commanders to make reprisals upon Philip. This shortly preceded the outbreak of the war<sup>2</sup>.

Before midsummer 340 it was generally recognized throughout Greece that war was inevitable. At the Olympic games of this year, it is said, the name of Philip was received with hisses and other insults<sup>3</sup>. Philip was then engaged in the conquest of Thrace, and had come to the point where the possession of Byzantium was indispensable to him if he was to invade Persia and secure a safe passage for his army into Asia Minor and a safe return. It was also of the utmost importance for him to become master of the grain traffic of the Euxine. He now called on the Byzantines, as his friends and former allies, to promise him their aid in his pending war with Athens. But here his way was blocked by the alliance already made by Demosthenes with Byzantium, and she refused to join him<sup>4</sup>. Upon this he resolved to secure her by force: and he began by attacking the neighbouring city of Perinthus on the Propontis. To this end he sent his fleet through the Hellespont, and he guarded it against attack during its passage by marching an

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 223, 224; Dem. Cor. 137. Demosthenes must have acted here in some official capacity, as in the case of Antiphon in 344 (see § 53, above). Demosthenes was probably a guest of Anaxinus on some official visit to Oreus, perhaps on one of the embassies of 346 (see Dem. XIX. 155, 163), when Anaxinus may have been the *πρόξενος* of Athens. The reply of Demosthenes to Aeschines with regard to the violation of hospitality is thus given (Aesch. III. 224): *ἔφησθα τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης.*

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 70<sup>1</sup>; see the Schol. (p. 248<sup>5</sup>); Epist. Phil. [Dem. XII.] 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Moral. p. 457 F, Phil. Apophth. (26), p. 179 A.

<sup>4</sup> See § 63 (above); Dem. Cor. 87.



army through the Chersonese to keep the Athenians well employed on shore<sup>1</sup>.

67. Perinthus was attacked vigorously (probably late in the summer of 340) by land and by sea, but it was also vigorously defended. Though Philip brought to the siege an army of 30,000 men, besides his large fleet, and employed the most improved engines of war and towers two hundred feet high, the defenders were finally successful. They were constantly aided by their neighbours of Byzantium, and at last by a force sent by the King of Persia<sup>2</sup>; though no help came from Athens or any other Greek city. Philip at length decided to abandon the siege. But he still hoped to surprise Byzantium, which was his real object, by a sudden attack. The better and larger part of the Byzantine army was at Perinthus, and the people who were left at home were little to be feared. He therefore left about half his army at Perinthus, under his best commander, to make a show of continuing the siege, while he hastened with the rest to Byzantium and began to besiege it (in the autumn of 340) with all his skill. The Byzantines were at first greatly alarmed; but timely help came to them from a powerful friend. Athens was now openly at war with Philip, and her naval power soon came to the help of her new ally. A fleet under Chares, which was previously cruising in the northern Aegean, was sent to Byzantium, and was followed by another under Phocion, which was more powerful and more efficient. Chios, Cos, and Rhodes also sent their help. Byzantium was rescued, and Philip wisely abandoned this second siege<sup>3</sup>. By some

<sup>1</sup> Cor. 139<sup>4</sup>. See Epist. Phil. 16: *ἡναγκάσθη αὐτὰς παραπέμψαι διὰ Χερρονήσου τῇ στρατιᾷ.*

<sup>2</sup> Whether this efficient help to Perinthus was the result of the Athenian embassy which Ochus repulsed a year earlier (see § 63) is not known. The King now seems to take great personal interest in checking Philip. See Diod. XVI. 75: *ὁ βασιλεὺς... ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ σατράπας βοηθεῖν Περυνθίοις παντὶ σθένει.* Cf. Paus. I. 29, 10. In Alexander's letter, Arrian II. 14, 5, Ochus himself is said to have sent a force distinct from that sent by his satraps: *Περυνθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οὐ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἡδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὀχλος.*

<sup>3</sup> For the details of the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, of which only the latter is mentioned by Demosthenes (Cor. 71, 87), and for Philip's improved engines of war, see Schaefer II. 502, 503, 507—513, with the authorities cited. The inscriptions in C. I. Att. II. nos. 808 c, 82, and 809 d, 220 and 236—238 (also in Boeckh, Seewesen, pp. 442, 498) show that Chares was in command of a fleet in 341—340, and Phocion in 340—339. As we know that Chares was present at the siege of Byzantium, which began in 340—339, it appears that his command extended into this year. See Porphyr. Tyr. (Müller III. p. 692): *συμμαχοῦντων δὲ Βυζαντίοις Ἀθηναίων διὰ Χάρητος στρατηγοῦ, ἀποτυχῶν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον*

skilful device his fleet eluded the Athenian ships in the Bosphorus, and escaped into the Aegean<sup>1</sup>. He left the greater part of his army for a time before Byzantium, and went with the rest to the Chersonese, partly to harass the Athenian settlers there and partly to protect his fleet in its passage through the Hellespont<sup>2</sup>.

68. The peril of Perinthus and Byzantium had probably hastened the formal acknowledgment by Athens of the actual state of war between herself and Philip. In the late summer or early autumn of 340, probably after the siege of Perinthus was begun, Philip sent to the Athenians a long letter, full of complaints of their aggressions and justifications of his own<sup>3</sup>. To this communication, which ended in a declaration of war<sup>4</sup>, Athens replied only by her own declaration of war and a vote to remove the column on which the treaty of 346 B.C. was inscribed<sup>5</sup>. The special

*χωρεῖ, καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν ἐπανῆλθε.* See note 2 (below). See also Hesych. Miles. frag. 28 (Müller IV. p. 151). Plutarch (Phoc. 14) speaks of Chares as inefficient and as despised by the enemy; but other (later) authorities take a different view. Hesych. Miles. (above cited), of the sixth century, represents Chares as holding the headland between Chrysopolis and Chalcedon (now Scutari), opposite the Golden Horn, and thus commanding the entrance to Byzantium. On this headland Damalis, the wife of Chares, was buried; and her monument, with a heifer (*δάμαλις*) on an altar, was seen by Hesychius. Chares is said to have driven the Macedonian fleet into the Euxine. For the siege of Byzantium, and the help brought by Phocion, see Plut. Phoc. 14. Demosthenes always speaks with great pride of this relief of Byzantium, which he had effected: Cor. 80, 87, 88, 93, 302. He himself gave a trireme to the fleet sent to Byzantium: see Vit. X. Orat. 851 A (decree).

<sup>1</sup> See Schaefer II. 514, with explanation of Polyænus (IV. 2, 21).

<sup>2</sup> See Porph. Tyr., quoted in n. 3, p. 282, and Justin IX. 1: *profectus cum fortissimis multas Chersonensi urbes expugnat.*

<sup>3</sup> A document purporting to be this letter appears as no. XII. among the orations of Demosthenes. This is accepted as genuine, at least in substance, by Grote, Weil, and Blass, though not by Schaefer, who thinks it is the work of a rhetorician, though based on good materials. Of course the document found in Cor. 77, 78 is spurious.

<sup>4</sup> See the last sentence, *ὕμᾱς ἀμνοῦμαι μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου κ.τ.λ.* (this declaration is without qualification).

<sup>5</sup> See Philochorus in Dion. Hal. ad Amm. I. pp. 740, 741 (frag. 135, Müller I. p. 406): *Θεόφραστος Ἀλλαιεύς ἐπὶ τούτου (i.e. 340—339 B.C.) Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περὶνθω προσέβαλεν, ἀποτυχὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ μηχανήματα προσῆγεν.* Dion. Hal. proceeds: *Ἐπειτα διεξέλιθον ὅσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐνεκάλει διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ Δημοσθένους παρακαλέσαντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ψηφίσματα γράψαντος, ἐχειροτόνησε τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν, ναῦς δὲ πληροῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.* In this valuable fragment it is obvious that there is some corruption or omission in the words *Δημοσθένους...ἐχειροτόνησε*. *ψηφίσματα* is commonly changed to *ψηφίσμα*, thus making the passage confirm the statement

occasion alleged by Demosthenes for the declaration of war was the capture of some Athenian merchant ships by Philip's cruisers in the Hellespont<sup>1</sup>; but war had been an avowed fact on both sides many weeks before it was declared.

When the Byzantine war was ended by the help of Athens and the wise counsels of Demosthenes, the gratitude of Perinthus, Byzantium, and the towns in the Chersonese was expressed to Athens as their deliverer by votes of thanks and crowns<sup>2</sup>.

69. When Philip returned from his expedition to the Chersonese to his camp before Byzantium, he withdrew his army from that neighbourhood. We have very scanty accounts of his movements from this time (probably early in 339 B.C.) until we find him the next summer fighting with the Scythians and the Triballi. We can only conjecture why, just at the beginning of a war with Athens on the success of which everything was staked, and after suffering two mortifying repulses, Philip

of Aeschines (III. 55) that Demosthenes proposed the declaration of war (*ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον*). But Demosthenes (Cor. 76) most emphatically denies this, though he claims the authorship of the chief measures which really led to the war. This is consistent with *ψηφίσματα γράψαντος*, referring generally to war measures; but it is incredible that war was actually *declared* on his motion, as this would be a notorious matter of record which he could not deny and had no motive for denying. Further, *ἐχειροτόνησε* (sc. *ὁ δῆμος*) may be the beginning of a new quotation from Philochorus, so that no emendations are needed, though the preceding sentence is incomplete. The *στήλη* on which the treaty of 346 was inscribed is mentioned in Dem. VIII. 5 (end) and Epist. Phil. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 73; Diod. XVI. 77: *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων (340—339 B.C.) Φιλίππου Βυζάντιον πολιορκούντος Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἔκριναν τὸν Φίλιππον λευκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συντεθείσων εἰρήνην, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν ἀξιόλογον ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις*. Diodorus thus puts the declaration of war while the siege of Byzantium was going on. This agrees with the facts that Athens sent no help to Perinthus, but when Byzantium was attacked she immediately sent her fleet under Chares to defend it. It is true that Philip's letter does not mention the siege of Perinthus; but it does mention (16) the passage of Philip's army through the Chersonese "to escort his fleet," which was on its way to attack Perinthus. This shows (so far as the document is authority) that the letter was probably written during the siege of Perinthus, so that the response of Athens, the most important part of which was the *immediate* sending (Diod.) of her fleet to Byzantium, was probably made when the news of its siege first came to Athens (in the autumn of 340). Again, the allusion in the letter (6, 7) to the appeal of Athens to the King of Persia for help, without mentioning the efficient aid sent by him to Perinthus (see 67), shows that the letter was written before the siege was raised. We can thus reduce the date of the letter and of the declaration of war which followed it to very narrow limits. Although the quotations from Philochorus (in note 5, p. 283) mention the letter and the declaration of war after *both* sieges, there is nothing to show that he placed the events themselves in this order.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 89—93. The votes were read to the court.



should have undertaken an expedition against these outside barbarians, leaving Athens and Demosthenes to enjoy the fruits of their diplomatic successes. He may have felt the necessity of protecting his possessions in Thrace, or even Macedonia itself, against a possible invasion from the north; or he may have merely wished to give his defeated troops a taste of easy victory and rich booty. An unimportant quarrel with Ateas, a Scythian king, gave him a ground for invading his dominions: and the king himself—according to one account, nearly ninety years old—was defeated on the Danube and killed. Philip carried off as booty 20,000 boys and women, much cattle, and 20,000 breeding mares. On his return from Scythia, he passed through the country of the Triballi, with whom he had previously been in conflict<sup>1</sup>. These warlike mountaineers attacked him furiously; and in the battle he was severely wounded, his horse was killed under him, and he was thought to be dead. In the panic which followed, the Triballi took possession of the precious booty from Scythia. Thus again humiliated, Philip returned to Macedonia in the course of the summer of 339<sup>2</sup>.

About the time of the renewal of war with Philip, Demosthenes proposed and carried his important trierarchic reform, by which the navy of Athens was put on a new footing and many old abuses were corrected. It was under this new system of trierarchy that all the fleets were fitted out during the war, and its success in removing grievances is described by Demosthenes with glowing pride and satisfaction<sup>3</sup>.

#### V. THE WAR WITH PHILIP, FROM 340 B.C. TO THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA IN 338.

70. When Philip returned from Scythia in the summer of 339 B.C., he found that the war had been waged on both sides for nearly a year without decisive results. Though the Athenians had generally been

<sup>1</sup> See Dem. Cor. 44<sup>1</sup> with note, and § 51 (above).

<sup>2</sup> Our only account of this Scythian expedition, except a few incidental allusions, is found in Justin IX. 2 and prologue to IX. See also Lucian, *Macrob.* 11: 'Ατέας δὲ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἔπεσεν, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς. The brief story is confirmed by Aeschines (III. 128), when he says of Philip in the summer of 339, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος. Not much later, at the time of the regular meeting of the Amphictyonic Council (Aug. or Sept.), he had already returned, and he was then made general of the Amphictyons (Dem. Cor. 152; Aesch. III. 129).

<sup>3</sup> Cor. 102—108: see note on 103<sup>2</sup>.

defeated in such land battles as had occurred, yet the Macedonians felt severely their naval weakness, by which they suffered a constant blockade of their coast without being able to retaliate by attacking Athens by sea<sup>1</sup>. It was obviously impossible for Philip to invade Attica by land without the coöperation of both Thessaly and Thebes, and his relations with them did not warrant even a proposal to this end. Thessaly had been alienated by the abolition of her free governments and the establishment of a decadarchy and tetrarchies<sup>2</sup>; and Thebes, though she had gained the lion's share of the spoils at the end of the Sacred War, was deeply offended by the loss of Nicaea in the pass of Thermopylae, which Philip gave to Thessaly, and of her own colony Echinus, which Philip had taken for himself<sup>3</sup>. Without the consent of Thessaly he could not command the pass of Thermopylae; and without Thebes he could not use the fertile plain of Boeotia for military operations and for the support of his army on his way to or from Attica. He needed therefore some device for securing the active aid of both. Some undertaking which would unite the two in a common interest with himself seemed indispensable<sup>4</sup>. Such was Philip's perplexity when he found himself again at war with Athens after six years of nominal peace. When he departed for Scythia (§ 69) this problem was still unsolved, though possibly he may already have confided to Aeschines directly or indirectly some practical hints for its solution. However this may have been, it so happened that before Philip's return Aeschines had suddenly stirred up an Amphictyonic war, which delivered him from all his difficulties and opened the way for himself and his army into the very heart of Greece<sup>5</sup>. He had passed Thermopylae in triumph in 346 as the champion of the God of Delphi; he was now to enter Greece a second time clothed with the same sacred authority, to aid the Amphictyonic Council in punishing new offenders who were openly defying their commands.

71. We are here reduced to the alternative of believing either that Aeschines deliberately devised this Amphictyonic war in order to give Philip a free passage into Greece, or at least took advantage of a slight incident at Delphi to excite a general conflict, or else that he ignorantly and recklessly roused a war which could have no other end than bringing Philip into Greece at the head of an army. The latter alternative is generally rejected; and indeed it attributes to Aeschines

<sup>1</sup> See Cor. 145, 146.

<sup>2</sup> See above §§ 51, 60.

<sup>3</sup> See IX. 34 (w. Schol.); Aesch. III. 140; Schaefer II. 538, 539.

<sup>4</sup> Cor. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Cor. 149.

a reckless ignorance of Greek politics with which we have no right to charge him. We are almost wholly dependent on his own graphic narrative for the facts as to the origin of this baneful war, and he must be condemned, if at all, on his own testimony<sup>1</sup>. And this evidence, in my opinion, strongly confirms the view of Demosthenes, that Philip saw that his appointment as commander in an Amphictyonic war was the surest way in which he could march an army into Greece without the opposition of Thessaly or Thebes; that such a war would be useless to him if it were stirred up by any of his own delegates or friends; and that he must employ an Athenian to devise a scheme which should secure this end without exciting suspicion in the Amphictyonic Council. At all events, Aeschines was ready at Delphi to do him this very service.

72. In the archonship of Theophrastus (340—339), the Athenian delegation to the spring meeting of the Amphictyonic Council consisted of Diognetus, the Hieromnemon of the year, and three Pylagori, Midias, the old enemy of Demosthenes, Thrasyclus, and Aeschines<sup>2</sup>. These four were present at the meeting in Delphi, when Diognetus and Midias were attacked by fever and Aeschines suddenly found himself in a position of great importance. The Athenian delegates had been privately informed that the Locrians of Amphissa intended to propose a vote in the Council to fine Athens fifty talents because she had re-gilded and affixed to the newly-built temple of Delphi<sup>3</sup> some shields, probably

<sup>1</sup> Aeschines tells how he stirred up the Amphictyons to war in III. 107—124; and he slurs over the highly important matter of the appointment of Philip as commander in 128, 129, without expressly mentioning the appointment. Demosthenes, Cor. 149—152, alludes briefly to the Amphictyonic meeting at Delphi, being in essential agreement with Aeschines as to the main facts, and to Philip's appointment; in 163—179 and 211—218 he gives the subsequent events which led to the alliance of Athens and Thebes and those which followed that alliance.

<sup>2</sup> For the constitution of the Amphictyonic Council and the distinction of the two classes of delegates, Hieromnemons and Pylagori, see Essay V. Athens was represented as the most important member of the Ionic race. Among the inscriptions recently found at Delphi is a fragment, assigned to 341—340 B.C., containing the letters ΙΩΝΩΝΔΙΟΓΝ...ΝΑΙΟΥ, obviously Ἴώνων, Διογνήτου Ἀθηναίου. Can this be the same Diognetus who was the Hieromnemon of Athens at Delphi in the spring of 339 B.C.? Bourguet, the editor, hesitates about the Delphic date. See Bull. de Corresp. Hellén. 1896, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> See Aesch. III. 116, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξαρῆσασθαι. This "new temple" was not the temple built by the Alcmaeonidae two centuries before, nor any addition to that building made after the Phocian War. The temple built by the Alcmaeonidae was destroyed early in the fourth century B.C. In 371 B.C., just before the battle of Leuctra, the Spartans were advised to ask for contributions for rebuilding the temple, περιηγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς



relics of the battle of Plataea, and had renewed the old inscription, Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο. This renewal of the ancient disgrace of Thebes in fighting on the side of the Persians at Plataea was, it must be confessed, neither a friendly nor a politic act of Athens; it shows the exasperation between Thebes and Athens which followed the victory of Leuctra. But this was of little consequence now. The Hieromnemon sent for Aeschines, and asked him to attend the Amphictyonic meeting on that day in his place, as if he were a delegate with full powers, and defend Athens against the Locrian accusation. Aeschines was therefore present at the meeting by special authority. As he began to speak, apparently referring in some excitement to the threatened charge against Athens, he was rudely interrupted by an Amphissian, who protested against the very mention of the Athenians, declaring that they should be shut out of the temple as accursed because of their alliance with the Phocians. Aeschines replied in great anger; and among other retorts "it occurred to him" to mention the impiety of the Amphissians in encroaching on the sacred

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅπως βούλοιο ἐκάστη πόλις. See Xen. Hell. VI. 4, 2. In an Attic decree of 369—368 (C. I. Att. II. no. 51), relating to the tyrant Dionysius, it was voted, περὶ μὲν τῶν γραμμάτων ὧν ἐπεμψεν Διονύσιος, τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοὺς συμμάχους δόγμα εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. See Köhler, Hermes XXVI. p. 45 (note), who refers to a Delphic inscription in the Mittheil. d. deutsch. Instit. (Athen), 1880, p. 203, relating to the restoration of the temple: Köhler thinks this inscription cannot be much later than the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C. In the Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén. for 1896, Homolle gives a history of the various temples of Delphi, based on the latest discoveries of the French: see pp. 677—701, Le καὶνὸς νεῶς (built in the fourth century B.C.). He publishes the inscription above mentioned and discusses it at length. His conclusions are generally confirmatory of what was already known: (1) the old temple was destroyed about 373—372 B.C. by an earthquake (not by fire, as had been assumed); (2) a general subscription was opened in 371 for rebuilding the temple; (3) in 351—347 the building was erected as far as the epistyles (see below); (4) in 339 the new temple, not yet dedicated, was in a condition to receive the shields which the Athenians affixed to its architraves; (5) the temple was finished in 330—329. Two inscriptions are published in the same volume of the Bulletin: see I. 28, 29, τριγλύφων δωδέκα and ἐπιστυλίων ἕξ, on which Bourguet (p. 217) remarks, On sait que l'édifice auquel étaient destinées ces pièces d'architecture est le temple lui-même. Onze de ces triglyphes et cinq de ces épistyles étaient ceux de fronton Ouest; le douzième triglyphe et le sixième épistyle, ceux du retour d'angle S. O.

The disputed expression (Aesch. III. 116), ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καὶνὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξαρέσασθαι (the reading now generally adopted), is referred by Köhler to some religious ceremony of dedication: see θύσαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἀρεστήριον in C. I. Att. II. no. 403, 45, also Add. 405 b, 16. For εἰσέφερον δόγμα (Aesch. III. 116) and δίκην ἐπαγόντων (Dem. Cor. 150<sup>4</sup>) see note on the latter passage.

and accursed plains of Cirrha, which had been solemnly devoted to everlasting sterility and desolation by the Amphictyonic Council about 250 years before, on the motion of Solon<sup>1</sup>, at the end of the first Sacred War.

73. Cirrha was the ancient seaport of Delphi on the Gulf of Corinth, while Crissa (often confounded with it) was a town on the height above the river Pleistus, on the road to Delphi (near the modern *Χρυσό*). The broad plain of Cirrha, one of the most fertile in Greece, lay between the foot of Parnassus and the coast, and was called by both names Cirrhaean and Crissaeon. In obedience to the Amphictyonic curse, Cirrha with its harbour was destroyed, and the plain had remained uncultivated until recently, when the Amphissians had re-established the ancient port as a convenient landing-place for visitors to Delphi, and levied tolls on those who used it. They had also cultivated a part of the accursed plain and erected buildings upon it. The Amphictyons seem to have quietly acquiesced in this violation of the sacred edict, doubtless seeing the advantage of the newly opened port to themselves and others, and thinking little of the almost forgotten curse. But they were not proof against the arts and eloquence of an accomplished Athenian orator, who ingeniously presented the case in impassioned language and with powerful appeals to the prejudices and the bigotry of an antiquated religious assembly, with which a venerable curse had greater weight than the strongest political motives or the abstract idea of Hellenic unity. From the hill near Delphi where the Amphictyonic Council sat under the open sky, there is a magnificent view of the sacred plain, extending to the gulf of Corinth. Here Aeschines stood in the excited assembly, and showed them the plantations and buildings of the Amphissians on the forbidden land; and he caused the terrific imprecations of the ancient curse to be repeated, which declared any man, city, or state, which should cultivate or occupy the plain of Cirrha, accursed of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena, and devoted to utter destruction with their houses and their race. He reminded them that

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 115—118. The destruction of Cirrha and the consecration of its plain took place in 586 B.C., at the end of the ten years' Sacred War. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*)

<sup>2</sup> The walls of Crissa, enclosing a large space on the brink of the cliff, are still to be seen, though buried and overgrown so as often to escape observation. They are an excellent example of the wall-building with which Thucydides (I. 93) contrasts the walls of Themistocles, consisting of two thin shells of stone, with rubble and clay between them. Apparent remains of the moles of the accursed harbour of Cirrha are also to be seen on the shore of the gulf.

the same curse was invoked on all who should permit others to violate the sacred edict. We cannot wonder that the whole assemblage was fired with fierce enthusiasm to avenge the wrongs of Apollo upon the sacrilegious Amphissians. When Aeschines had finished his speech, as he tells the court, the question of the Athenian shields was wholly forgotten, and the only thought was of the punishment of the Amphissians. The flame had now been kindled, which was to end in the conflagration that Philip was eager to see. An Amphictyonic war was begun, which could be ended only by the intervention of Philip and his army. Thebes and Thessaly could now be united in a common cause with Philip<sup>1</sup>.

74. Late in the day the meeting adjourned; and a herald was ordered to proclaim that all Delphians, freemen and slaves, above the age of eighteen, should meet the next morning at daybreak with spades and picks, ready for serious work; that all the Amphictyonic delegates (of both classes) should convene at the same place, "to aid the God and the sacred land"; and that any state which failed to obey should be accursed and excluded from the temple. This Amphictyonic mob assembled and descended to the plain, where they burned the houses and destroyed the moles which enclosed the harbour. On their way back to Delphi, they were attacked by a crowd from Amphissa, which lay about seven miles west of Delphi, and barely escaped with their lives: some of the Council were captured. The next day an Amphictyonic Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) was summoned, consisting of the delegates and all other citizens of Amphictyonic states who happened to be at Delphi. This body voted that the Hieromnemons, after consulting their respective states, should meet at Thermopylae at some time before the regular autumnal meeting of the Council, prepared to take some definite action concerning the Amphissians<sup>2</sup>. When this vote was first reported at Athens by her delegates, the people "took the pious side" (as Aeschines calls it); but a few days later, after a little consideration and when the influence of Demosthenes had prevailed, it was voted that the Athenian delegates "should proceed to Thermopylae and Delphi at the times appointed by our ancestors," and further that no Athenian delegates should take any part in the irregular meeting at Thermopylae, "either in speech or in action." This wise step precluded Athens in the most public manner from taking any part in the mad Sacred War which

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 119—122.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the obscure words (Aesch. 124), *ἔχοντας δόγμα (?) καθ' ὃ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς*.



Aeschines had stirred up : in his own words, "it forbids you to remember the oaths which your ancestors swore, or the curse, or the oracle of the God<sup>1</sup>."

75. The appointed meeting was held at Thermopylae, with no representatives from Athens, and (what was more ominous for Philip's designs) with none from Thebes. It was voted to make war upon the Amphissians, and Cottyphus, the president of the Council, was made commander. The Amphissians at first yielded, and were fined and ordered to banish the leading rebels. But they paid no fine, and soon restored their exiles, and banished again "the pious" whom the Amphictyons had restored. The regular autumnal meeting of the Council found things in this condition ; and it is hard to believe that the leaders in this miserable business expected any other issue. As Grote says of Cottyphus, he "could not do anything—probably did not wish to do anything—without the intervention of Philip." The Council was told plainly and with truth, that they must either raise a mercenary army and levy a tax on their states to pay for it, fining all who refused to do their part, or else make Philip the Amphictyonic general. It is not surprising that Philip was at once elected<sup>2</sup>. We are now just beyond the point at which Aeschines thought it wise to stop in his exciting narrative. When he told of the first expedition against Amphissa under the command of Cottyphus, he added that Philip was then "away off in Scythia," so that of course he was in nobody's mind. After this, he could not talk of Philip's election a few weeks later without an absurd anti-climax, which would be all the more ridiculous when he was compelled to add that the first act of the new Amphictyonic general in this pious war was one of open hostility to Athens and Thebes. Accordingly he does not mention in this narrative either the appointment of Philip or the seizure of Elatea which immediately followed his appointment. Instead of stating these important facts, the direct results of his own deliberate action, he bursts forth with a new flood of eloquence and dilates on the terrible omens and the more terrible calamities which followed the refusal of Athens to take the leadership in the holy war against Amphissa, to which she was divinely called by the voice of Heaven : and he once alludes to Elatea in the vaguest manner, without hinting that its seizure by Philip was an event for which he was himself even in the slightest degree responsible<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 122—127.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 152: see the whole description 149—153.

<sup>3</sup> See the end of 129, with its mysterious and obscure language, and the preceding narrative. For the allusion to Elatea see 140.

76. Demosthenes, as we have seen, describes the action of Aeschines in stirring up the new Sacred War very briefly, representing it as a deliberate plot, devised by Philip and executed by Aeschines, for securing Philip and his army free admission into Greece to attack Athens. He mentions the choice of Philip as general after the failure of the first campaign against Amphissa, and adds that Philip immediately collected an army and entered Greece, professedly bound for the plain of Cirrha; but that he suddenly bade the Cirrhaeans and Locrians a long farewell, and seized and fortified Elatea. This old Phocian town, which had been dismantled in 346 B.C., held a military position of the greatest importance for Philip's plans. It stood at the outlet of one of the chief passes leading from Thermopylae, and it commanded the broad plain through which the Cephissus flows on its way to Boeotia. It was also the key to the rough roads leading westward to Doris and Amphissa. From this point Philip threatened both Athens and Thebes so directly as to leave no doubt of his purpose in entering Greece. He hoped that the traditional feud between Athens and Thebes would bring Thebes into his alliance; but he trusted to his commanding position on the frontier of Boeotia to convince her that her only hope of safety lay in his friendship. The prospect of Boeotia being the seat of war was an alarming one, from which a united invasion of Attica by Thebes and Philip was the only sure escape<sup>1</sup>. Demosthenes states that the Macedonian party in both Athens and Thebes had long been fomenting discord between the two cities, which were now so estranged that Philip felt that there was no possibility of their uniting against him. The public documents quoted as proof of this enmity are unfortunately lost<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time with his seizure of Elatea (in the late autumn of 339) Philip took possession of Cytinium, one of the towns of the ancient Dorian Tetrapolis near Parnassus<sup>3</sup>.

77. We are almost wholly dependent on Demosthenes for what we know of the skilful diplomacy by which Thebes was secured as an ally of Athens against Philip<sup>4</sup>. This was the crowning achievement of the political life of Demosthenes, and he always alludes to it with honest pride. We have his own graphic story of the wild excitement at Athens

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 163—168.

<sup>3</sup> See Philoch. frag. 135, under *Λυσιμαχίδης* (archon 339—338): *ἐπὶ τούτου... Φιλίππου καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας*. For the Dorian Tetrapolis see Grote II. 387, 388.

<sup>4</sup> See Dem. Cor. 169—188, 211—216.

when a messenger at evening brought the news from Elatea, and of the solemn meeting of the people the next morning when he made his speech, full of dignified eloquence, by which he laid the foundation for a right understanding with Thebes and secured the appointment of a friendly embassy, of which he was himself the leader. He then describes briefly but clearly the critical negotiations with Thebes, which ended in a treaty of alliance. We are not informed of the details of this treaty; but the carping criticisms of Aeschines indicate that the liberal spirit towards Thebes which inspired Demosthenes in his first proposals was felt in all the negotiations. Aeschines gives one important item, designed to protect the alliance against the defection of any Boeotian cities to Philip. This provided that in case of any such defection "Athens would stand by the Boeotians at Thebes<sup>1</sup>." Demosthenes brings forward a letter addressed by Philip to his former friends in Peloponnesus when the Thebans deserted him, in which he solicits their help on the ground that he is waging an Amphictyonic war in a holy cause<sup>2</sup>. During the campaign which followed, Demosthenes appears to have had equal influence at Athens and at Thebes. Theopompus says that the generals at Athens and the Boeotarchs at Thebes were equally obedient to his commands, and that the public assembly of Thebes was ruled by him as absolutely as that of Athens<sup>3</sup>.

78. Of the campaign itself very little is known. We hear of one "winter battle" and one "battle by the river," in which the allies were victorious<sup>4</sup>. These victories were celebrated by festivals and thanksgivings; and they caused Philip to renew his solicitations for help in letters to the Peloponnesians<sup>5</sup>. The alliance with Thebes was so popular in Athens, that Demosthenes, as its author, was publicly crowned at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 338<sup>6</sup>. The allies suffered one serious defeat near Amphissa, which Philip—perhaps for the sake of

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 156, 158.

<sup>3</sup> Theopomp. fr. 239: see Plut. Dem. 18: *ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγούς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιούντας τὸ προσταττόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων.* Theopompus adds *ἀδίκως* and *παρ' ἀξίαν*, which Plutarch corrects to *καὶ παρ' ἰσότητος*. This is a continuation of the passage quoted in § 78, n. 4, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. Cor. 216, 217. See inscriptions in which Athenians are honoured for bravery in battles in this year, C. I. Att. II. no. 562, with Köhler's remarks. See Schaefer II. 556.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. Cor. 218, 222.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 222, 223.



appearances—finally attacked. By a cunning stratagem, Philip caused the Greeks to withdraw from the passes leading to Amphissa, while he marched through them and destroyed the allied army which met him on the other side. This consisted of a Theban force under Proxenus, and 10,000 mercenaries under Chares whom Athens had sent to protect Amphissa. Philip attacked these two forces separately and destroyed them easily<sup>1</sup>. He then took Amphissa and destroyed it<sup>2</sup>. He also captured Naupactus, put to death the Achaean garrison with its commander Pausanias, and gave the town to the Aetolians, thus fulfilling a promise which he had made four years before<sup>3</sup>. At some time during this campaign, perhaps after his victory at Amphissa, he sent a herald with proposals of peace to Thebes and Athens, which, it appears, the Boeotarchs were at first inclined to entertain. Even at Athens a peace-party appeared, with Phocion as its advocate<sup>4</sup>. Aeschines relates that Demosthenes was so disturbed by the peace-movement at Thebes, that he threatened to propose a bill to send an embassy to Thebes to ask for the Athenian army a free passage through Boeotia to attack Philip<sup>5</sup>. We hear no more of this movement, and a visit of Demosthenes to Thebes probably brought it to an end.

79. Our accounts of the battle of Chaeronea are as meagre as those of the preceding campaign. We depend chiefly on Diodorus, who devotes the greater part of his short account to the exploits of the young Alexander, then eighteen years old, to whom his father gave the command of one wing, "supported by his most distinguished generals<sup>6</sup>." This decisive battle was fought on the seventh of Metageitnion, the

<sup>1</sup> Polyæn. IV. 2, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. (end); Strab. 427, κατέσπασαν δ' αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. See Aesch. III. 147.

<sup>3</sup> See Schaefer II. 559, with n. 2. He thus restores (from Suid., φρουρήσεις ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, and Zenobius, Paroem. Gr. VI. 33) Theopomp. frag. 46: Φίλιππος ἐλὼν Ναύπακτον Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξε καὶ Πανσανίαν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν. (See Jahrb. d. Philol. 1859, p. 483.) Strab. 427, ἔστι δὲ νῦν Αἰτωλῶν (Ναύπακτος) Φιλίππου προσκρίναντος. Dem. IX. 34, οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμῶμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; See § 59, p. 275, n. 4 (above).

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Phoc. 16; Schaefer II. 559, 560. Phocion is probably the general against whom Demosthenes made his famous threat (Aesch. 146), εἰ δὲ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι, ... διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατήγιον. See Plut. Dem. 18 (Theopomp.): οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκέσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὀρθὴν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενέσθαι καὶ συνεξαναστήναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. See § 77, n. 3, p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. III. 148—151.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. XVI. 86.

second month of the Attic year<sup>1</sup>. By a stratagem Philip had drawn the Greek army from its advantageous position in the hills into the plain of Chaeronea, where he could use his cavalry with the best effect. At first the battle was rather favourable to the allies; but soon the superior discipline of the Macedonians prevailed, and the Greeks were driven back on both wings. A general flight ensued, after which the Greeks were scattered, so that there was no longer any military force between Philip's camp and Thebes or Athens. These cities lay at his mercy; their armies were disbanded, and neither could help the other. A thousand Athenians were killed, and about two thousand were taken prisoners. The Boeotian loss was also great, and the famous Sacred Band of three hundred Thebans perished to a man<sup>2</sup>. Diodorus states that Philip's army consisted of 30,000 foot and not less than 2,000 horse, adding that Philip had the advantage in numbers and strategy, but that the two armies were equally matched in courage and spirit. Justin, on the contrary, states that the Greeks far exceeded the enemy in numbers<sup>3</sup>. The general results, the utter annihilation of the Greek army, the breaking-up of the Hellenic confederation which Demosthenes had brought together against Philip, and the decisive establishment of Macedonian supremacy over the whole of Greece, are beyond question.

So. The panic and despair in Athens when the first tidings of the defeat arrived were most pitiable. No one knew how soon the victorious army might follow in the steps of the messengers who brought the terrible news<sup>4</sup>. But the leaders of the people who were at home, especially Lycurgus and Hyperides, and Demosthenes after his return from the battlefield, did all that was possible to restore courage, and the panic soon gave way to a resolute determination to save the city from destruction or capture. Hyperides, who was one of the Senate of Five Hundred (regularly exempt from military service), immediately proposed a bill ordering the Senate to go to the Piraeus under arms and there to hold a meeting to provide for the safety of the port; and further pro-

<sup>1</sup> According to Boeckh, *Mondeyclen*, p. 29, the Attic year 338—337 (Ol. 110, 3) began July 27, the preceding year being a leap year of 384 days. This would make the seventh of Metageitnion our first of September. Boeckh afterwards expressed doubts as to the beginning of 338—337, thinking it possible that 339—338 had only 354 days: this would make the battle fall on our second of August. See Schaefer II. 561, 562 (note); and Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, Book VII. note 96.

<sup>2</sup> For the *ἱερὸς λόχος* and their fate see Plut. *Pelop.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> Justin IX. 3: cum Athenienses longe maiore militum numero praestarent, assiduis bellis indurata virtute Macedonum vincuntur.

<sup>4</sup> See Lycurg. *Leoc.* 39, 40.

viding that all slaves in the mines and the country districts who would enlist should be free, and that exiles should be recalled, public debtors and other ἄτιμοι should be restored to their rights, and metics should be made citizens, on the same condition. It was hoped that these last measures might furnish a force of 150,000 men for immediate defence<sup>1</sup>. It was also voted to bring the women and children and such sacred property as was movable from unprotected places into the Piræus<sup>2</sup>. Lycurgus, who had charge of the finances, did wonders in replenishing the empty treasury, and in providing arms and ships for the emergency<sup>3</sup>. Large sums of money were raised by private contributions, the μεγάλαι ἐπιδόσεις of Cor. § 171, Demosthenes giving one talent. Demosthenes devoted himself especially to preparing the city for immediate defence, especially by repairing the dilapidated walls and other defences and by raising money for this object<sup>4</sup>. In adopting all these energetic measures the people showed that the spirit of Marathon and Salamis was not wholly extinct at Athens<sup>5</sup>.

81. When Philip heard of these preparations for receiving him, he naturally thought seriously of his next steps. He seems to have felt no doubt about the treatment of Thebes. As a former ally, who had deliberately turned against him at a critical moment, she could expect only severe punishment. Accordingly, he compelled her to ransom her prisoners and even to pay for the right to bury her dead at Chaeronea<sup>6</sup>; he broke up the Boeotian confederacy and made all the other towns independent of Thebes; he placed a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea; and he recalled the exiles who were opposed to the Athenian alliance, and established from these a judicial council of three hundred. Some of the old leaders were exiled, and others put to death; and their estates were confiscated<sup>7</sup>. Philip's knowledge of the position

<sup>1</sup> Lycurg. Leoc. 37, 41; Hyper. fr. 29 (Bl.). When Hyperides was indicted by γραφή παρανόμων for the illegality of some of these measures, he replied: ἐπεσκότει μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὄπλα· οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἢ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη.

<sup>2</sup> See Vit. x. Orat. 849 A for this, and for the quotation in the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 852 C; Paus. i. 29, 16.

<sup>4</sup> See Cor. 248<sup>10</sup> and note; Lycurg. Leoc. 44. Aeschines, III. 236, casts a slur upon the patriotic fervour with which this work was done: οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρή τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τάφους δημοσίου ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν.

<sup>5</sup> On the behaviour of Athens after Chaeronea see, in general, Schaefer III. 4—16, with the references.

<sup>6</sup> Justin IX. 4<sup>b</sup>: Thebanorum porro non modo captivos verum etiam interfectorum sepulturam vendidit.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. XVI. 87; Paus. IX. 1, 8; Justin IX. 4.



of Athens in Greece probably convinced him that it would be the worst possible policy for him to treat her in this way. After the active measures taken by the Athenians their city could not be taken without a siege, which might be protracted into the winter; and such treatment would unite Athens against him in hopeless enmity. He fortunately had a good, though unprincipled, adviser at hand, the Athenian Demades. He was taken prisoner at Chaeronea, but had ingratiated himself with Philip by his manners and his good advice, so that he was released and remained as a friend in the king's camp. He had doubtless confirmed Philip's opinion about the best policy to be pursued with Athens, by reminding him of the large and influential Macedonian party there, which was then out of favour but might be restored to influence by gentle treatment and friendly words at the present crisis. Philip accordingly sent him as a messenger to Athens<sup>1</sup>. He must have sent assurances of his friendly disposition and of his willingness to grant her any reasonable requests; and the Athenians replied by sending Demades, Aeschines, and probably Phocion as envoys to Philip, to ask for a release of the Athenian captives<sup>2</sup>. Philip received this embassy with great cordiality and immediately invited them to his table. He released all the prisoners without ransom, and promised to return the ashes of those who had fallen. He sent these remains to Athens in charge of no less a person than Antipater, with whom Alexander himself went as a special messenger with offers of peace and friendship<sup>3</sup>. The result was the treaty of peace, known as the Peace of Demades, by which both peace and alliance were again established between Philip and Athens. The Athenians were to remain free and independent, and Philip probably agreed never to send ships of war into the Piraeus<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. XVI. 87, where the reproach of Demades to the drunken Philip immediately after the battle is given: βασιλεῦ, τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσωπον Ἀγαμέμνονος, αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ πράττων ἔργα Θερσίτου;

<sup>2</sup> Suid. under Δημάδης (3); Aesch. III. 227; Dem. Cor. 282, 284. For Phocion see Schaefer III. 25, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See note on Cor. 287<sup>4</sup>, with the references.

<sup>4</sup> See Polyb. V. 10: χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποστείλας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ κηδεύσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἐτι δὲ συνθεῖς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ τοῦτων ὅσα καὶ τῶν ἀπαλλοττομένων τοὺς πλείστους ἀμφέσας, κ.τ.λ. Justin IX. 4<sup>5</sup>: super haec Alexandrum esse cum amico Antipatro, qui pacem cum his amicitiamque iungeret. Diod. XVI. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. VII. 10, 5: Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἐγένοντο Φιλίππου κατήκοοι. That Philip must have bound himself neither to enter Attica with an army nor the Piraeus with war-ships, Schaefer, III. 27, 28, argues from [Dem.] XVII. 26, 28, τὸ δὲ ὑβριστικώτατον...τῶν Μακεδόνων...τὸ τολιῆσαι εἰσπλεῖσαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκας. But this has no reference to the land.

Oropus, which had been taken from Thebes, was now at length restored to Athens<sup>1</sup>. This settlement of an ancient dispute, though it was in favour of Athens, must have been an unwelcome concession at this moment, especially to those who had recently welcomed Thebes as a friend and ally. Athens was to hold certain islands, among which were Salamis, Samos, and Delos<sup>2</sup>; but all trace of her recent alliance and all thought of maritime empire had disappeared for ever<sup>3</sup>. Philip left it open to her to join the general Greek League which he proposed to form, and of which he was to be the head. This step would sacrifice the independence of Athens in many points, and we do not know what arguments were used to induce her to become a member. But in the absence of Demosthenes, and in spite of scruples of Phocion, who asked for more time to consider the question, the Assembly adopted the proposals of Demades in full, and these made Athens a member of the League<sup>4</sup>. By this step, which was probably a necessary one under the circumstances, Athens ceased to have any independent political existence; and the peace of Demades ends her history as a free state and as a power in the Hellenic world.

82. The feeling of Demosthenes about this peace after eight years' experience is seen in Cor. § 89. While he doubtless acquiesced quietly in it at the beginning<sup>5</sup>, he never forgot the bitter humiliation. Under the influence of this quiet submission to Philip's authority, cloaked under the name of independence, the Macedonian party, with Aeschines

<sup>1</sup> See Schol. to Dem. Cor. 99 (p. 259, 10). Demades frag. 1. 9 (Didot): *ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμὰς· οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἄνευ πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα.* This seems to imply that Philip included the transfer of Oropus in his original message sent by Demades (see Schaefer III. 27).

<sup>2</sup> For the islands left to Athens see Schaefer III. 28, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. I. 25, 3: *τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦρξε κακοῦ... Ἀθηναίοις δὲ λόγῳ συνθέμενος (sc. Φίλιππος) ἔργῳ σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ναυτικά παύσας ἀρχῆς.* Of course Athens now lost her control of the Hellespont, with the Chersonese and Byzantium.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Phoc. 16: *ὁ δὲ (sc. Φωκίων) τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τοῦ Φιλίππου πολιτείαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ᾤετο δεῖν προσδέχσθαι· Δημάδου δὲ γράψαντος ὅπως ἡ πόλις μετέχει τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐκ εἶα πρὸ τοῦ γνῶναι τίνα Φίλιππος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιώσει.* See [Dem.] XVII. 30: *προσγέγραπται ταῖς συνθήκαις, ἐὰν βουλόμεθα τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν*, which Schaefer (III. 29, n. 3) refers to this question: cf. Suidas, Demades (3) *ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα τῷ Φιλίππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπακούειν.*

<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes, Cor. 231, refers to the good fortune of Athens in escaping the fate of Thebes.

at its head, again became powerful at Athens<sup>1</sup>. It was then that it was safe for the whole herd of the enemies of Demosthenes to persecute him with every form of process which was known to the Attic law, when (as he says) he was "brought to trial every day." But he mentions this only to testify to the affection of his fellow citizens, who always acquitted him in the popular courts, and thus justified his conduct in the most effective manner<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, though the party of Aeschines then had the courage to speak its sentiments more freely than ever before<sup>3</sup>, and in so doing gained the favour of Philip and his partizans, the sober sense of the people always recognized the services of men like Demosthenes in better times and expressed itself whenever an occasion offered. There was no testimony of the public esteem and affection which Demosthenes valued more highly than the choice of the people in making him their orator to deliver the eulogy on the heroes of Chaeronea<sup>4</sup>. Here the genuine feeling of patriotic gratitude to the man who had fought the battle of Grecian liberty almost single-handed impelled the citizens to reject all candidates who were in sympathy with Philip or his cause, including Aeschines and even Demades, and to choose the man who was most heartily identified with the lost cause for which these heroes had died. And the same public respect for Demosthenes and for his honest and unswerving devotion to what was now seen more clearly than ever to have been the cause of Grecian liberty, the cause which had made their ancestors glorious, was shown in the overwhelming vote by which the popular court acquitted Ctesiphon and condemned Aeschines, at the very moment when such a judgment might have been deemed a public defiance of Alexander's authority, when the whole Greek world was ringing with the news of the victory of Arbela.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 286<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 248—250.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 285.



## TABLE OF DATES.

- B.C.
- 384—383. Birth of Demosthenes and (probably) Aristotle (§ 8)<sup>1</sup>.  
 382—381. Birth of Philip of Macedon (§ 3).  
 379—378. Spartan garrison expelled from Theban Cadmea.  
 378—377. Formation of new maritime confederacy of Athens.  
 Financial reforms of Nausinicus. Introduction of symmories for the property tax.  
 376—375. Death of Demosthenes, father of the orator. Guardians appointed for the son. (§ 8.)  
 Battle of Naxos (Sept. 376).  
 371—370. Battle of Leuctra (July 371).  
 366—365. Demosthenes comes of age at 18: devotes two years to preparation for the lawsuit against his guardians, under legal advice of Isaeus (§ 8).  
 364—363. Trial of suit against Aphobus (§§ 9, 10).  
 362—361. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas (§ 1).  
 Suit of Demosthenes against Onetor (§ 10).  
 359—358. Accession of Philip of Macedon (§ 3).  
 Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) becomes king of Persia.  
 358—357. Establishment of symmories for the trierarchy by law of Periander.  
 357—356. Athenian expedition to Euboea and freedom of the island from the Thebans (§ 2). Outbreak of Social War (autumn of 357) (§ 2). Philip captures Amphipolis, which leads to war with Athens (§ 3). He takes Pydna and Potidaea from Athens, gives Potidaea to Olynthus, and founds Philippi (§ 3).  
 356—355.—Birth of Alexander the Great, July 21, 356 (§ 3).  
 Beginning of Sacred (Phocian) War: seizure of temple of Delphi by Philomelus (§§ 4, 5).  
 End of Social War, spring of 355 (§ 2).  
 355—354. Speeches of Demosthenes against Androtion and against Leptines (§ 11).

<sup>1</sup> The references in ( ) are made to sections of the Historical Sketch.

- 354—353. Eubulus takes direction of finances of Athens.  
Speech of Demosthenes on the Symmories (§ 11).  
Philomelus killed. Sacred War continued by Onomarchus.  
Spoliation of temple of Delphi. (§ 5.)
- 353—352. Philip takes Methone from Athens (§ 3).  
He attacks and defeats Lycophron of Pherae; has battles  
with Phayllus and Onomarchus, and finally defeats  
Onomarchus, who is slain. Philip secures control of  
Gulf of Pagasae. (§ 6.)  
Speeches of Demosthenes against Timocrates and for the  
Megalopolitans (§ 11).  
Athens sends force to Thermopylae and closes the pass  
to Philip, before midsummer 352 (§ 7).
- 352—351. Philip besieges Heraion Teichos in Thrace, Nov. 352 (§ 12).  
First Philippic of Demosthenes, spring of 351 (§ 12).
- 351—350. Speech of Demosthenes for the Rhodians (§ 13).  
Athens sends Phocion with an army to help Plutarchus  
in Euboea (Feb. 350). Battle of Tamynae (March).  
(§ 14.)  
Midias assaults Demosthenes at the Great Dionysia (March  
350), and is condemned by vote of the Assembly (§ 15).
- 349—348. Demosthenes Senator (Schaefer II. 116). He writes speech  
against Midias, not delivered (§ 15).  
Philip attacks the Olynthian confederation and besieges  
Olynthus. Alliance of Olynthus with Athens (§ 16).  
Demosthenes delivers his three Olynthiacs (§ 17). Philip  
sends peaceful messages to Athens and releases Phrynon  
(§ 18).
- 348—347. Philocrates proposes negotiations for peace with Philip, is  
indicted therefor and acquitted (§ 18).  
Olynthus captured by Philip, with all its confederate towns  
(early autumn of 348): consternation throughout Greece  
(§§ 16, 19).  
Mission of Aristodemus to Philip (§ 19).  
Movement of Eubulus and Aeschines against Philip, and  
embassies to Greek states (§§ 20, 21).
- 347—346<sup>1</sup>. Themistocles Archon at Athens. Demosthenes again  
Senator (§§ 19, 38).

<sup>1</sup> For the division of months in 347—346 B.C., and the dates according to our  
Calendar, see pp. 306, 307.

- 347—346. Aristodemus returns with friendly messages from Philip, and is crowned on motion of Demosthenes (§ 19).  
Thebans and Phocians both exhausted by Sacred War. Phocians ask aid from Athens (early in 346), but reject it when sent. (§§ 23, 24.)  
On motion of Philocrates (Feb. 346), ten envoys are sent to Philip to propose negotiations for peace (First Embassy). Envoys return end of March. (§§ 25—28.)  
Two meetings of Assembly, to discuss terms of peace with Philip's envoys, 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion (April 15, 16), 346: peace formally voted on second day. (§§ 29—37.)  
Same envoys sent again to Philip, to ratify the peace (Second Embassy) (§ 38).  
Meeting of Assembly on 25th of Elaphebolion (April 22), Demosthenes presiding (§ 38).  
Address of Isocrates to Philip (Φίλιππος).  
Decree of Senate ordering the departure of the Embassy, 3rd of Munychion (April 29) (§ 39).  
Return of Embassy to Athens, 13th of Scirophorion (July 7). Reports to Senate and Assembly. Philip already at Thermopylae. Assembly votes (16th of Scir., July 10) to compel the Phocians to deliver the temple of Delphi to "the Amphictyons." (§§ 43—45.)  
Ten envoys (Third Embassy) sent by Athens to Thermopylae, to report the action of the Assembly to Philip: they depart about the 21st of Scirophorion (July 15). (§§ 45, 47.)  
Phalaeus surrenders Thermopylae to Philip 23rd of Sciroph. (July 17). The Athenian envoys hear this news at Chalcis and return. Meeting of Assembly in Piraeus (27th of Scir., July 21). Embassy ordered to proceed to Thermopylae, and departs at once. (§§ 46—48.)  
End of Sacred War.  
Demosthenes and Timarchus begin proceedings against Aeschines for παραπροσβεία.
- 346—345. Archias Archon. Philip summons Amphictyonic Council, which expels the Phocians and gives their two votes to Philip. Terrible punishment of the Phocians. (§ 48.)  
Philip celebrates the Pythian games (Sept. 346). Am-



phictyonic deputation sent to Athens to demand recognition of Philip's position in the Council. Speech of Demosthenes on the Peace. (§§ 49, 50.)

- 346—345. Prosecution (by *ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας*) of Timarchus by Aeschines (winter). See Essay IV. § 2.
- 345—344. Philip establishes a decadarchy in Thessaly. He interferes in disputes in Peloponnesus: Demosthenes sent as envoy to counteract his influence. (§ 51.)
- 344—343. Second Philippic of Demosthenes (late in 344). Continued influence of Philip in Peloponnesus: attack on Megara. (§ 52.)
- Trial and condemnation of Antiphon (§ 53).
- Prosecution of Philocrates on *εἰσαγγελία* by Hyperides and his exile (before midsummer 343). See Essay IV. § 4.
- Case of temple of Delos before Amphictyonic Council: Hyperides advocate of Athens (§ 54).
- Mission of Python to Athens (before midsummer 343). Discussion of the peace and of the claim of Athens to Halonnesus. (§ 55.)
- 343—342. Philip's intrigues in Euboea: he supports tyrants at Eretria and Oreus. Chalcis, under lead of Callias and Taurosthenes, friendly to Athens. (§ 58.)
- Trial and acquittal of Aeschines on charge of *παραπροσβεία* (late summer of 343). See Essay IV.
- Philip invades Epirus (winter), and threatens Ambracia and Acarnania. On his return he establishes tetrarchs in Thessaly. (§§ 59, 60.)
- Philip's letter to Athens about Halonnesus and modifications of the peace. Speech of Hegesippus on Halonnesus (Dem. VII.). (§§ 56, 57.)
- Aristotle made tutor of Alexander (§ 60).
- 342—341. Philip extends his power in the Thracian Chersonese, and comes into conflict with the Athenian general, Diopithes. Speech on the Chersonese and Third Philippic of Demosthenes (before midsummer 341). (§§ 61, 62.)
- 341—340. Mission of Demosthenes to Byzantium (summer): alliance of Athens and Byzantium. Embassies to Persia, Rhodes, and Peloponnesus. (§ 63.)
- Expeditions of Athens to Euboea, which overthrow tyrants in Oreus and (later) in Eretria (§ 64).

- 341—340. Anaxinus of Oreus executed as a spy at Athens (§ 65).  
League against Philip formed by Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis (§§ 63, 64).  
Demosthenes crowned at the Great Dionysia for his success in liberating Euboea (§ 64).  
The people of Peparethus seize Halonnesus and make the Macedonian garrison prisoners. Philip in return ravages Peparethus. (§ 66.) (Date?)
- 340—339. Theophrastus Archon. Philip besieges Perinthus by land and sea (late summer of 340): in the autumn he raises this siege and attacks Byzantium. (§ 67.) He writes to the Athenians (before the attack on Byzantium), and makes an open declaration of war, which Athens at once accepts (§ 68). Two fleets sent by Athens to relieve Byzantium: siege raised by Philip (§ 67). Athenian merchant ships captured by Philip (§ 68): *nominal* ground for declaring war.  
Philip attacks the Thracian Chersonese, and then (winter) invades Scythia. Returning with large booty, he is attacked by the Triballi and wounded. (§§ 67, 69.)  
Speech of Aeschines at Delphi (spring of 339), which stirs up the Amphisian War (§ 72).
- 339—338. Amphictyonic Council (early autumn of 339) chooses Philip general for the Amphisian War (§ 75). Shortly afterwards Philip passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea (§ 76).  
Negotiations between Athens and Thebes, ending in alliance against Philip (§ 77).  
Campaign (winter and spring): allies victorious in “winter battle” and “river battle.” Capture of mercenaries and destruction of Amphissa by Philip. (§ 78.)
- 338—337. Battle of Chaeronea, 7th Metageitnion 338 (August 2 or September 1): utter defeat of the allies (§§ 79, 80).  
Peace of Demades (§ 81).  
Demosthenes delivers the eulogy on those who fell in the battle (§ 82).
- 337—336. Demosthenes director of the Theoric Fund and *τειχοποιός*.  
Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes at the Great Dionysia (spring of 336). Aeschines brings a *γραφή*

- παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon. (The case came to trial six years later.)
- 337—336. Philip assassinated, summer of 336. Alexander succeeds him.
- 335—334. Rebellion of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys the city (autumn of 335).  
Alexander demands the delivery of Demosthenes, Lycinus, Hyperides, and other Athenian orators.  
Aristotle returns to Athens and teaches in the Lyceum.
- 331—330. Alexander's victory at Arbela (Oct. 1, 331).  
Rebellion of Spartan King Agis (early in 330), crushed by Antipater.
- 330—329. Aristophon Archon. Trial of suit of Aeschines against Ctesiphon (August 330). Ctesiphon acquitted by more than four-fifths of the votes.
- 324—323. Demosthenes condemned to a fine of 50 talents for complicity in the affair of Harpalus. Unable to pay the fine, he went to prison, and afterwards into exile.  
Death of Alexander the Great (May, 323) at Babylon.
- 323—322. Triumphant recall of Demosthenes from exile.
322. Death of Aristotle at Chalcis, autumn of 322.  
Death of Hyperides October 5, and of Demosthenes October 12, 322.

## THE ATTIC YEAR.

During the period with which we are here concerned, the Athenians generally had a lunar year of 354 days, consisting of twelve months, alternately of 30 and 29 days, equivalent to 12 lunar months of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days each. The longer months were called *πλήρεις μῆνες*, the shorter *κοίλοι μῆνες*. This fell short of the solar year by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  days, the difference in eight years amounting to 90 days. This was regulated by the cumbrous device of making the third, fifth, and eighth year in each cycle of eight years (*ὀκταετηρίς*) a leap year with 384 days, thus making the number of days in each cycle correct. (Thus  $(354 \times 5) + (384 \times 3) + 2922 = 365\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ .) The slight errors which remained were equated in various ways. The natural beginning of the Attic year was the summer solstice; but the great difference in the length of the years allowed the beginning to vary from about June 16 to August 7.

The twelve months in the ordinary year were as follows: 1 Hecatombaeon, 2 Metageitnion, 3 Boedromion, 4 Pyanepsion, 5 Maemacterion,



6 Posideon, 7 Gamelion, 8 Anthesterion, 9 Elaphebolion, 10 Munychion, 11 Thargelion, 12 Scirophorion. In the leap years a month of thirty days, Posideon II., was intercalated after Posideon. The same months appear to have been *πλήρεις* and *κοῖλοι* in different years. The first day of every month was generally called *νουμηνία*, and the last day *ἔνη καὶ νέα*, *old and new*; the latter name, which probably was first applied to the full months, showing that the thirtieth day in these months belonged equally to the old and the new month. The days from the 2nd to the 9th were called *δευτέρα*, *τρίτη*, etc., sometimes with *ἱσταμένου* or *ἀρχομένου* (sc. *μηρός*) added; the 10th was the *δεκάς*; those from the 11th to the 19th were called *πρώτη*, *δευτέρα*, etc., with *ἐπὶ δέκα* or *μεσοῦντος* added, though this could be omitted when it was obvious that the middle of the month was meant. The 20th was the *εἰκάς*; and the days from the 21st to the 29th in the full months were generally counted backwards, *δεκάτη φθίνοντος* (21st), *ἐνάτη*, *ὀγδόη*, etc. to *δευτέρα φθίνοντος* (22nd, 23rd, etc. to 29th). It is generally thought that the *δευτέρα φθίνοντος* was omitted in the "hollow" months; but Usener thinks that the *ἐνάτη φθίνοντος* dropped out<sup>1</sup>.

The following is a possible statement of the arrangement of the thirteen months in 347—346 B.C., in which the peace of Philocrates was made. This was a leap year of 384 days, beginning July 6 and ending July 24. Other arrangements are possible and perhaps equally probable; but these would not affect any of the dates by more than a single day<sup>2</sup>.

347—346 B.C.

(384 days.)

- |    |              |           |             |        |          |
|----|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------|----------|
| 1. | Hecatombaeon | (30 days) | begins July | 6,     | 347 B.C. |
| 2. | Metageitnion | (29 ,, )  | ,,          | August | 5 ,,     |
| 3. | Boedromion   | (30 ,, )  | ,,          | Sept.  | 3 ,,     |

<sup>1</sup> See Rhein. Mus. xxxiv. 429: see Hist. § 46, note 5. The above outline is based on Boeckh's elaborate investigation, *Zur Geschichte der Mondcyclen der Hellenen*, in the *Jahrbücher für Class. Philol.* (N. F.), Suppl. Bd I., Heft 1 (1855). Though many of the details of this system, as Boeckh stated it, have been disputed or corrected, its general principle still remains the basis of our knowledge of this difficult and complicated subject.

<sup>2</sup> In this arrangement the system of equivalent days adopted by Schaefer has been regarded, except in the dates after the 20th of Scirophorion, where he assumes that this month has only 29 days, and follows Usener in omitting the *ἐνάτη φθίνοντος*. But Schaefer, who rightly makes the 26th of Sciroph. = July 20, should by his system make the 29th of Sciroph. (which would be the last day of 347—346) = July 23, so that the new year would begin July 24; whereas it began July 25, according to Boeckh, p. 28, and also according to Schaefer, II. p. 295, note 2.

4.	Pyanepsion	(29 days)	begins Oct.	3, 347 B.C.
5.	Maemacterion	(30 " )	" Nov.	1 "
6.	Posideon	(29 " )	" Dec.	1 "
7.	[Posideon II.]	(30 " )	" "	30 "
8.	Gamelion	(29 " )	" Jan.	29, 346 B.C.
9.	Anthesterion	(30 " )	" Feb.	27 "
10.	Elaphebolion	(29 " )	" March	29 "
11.	Munychion	(30 " )	" April	27 "
12.	Thargelion	(29 " )	" May	27 "
13.	Sciophorion	(30 " )	" June	25 "

Thus Elaphebolion 18, 19 = April 15, 16 ;

Munychion 3 = April 29 ;

Thargelion 22 = June 17 ;

Sciophorion 13 = July 7 ;

" 23 = " 17 ;

" 27 = " 21.

Hecatombaeon 346—345 begins July 25.

# ESSAYS.

## I.

### *The Argument of the Oration, with Remarks on §§ 120, 121.*

1. THE argument of this Oration follows no recognized model, and it cannot be brought under any rhetorical system of rules. The occasion was unique; and the orator treated it uniquely, and with a masterly skill which is far beyond the art of a mere rhetorician. Demosthenes is technically defending a client on a question of constitutional law: he is really defending his own public life and his reputation as a patriot and a statesman against the unscrupulous charges of a personal enemy. He feels sure that the large body of his fellow-citizens who form the court will listen chiefly to his defence of himself and of his public policy and will overlook the technical questions of law; and he judges rightly. The skill, however, with which he keeps these technical questions in the background, so that the judges shall never lose sight of the higher questions of state policy, and the art by which he conceals this art, are worthy of careful study.

2. The indictment (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) brings three charges of illegality (*παράνομα*) against Ctesiphon's bill for conferring a crown on Demosthenes: (1) the bill proposes to crown Demosthenes while he is a responsible magistrate (*ἄρχων ἐπίθνυρος*), which is forbidden by law; (2) it proposes to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Great Dionysiac festival, whereas the law requires such a crown to be proclaimed elsewhere; (3) it violates the law forbidding the insertion of false statements into the public records, such false statements being found in the clauses of the bill which praise Demosthenes, especially the words *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας*,—*ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ*,—and *πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναται ἀγαθόν*<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines, who must have felt the weakness of the vague charge of illegality in the last count, dwells with great energy and with his

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. III. 49, 237, Dem. Cor. 57, where the decree professes to be quoted.



most powerful arguments on the first count, on which (so far as we can see) his position was legally unassailable. He shows beyond question that Demosthenes held two important offices at the time of Ctesiphon's proposal, for which he would still be responsible (*ὑπεύθυνος*) when the crown was proclaimed; and this would be illegal. He naturally puts this strong argument in the front of his attack. On his second point, the illegality of the proposed place of proclamation, he professes to be equally strong; but here the actual state of the law is uncertain, and we cannot judge of the strength of the argument. He then discusses the life and character of Demosthenes, to show that the statements on which Ctesiphon justifies his proposal to crown him are false and therefore illegal. After a few words of introduction, followed by a short account of the private life of Demosthenes, he treats of his public life at great length, under four heads: (1) the period at which the Peace of Philocrates was made; (2) the time between the peace and the renewal of the war with Philip; (3) the war which ended in the battle of Chaeronea; (4) the time from Chaeronea to the trial of the case. He occupies the remainder of his time in the discussion of various matters which have a bearing on the patriotism or statesmanship of Demosthenes, aiming in all to show the falseness of the terms used by Ctesiphon. In several passages he urges the judges not to allow Ctesiphon to call on Demosthenes to plead his cause; and, if they permit Demosthenes to speak at all, to compel him to follow the same order of argument in the defence which he has himself adopted in the attack. This last would have compelled Demosthenes to reply in the beginning to the strong argument of Aeschines on the illegality of crowning a responsible magistrate; this Demosthenes has no idea of doing, as it would weaken his whole position before the court.

3. The argument of Aeschines, briefly stated, is as follows:

I. Prooemium: §§ 1—8.

II. Argument on the responsibility of magistrates: §§ 9—31.

III. Argument on the place of proclamation: §§ 32—48.

IV. Review of the Life of Demosthenes (§§ 49—167):—

1. Introduction: §§ 49, 50.

2. Private Life of Demosthenes: §§ 51—53.

3. Four divisions of the Public Life of Demosthenes, §§ 54—57, discussed as follows:—

(a) The Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.): §§ 58—78.

(b) The time of peace until the renewal of war with Philip in 340 B.C.: §§ 79—105.

(c) The Amphissian War, and other events ending with the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. : §§ 106—158.

(d) The time from 338 to 330 B.C. (the year of the trial) : §§ 159—167.

V. Discussion of various points in the life and character of Demosthenes, and general arguments : §§ 168—259.

VI. Peroration : § 260.

4. It might seem natural, at first thought, for Demosthenes to defend Ctesiphon against the three charges of the indictment in regular succession. But this would have sacrificed the argumentative power of his speech to mere simplicity of arrangement. If he had followed the order of Aeschines (which Aeschines is urgent to have him do) and dealt first with the question of his responsibility as a magistrate, he would have begun his argument at its weakest point, on which he had nothing to say which really answered the cogent legal argument of Aeschines. Nothing could have been worse for his case than this. If, on the other hand, he had introduced this matter after the discussion of his public life, the weakness of his conclusion would have injured (perhaps fatally) the effect which his argument had already made. It was important, therefore, to bring in his weaker argument between two divisions of his historical statement, and thus conceal its defects from observation<sup>1</sup>. He could not make a *single* break in his narrative and there introduce this foreign subject without making his design too obvious and injuring his case. But he artfully divides his account of his public life into *three* parts, for plausible reasons, which do not suggest his real object. In § 9 he complains of the charges “foreign to the indictment” (ἐξέω τῆς γραφῆς, § 34) which Aeschines has brought against him : and to these he proposes to reply before he comes to the charges which properly belong to the case. Under this head he puts the charges relating to the Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.), and he proceeds at once to deal with the negotiations which led to this event. He would never have thought of omitting this important matter, in which later events had triumphantly vindicated his own course of action ; and his indignation at Aeschines for bringing it into the case

<sup>1</sup> Libanius saw this artful device: see his Hypothesis, § 6, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν. See the Second Hypoth. § 5, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τὸν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέριψε, στρατηγικῶς κακοὺς ἐς μέσσον ἐλάσσας, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου βωννύς. See also note on Cor. 56<sup>2</sup>.

is all feigned. He is thus able to tell the story of this important period in his public life before he begins the real argument (as he represents it), even before the reading of the indictment. This has the effect of securing the good-will of the court for himself and damaging the case of Aeschines in advance, by an eloquent harangue on a subject which (as he claims) has been unfairly brought into the case (§§ 17—52).

5. After the reading of the indictment and a few general remarks upon this document, he proceeds (§§ 60—101) to a general defence of his policy of opposition to Philip, and of the course taken by Athens under his leadership before the renewal of the war with Philip in 340. He then speaks of his own trierarchic reform (§§ 102—109), and now (§ 110) declares that he has brought forward sufficient evidence to justify the language of Ctesiphon's decree in his praise. He states that he is here omitting the most important of his public acts (those concerning the alliance with Thebes and the other events which preceded the battle of Chaeronea), and he leaves it doubtful whether he will speak of these hereafter. He omits them now, he says, chiefly because he will not longer postpone the questions about the εἴθυναί (i.e. his responsibility as a magistrate) and the place of proclamation, but also because he can assume that such recent events are well known to all the judges even if he does not mention them. Demosthenes has not the slightest intention of omitting these most important events, in which he gained the greatest diplomatic triumph of his life: but he postpones them until he can introduce them later as an offset to the acts of Aeschines done in Philip's interest, when the account of them forms the most eloquent passage in the oration (§§ 160—226). By this skilful plan he gains two important objects. First, he divides the account of his political life into three parts, and avoids wearying the judges by telling the whole story (covering eight most eventful years) in one continuous narrative, in which it would have been far less effective. Secondly, he succeeds in introducing his replies to the arguments περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου (§ 110) just after one historic narrative and just before another, where they are least conspicuous, and where the weakness of the reply on the εἴθυναί is soon forgotten, if it is noticed at all, amid the exciting events which led to Chaeronea. The three courses of events thus divided are so naturally distinct, that nothing is lost by their division to be compared with the double gain.

6. The following is the course of the argument in the oration on the Crown<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The subject of each division is stated in the notes with greater detail where the division begins. See, for example, the remarks which precede the notes on §§ 1, 9, 53, 126, 227, 297, and elsewhere.



- I. Prooemium : §§ 1—8.
- II. Reply to charges foreign to the indictment (§§ 9—52):—
  1. Introduction : § 9.
  2. Charges against private life : §§ 10, 11.
  3. Public policy (§§ 12—52):—
    - A. Introductory : §§ 12—16.
    - B. Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17—52):—
      - (a) Introductory : § 17.
      - (b) Narrative : §§ 18—49.
      - (c) Conclusion : §§ 50—52.
- III. Reply to the charges of the indictment (§§ 53—125):—
  1. Introductory : §§ 53—59.
  2. Defence of his public policy (confined chiefly to the period from 346 to 340 B.C.) and of his trierarchic law : §§ 60—109.
  3. Reply to charge of responsibility as a magistrate : §§ 110—119.
  4. Reply to argument about the place of proclamation : §§ 120, 121.
  5. Conclusion : §§ 122—125.
- IV. Life and character of Aeschines; and his public policy in the interest of Philip, compared with his own agency in negotiating an alliance with Thebes against Philip (§§ 126—226):—
  1. Parentage and life of Aeschines : §§ 126—131.
  2. Lesser political offences of Aeschines : §§ 132—138.
  3. The Amphissian War, stirred up by the speech of Aeschines at Delphi (339 B.C.): §§ 139—159.
  4. Negotiation of Theban alliance by Demosthenes (339—338 B.C.),—continuation of narrative interrupted at § 110. Into this account is introduced (§§ 189—210) a defence of the whole policy of Athens, under his leadership, in opposition to Philip : §§ 160—226.

With § 226 the defence of Ctesiphon, properly so called, is finished. The orator has reviewed his whole political life and has justified the language of Ctesiphon's decree; and he has replied briefly to the other charges of illegality. In the time which remains he discusses other matters suggested by the speech of Aeschines.

- V. Replies to three arguments of Aeschines (§§ 227—295):—
  1. Discussion of the comparison (Aeschines 59—61) of the

- case against Demosthenes to an account of money expended : §§ 227—251.
2. Reply to the remarks of Aeschines upon his "bad fortune," and comparison of his own fortune with that of Aeschines : §§ 252—275.
  3. Reply to the charge of being a crafty rhetorician : §§ 276—296.
- VI. The Epilogue (*ἐπίλογος*) follows, in which he compares himself as a statesman with Aeschines, protesting against the comparison of himself with the heroes of the past. There is also a recapitulation of some matters already discussed<sup>1</sup> : §§ 297—323.
- VII. The Peroration, in a single earnest sentence, is an appeal to the Gods for help to Athens in her humiliation : § 324.

*Remarks on the Argument of §§ 120, 121.*

(1) In these sections Demosthenes replies, with astonishing brevity but with wrathful indignation, to the elaborate argument of Aeschines (32—48) about the place of proclamation. He puts his whole argument into a quotation from a law, which was read entire to the court, and then bursts out in triumphant invective against Aeschines for his audacity in suppressing the one important clause in this law in presenting it before the court. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the law presented by Demosthenes ; but this must be authentic : *πλὴν εἰάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορεύετω*. It must have been one which did not make the passionate outbreak which followed appear ridiculous to the court. On the other hand, we cannot for a moment believe that Aeschines (32) produced a law requiring those who were crowned by the Senate and by the Assembly to be crowned before those bodies *and nowhere else*, and actually suppressed a clause of that very law containing the words quoted by Demosthenes, which allowed either Senate or Assembly to make an exception to the law at their pleasure. When we remember that this mutilated law must have been quoted

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 19<sup>1</sup>) thus states the proper substance of the Epilogue : *ὁ δ' ἐπίλογος σύγκειται ἐκ τεττάρων, ἐκ τε τοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσαι εὖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ τὸν ἐναντίον φαύλως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀυξήσαι καὶ ταπεινώσαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τὸν ἀκροατὴν καταστήσαι, καὶ ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως*. These four points,—(1) making the hearer favourable to yourself and unfavourable to your opponent, (2) amplification and depreciation, (3) exciting the hearer's emotions, (4) recapitulation,—seem more characteristic of §§ 297—323, to which Fox confines the epilogue, than of the longer passage, §§ 252—323, to which Blass would extend it.

in the indictment, read to the court by its clerk after being submitted to the scrutiny of the presiding Thesmothetae at the anacrisis, and also posted in the court-room (see note on § 111<sup>2</sup>), we cannot ascribe such audacity even to Aeschines, or such careless indifference at once to six archons, the court, and its officers.

(2) I think we must assume (*a*) that Aeschines quoted a law forbidding the proclamation in the theatre, and that *this law* had no such addition as Demosthenes appears to make to it, and (*b*) that Demosthenes quoted another law, which (as he claimed) applied to the same cases but had the proviso *ἐὰν μὴ* (or *πλὴν ἐάν*) *τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται*, etc. This supposes a conflict of laws, or at least two laws which could be harmonized only by a forced interpretation. The elaborate argument of Aeschines (37—39), to prove that no such conflict could occur in the Athenian laws, at once makes us suspect that this is the real solution of the difficulty. Even he admits that such conflicts *might* sometimes occur, *καὶ τι τοιοῦτον εὕρισκωσι* (39). What now was the law which Demosthenes brought before the court? It must have been the Dionysiac law, which Aeschines describes, but which, he maintains, had nothing to do with crowns conferred by the Senate or the Assembly, but concerned only those conferred upon Athenians by foreign states. These last, he admits, might be proclaimed in the theatre by special vote.

(3) Aeschines thus describes this law in 44: *διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησὶ) μηδενός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα*. He then argues, not in a very persuasive way<sup>1</sup>, that the words *μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενός* cannot reasonably apply to any except foreign crowns, and then (47) adds: *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος*. It will be noticed that he does not quote the last clause (*ἐὰν... δῆμος*) in connection with the law itself in 44, but only after his own interpretation of the law in 47. This is of itself suspicious, as it conceals the only important point, the exact relation of this clause to the rest of the law. The clause which precedes *ἐὰν... δῆμος* in 47, *μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, is certainly no part of the law, for with this the law could need no interpretation. Further, the

<sup>1</sup> His only argument (in 45) for what seems a very forced interpretation of these words is that the law which he first read (in 32), a distinct one, excluded all crowns conferred by the Senate or the Assembly. This assumes the impossibility of any conflict of laws, the most important point in the discussion.



words following *πλὴν εἰάν...ψηφίσηται* in Demosthenes (121), *τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω*, have no sense if added to these words in Aeschines (47). They have, however, a very significant meaning if added to ἡ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα in Aeschines (44), supplying κήρυξ as the subject of the imperative. Now the last part of Aeschines 44 and εἰάν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος in 47 are the only real quotations from the Dionysiac law in Aeschines, and *πλὴν εἰάν τινας...ἀγορευέτω* is evidently a quotation from the law read by Demosthenes (121). If we fit these together, we have the most probable reconstruction of the Dionysiac law as it was presented by Demosthenes, as follows:—*μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλον (φησί) μηδενός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα, πλὴν εἰάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλή ψηφίσηται, τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω.* This might easily have been read to the court in opposition to the other law read by order of Aeschines; and, so far as we can see, Demosthenes was justified in assuming that *μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλον μηδενός* referred to all who had crowns to confer, not excluding the Senate and the Assembly. What he needed was *some* law which allowed the proclamation in the theatre, and the court would be little concerned whether this was consistent with the law read by Aeschines.

(4) This explanation of the difficulty becomes much simpler if we suppose that all the confused talk about the Dionysiac law in Aeschines is an addition to his speech made after hearing the contemptuous reply of Demosthenes to his simple argument in 32—34. If we admit that Aeschines actually spoke the long passage about the Dionysiac law (35—48) before the court, it seems incredible that Demosthenes could ignore so elaborate an argument in his reply and merely quote “the law” as if there were but one. The court would hardly have been satisfied with so summary and contemptuous an answer, which took no notice of the account of the nature and purpose of the Dionysiac law which they had just heard. I confess the whole passage (35—48) in the speech of Aeschines has often seemed to me (on other grounds) to be an addition made after the trial. It is a piece of special pleading, which greatly weakens the force of the argument, and it is clearly an answer (and an unsatisfactory one) to the reply of Demosthenes. It should be treated like other similar passages in Aeschines, for example, the reply to the argument of Demosthenes about Philammon, the boxer, in 189.

(5) One fact is now made certain by inscriptions: whatever may have been the letter of the law against proclamation in the theatre, such

proclamations were very frequent at Athens in the fourth century B.C., and earlier and later. The law was a dead letter, and Demosthenes was justified in making light of this part of the accusation. See note on Cor. § 120<sup>2</sup>, with the references to inscriptions.

## II.

### *The γραφή παρανόμων.*

1. The Athenian *γραφή παρανόμων*, or *indictment for proposing illegal measures*, could be brought by any citizen against one who was charged with proposing a decree (*ψήφισμα*) which violated a law (*νόμος*), or with causing the enactment of a law which was opposed to an existing law without expressly providing for the repeal of the latter. The laws (*νόμοι*) of Athens were a comparatively fixed code, ascribed generally to Solon, but consisting of the original Solonic laws, enlarged and otherwise modified by succeeding enactments. These always formed a special code, which was superior to the enactments of the Senate and the Assembly and was not subject to repeal or modification by these bodies. An enactment of the Senate and Assembly, the ordinary legislative bodies (in the modern sense of the term), was called a *decree* or *ψήφισμα*. This could legally contain no provisions which were opposed to a *νόμος*, and any such provision made it void. The *γραφή παρανόμων* was the simple but efficient process provided by the Attic law for causing an "illegal" decree or law to be annulled, and also for punishing the proposer. The mover, however, could be held personally responsible only for one year from the time of the proposal of a decree or the enactment of a law; after a year the decree or law could be attacked and annulled by the same process, while the mover was exposed to no risk. Whoever brought a *γραφή παρανόμων* was required to bind himself publicly by an oath (called *ὑπωμοσία*) to prosecute the case; after this oath was taken, a decree or law was suspended if it had already been enacted, and a decree which had passed only the Senate (a *προβούλευμα*) could not be brought before the Assembly for action until the suit had been tried and settled in favour of the defendant. (See note on Cor. § 103<sup>3</sup>.) It is probable that the *γραφή παρανόμων* could be brought only after the actual enactment of a *νόμος*, while it could be brought against a *ψήφισμα* at any one of three

stages: (1) after its acceptance by the Senate, (2) after passing the Assembly, (3) after the lapse of a year from its proposal<sup>1</sup>.

2. The distinction between a νόμος and a ψήφισμα at Athens was most important<sup>2</sup>. A ψήφισμα was an enactment of the Senate and Assembly (or of the Assembly alone when the Senate had given it authority to act by itself), which, if it was not in conflict with any higher authority, had the full force of a law. A νόμος could be changed only by an elaborate process, which was chiefly under the control of a body of Heliastic judges, who acted as a court rather than as a legislative body. In the first meeting of the Assembly in each year a general question was put to the people, whether they would permit propositions to be made for changes in the laws, those who had such propositions to make having doubtless informed the Assembly what changes were to be proposed. The people might refuse to allow such propositions to be made, which ended the matter for that year. If they voted to permit them, all who had such proposals to make were required to post written notices of them before the statues of the Eponymi (the heroes from whom the ten tribes were named) in the market-place, and also to give copies of these to the clerk of the Assembly, who read the proposals to the people in each of the two following meetings of the Assembly. In the last of these meetings (the third one of the year), the people, if after consideration they saw fit, voted to refer the proposed changes in the laws to a special commission, called νομοθέται, chosen like an ordinary court (δικαστήριον) from those who were qualified to sit as judges for that year and had taken the Heliastic oath. The whole proceeding before this board was conducted according to the forms of law. The proposer of the new law appeared as plaintiff and argued his case against the old law and for his own proposal, while advocates appointed by the state defended the existing law. The question of enacting the new law or retaining the existing one was decided by a vote of the νομοθέται, which, if favourable to the new law, made that one of the fixed code of νόμοι. It was strictly commanded by the Solonic law, that no new law should be enacted unless all laws opposed to it were expressly repealed: and, further, that no law should be repealed unless a new law were proposed, and accepted by the νομοθέται as suitable and fitting (ἐπιτήδειος) to take its place<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For further details of the γραφή παρανόμων see Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc. pp. 428—437.

<sup>2</sup> See Tarbell in Am. Journal of Philol. x. pp. 79—83.

<sup>3</sup> See Schömann, Griech. Alterth. I. pp. 411—414, English transl. 387—390; Thumser-Hermann, Staatsalt. § 91, pp. 525—530. See § 10 (below).



3. It was only natural, as the democracy increased in power, that the distinction between decrees and laws should be neglected, and that the sovereign people should pass decrees which usurped the functions of laws and violated the spirit, if not the letter, of existing laws. We find in the orators many intimations that this was a growing evil. Against this dangerous tendency the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was the only legal security. We cannot wonder, therefore, that this is extolled as the great stronghold of constitutional liberty, the chief protection of free government against lawless demagogues. Even Aeschines, who had done as much as any man to degrade the process, speaks of it as we speak of the *habeas corpus*<sup>1</sup>. It is a most significant fact that one of the first steps taken by the oligarchs who were establishing the government of Four Hundred in 411 B.C. was the suspension of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*<sup>2</sup>.

4. The principle upon which the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* is based must always be recognized wherever the legislative power is limited by a superior code of laws or a written constitution to which all its enactments must conform. In such a case the allegiance of every citizen is due, first and foremost, to the superior law, as the supreme law of the land, and he cannot legally be compelled to obey the lower enactment. But as each citizen cannot be allowed to decide for himself whether an act of the legislature is or is not in harmony with the superior law, the decision must be entrusted to some tribunal which has authority to prevent a citizen from suffering unjustly if he disobeys an illegal enactment, and also to prevent the law from being disobeyed at the caprice of individuals.

5. This principle was first recognized, so far as we know, in the Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. Precisely the same principle is at the basis of what is now known as "the American doctrine of Constitutional Law," under which the Supreme Court of the United States has the power to declare acts of Congress or of the state legislatures unconstitutional and to treat them as without authority". The Constitution of the

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. III. 3—8: ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί. εἰ δὲ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ...προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες (5). See the whole passage.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. VIII. 67: ἐσήνεγκαν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἀζήμιον εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται· ἣν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλω τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. So Aristot. Pol. Ath. 29<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The Supreme Courts of the several states have the same right of declaring unconstitutional and null acts of their own state legislatures, as conflicting with either the state constitution or the U.S. constitution. There is an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in the latter case, but only when the state court upholds the state law.

United States, the solemn compact by which thirteen originally independent states were united in a single nation, is declared in one of its own articles to be "the supreme law of the land," to which all legislation of Congress or of the several states must conform. An amendment, ratified in 1791, provides that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." In the working of this dual system of legislation and responsibility, questions soon arose which called for the exercise of judicial authority to determine whether an act of Congress or of a state legislature was in conflict with the Federal Constitution, or whether an act of Congress usurped powers which the Constitution reserved to the states. This authority was plainly vested in the Federal courts, especially in the Supreme Court as the highest court of appeal in the land. The power came by direct descent from the colonial period, when royal charters, to which the colonial legislation must conform, stood in the position of written constitutions. The colonial courts could declare laws null which were opposed to the superior authority, and in certain cases the King in Council by decree exercised the same right<sup>2</sup>. After the revolution, before the Constitution was ratified, several states adopted the old charters as temporary constitutions, and the state courts sometimes declared laws null which did not conform to these; this, however, was not allowed without grave opposition<sup>3</sup>.

6. It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court can declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and void on its own motion. Not only can it not do this, but it cannot declare an act unconstitutional simply because it is asked to do so by petition. To enable it to act on a constitutional question, a case must come before it in the ordinary course of litigation, generally when a person who feels aggrieved by the operation of a law which he believes to be unconstitutional appeals from the decision of a lower court on this point and thus brings the constitu-

<sup>1</sup> Const. of U.S. Art. 6: "This constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, ... shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

<sup>2</sup> A decree of the King in Council, annulling a provincial act of nearly thirty years' standing, issued Feb. 15, 1727-28, is given in the Massachusetts Hist. Collections, Series VI. vol. 5, pp. 496-509.

<sup>3</sup> For the whole subject of American Constitutional Law, see Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* 1. Chap. 23; and J. B. Thayer, *Am. Doctrine of Constitutional Law*, Boston, 1893.

tional question directly before the Supreme Court in such a way that it must be decided. The decision, though nominally affecting only the legality of the appellant's action in disobeying the law, really settles the whole question of the validity of the law itself; and it stands as a valid precedent, which all courts must recognize, unless it is reversed by a different decision on another case<sup>1</sup>. It is, moreover, a recognized principle in such cases, that a law is not to be declared unconstitutional unless the judges are convinced that it is so beyond all reasonable doubt. A Federal judge might with perfect consistency refuse to set aside a law as unconstitutional when as a legislator he had voted against it on this very ground<sup>2</sup>.

7. In the comparison which we are making, the decrees of the Athenian Senate and Assembly correspond to the laws of the U.S. Congress, and the Solonic laws of Athens to the U.S. Constitution. The dangers of a democracy which is not kept in balance by the constant pressure of a higher law, keeping the ordinary legislation in check, were never stated more clearly than by Aristotle in his discussion of constitutional and unconstitutional democracy<sup>3</sup>. His third and fourth forms of democracy are those in which all citizens, or all who are *ἀνυπεύθυνοι*, can hold office, while law rules (*ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον*). The fifth and lowest form is that in which, other conditions being the same, "the multitude and not the law is supreme; and this is when decrees and not the law are supreme." "There," he says, "the people has become a monarch, one composed of many; and it seeks to exercise monarchical power because it is not ruled by law, and so becomes despotic." "Such a democracy," he adds, "is related to other democracies as tyranny to other monarchies, both having the same character, and both wielding a despotic power over the better part of the state; its decrees are like the tyrant's edicts<sup>4</sup>." The former is a constitu-

<sup>1</sup> A lower Federal Court can declare a law unconstitutional, and the decision naturally stands as a precedent in the court which made it, and for other courts of the same grade, as regards the case in question, unless it is reversed on appeal to the Supreme Court.

<sup>2</sup> See Thayer, *ibid.* pp. 13—26.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Pol. VI. (IV.) 4, §§ 22—28.

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *ibid.* §§ 24—28: *κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ἢ ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁ νόμος...μόναρχος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος γίνεται, σύνθετος εἰς ἐκ πολλῶν...ὁ δ' οἶν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἅτε μόναρχος ὢν, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός...καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος δῆμος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικὰ τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ὡς περ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα. Aristotle derives the government which he calls *δεσποτικὴ ἀρχή* from the slaveholder's power over his slave: see Pol. III. 8, 2,*



tional democracy, with the power of the people to pass decrees limited by a fixed code of laws; the latter is an unconstitutional democracy, which gives the people full power to enact whatever they please, subject to no restraint from any superior law which can enforce its authority through the courts. The supremacy of constitutional law, as Aristotle clearly saw, is the one great security which distinguishes a safe democracy from a dangerous one; and the United States have constant reason to bless the foresight which provided them with this protection in their original compact<sup>1</sup>.

8. Though France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries have written constitutions, they make no use of the principle which we are considering, except that in Germany and (under some limitations) in Switzerland the Federal courts may declare a state or cantonal law invalid if it conflicts with the Federal constitution. In England no such constitutional questions can arise for the courts to consider, because Parliament, the only legislative power, is absolute, and recognizes no law superior to its own<sup>2</sup>. As Bryce says, "what are called in England constitutional statutes, such as Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, ... are merely ordinary laws which could be repealed by Parliament at any moment in exactly the same way as it can repeal a highway act or lower the duty on tobacco." Parliament, he adds, "can abolish when it pleases any institution of the country, the Crown, the House of Lords, the Established Church, the House of Commons, Parliament itself." The *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, therefore, has no analogy in the English Constitution. It is obvious that England, with her more conservative form of government, yet lacks one check upon possible radical legislation, which has proved so effective, and yet so simple, under a pure democracy in the United States. Congress could not, except by an act of revolution, deprive the President of any of his

ἔστι δὲ τυραννὶς μὲν μοναρχία δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας, and 1. 7, 1, οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ... ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει, ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν.

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason for thinking that the example of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* even remotely suggested the U.S. system; and the analogy between the two is not mentioned, so far as I am aware, by any writer on the U.S. Constitution. The earliest reference to the subject which I have seen in print is in an excellent article in the Yale Review for May, 1893, on "An Athenian Parallel to a Function of our Supreme Court," by Professor T. D. Goodell of New Haven. The striking parallel can, however, hardly have escaped the notice of American classical scholars; and I cannot have been alone in using it, as I have done for the past twenty years or more, in explaining the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* to college classes.

<sup>2</sup> See Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* 1. 237, 238, 254, 272, 430; and Thayer, *Am. Doctr. of Const. Law*, 4.

prerogatives, or impair in the least the rights of its two houses, or interfere with the power of the Supreme Court to annul unconstitutional legislation when a case comes before it in the course of litigation.

9. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* legally turned on the simple question of the agreement or disagreement of a given law or decree with the existing laws, and the court had strictly no legal right to consider the general question of the expediency or even the justice of the enactment which was on trial. Nevertheless, the arguments in such cases abound in appeals to the court to reject a law because it is inexpedient or unjust; and there can be no doubt that such questions were an important part of the case which the judges considered. But such a natural extension of a counsel's privilege cannot weigh against definite statements on the other side made by the orators<sup>1</sup>. It could not be expected that a litigant or advocate in Athens, addressing a large body of judges, of whom few could even understand a strictly legal argument, should not try to impress them with a conviction that he had justice and expediency, as well as law, on his side. We can easily pardon an Athenian orator for availing himself of this aid, when such arguments are frequently addressed to the U.S. Supreme Court by eager counsel on questions of pure constitutional law, and when even the judges in giving their decisions sometimes enforce their legal judgments by considerations of expediency.

10. It has sometimes been thought that a decree or a law could be indicted by the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as *inexpedient* (*ἀνεπιτήδειον*)<sup>2</sup>. But we now know from Aristotle's Constitution of Athens that the *γραφὴ εἰάν τις μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θῆ νόμον* was a distinct process from the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and it is probably the one to which the doubtful law quoted in Demosth. xxiv. 33 refers, by which any one who procured the repeal of a law and neglected to substitute for it a new law which was *fitting* (*ἐπιτήδειον*) could be indicted by a special process<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. III. 199, 200: ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν..., οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τοῦτι τὸ σανίδιον, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε. Cf. 191, 192; Dem. xxiii. 100, 101; and see Meier and Schömann 431 and notes; Gilbert, Gr. Staatsalt. I. p. 284, n. 1; Thumser-Hermann, Staatsalt. § 92, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This view has been defended by such passages as Poll. VIII. 56, ὑπωμοσία δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν τις ἢ ψήφισμα ἢ νόμον γραφέντα γράψῃται ὡς ἀνεπιτήδειον, with VIII. 44, and Lycurg. Leoc. 7. Meier and Schömann refer all these to the custom of introducing extraneous matter into arguments on the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Pol. Ath. 59<sup>b</sup> (see Sandys's note); Dem. xxiv. 33 (law), εἰάν τις λύσας τινὰ τῶν νόμων τῶν κειμένων, ἕτερον ἀντιθῆ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἐναντίον

11. It may seem strange to compare the solemn action of the U.S. Supreme Court in deciding a question of constitutional law with the trial of a citizen at Athens, before a court consisting of 501, 1001, or 1501 ordinary men, chosen by lot from the great body of citizens, for proposing an unconstitutional decree or law. Both courts, however, have the same solemn duty to perform, that of deciding whether a given enactment is or is not in conflict with a superior code. Athens, like the United States, assigned this duty to the highest court in her judicial system (to which the Areopagus hardly belonged). When we leave the fundamental principle and come to the details, the differences are more striking. The most serious fault in the Athenian process was its personal character as a criminal suit, which any citizen could bring directly before the court, and the liability of the defendant to be punished at the discretion of the court by a fine (sometimes set as high as 100 talents) or even by death. This of course embittered the whole process, which sometimes degenerated into a vituperative quarrel of rival litigants. This evil was to a great extent removed after the expiration of a year, when the process became a sober and dignified trial of a legal question, the nominal defendant being now exposed to no personal risk. We may fairly compare the arguments addressed to the judges in such cases (as in that of Leptines), after making due allowance for the composition of the court, with those addressed to modern judges in similar cases.

12. Another important distinction came from the great number and variety of the matters dealt with in the Solonic law, compared with the few general principles laid down in the U.S. Constitution. This multiplied the cases of conflict (real or supposed) of decrees with laws, and made it more difficult to avoid conflicts in proposing decrees. And many of these conflicts related far less to serious questions of law than to petty details of legislation. The wide range of questions with which the γραφή παρανόμων might be concerned, and the facility thus afforded for finding legal flaws in almost any decree, tempted unprincipled men to use the process to vent their spite against personal enemies, and to stop or retard legislation which they could not otherwise check. We see, indeed, a decided degeneration in the conduct of this process from the earlier to the later cases. A brief comparison of the argument in these cases will illustrate this. In the years 355, 353, and

τῶν κειμένων τῶ, τὰς γραφὰς εἶναι κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς κείται ἐάν τις μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θῆ νόμον. This law, like others in the Timocratea, is often quoted as authentic, and is probably so in substance: see Thumser-Hermann, Staatsalt. § 91.



352 B.C. Demosthenes, as counsel, composed four elaborate arguments against the constitutionality of two laws and two decrees.

(1) In 356—355 B.C. Leptines carried a law providing that hereafter no exemption (*ἀτέλεια*) from any of the ordinary public burdens (*ἐγκύκλιαι λητουργίαι*) should be allowed, except to the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton. This law was indicted by the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as soon as it was enacted, and its operation was suspended. The chief accuser Bathippus died, and the case went over into the following year (355—354), when Leptines was free from personal responsibility<sup>1</sup>. There were now two prosecutors, Apsephion, son of Bathippus, and Ctesippus, son of the general Chabrias. Demosthenes made his argument against the law as the representative (*συνήγορος*) of Ctesippus<sup>2</sup>. His speech is a *δευτερολογία*, Phormio, the advocate of Apsephion, as the elder man (or the advocate of the elder prosecutor) having spoken first: this accounts for the brevity with which Demosthenes speaks on some legal points which Phormio had probably dwelt upon. Demosthenes urges the following legal points<sup>3</sup>:—

(a) The formalities for enacting a law required by the Solonic law (§ 2 above) were not observed by Leptines.

(b) The Solonic law requires that all gifts made by the people shall remain valid (*τὰς δωρεὰς ὅσας ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε κυρίας εἶναι*)

(c) The decree of Diophantus (passed in 411), which was solemnly ratified by the oath of the people and inscribed on a column, provided that all who should fall in defending the democratic government against tyrants should receive, for themselves and their descendants, the same honours which were given to Harmodius and Aristogiton.

(d) Many foreign benefactors of the state will be defrauded of their promised rewards.

(e) While the law allows only one penalty to be imposed by a court for a single offence, Leptines imposes two, and even three<sup>4</sup>.

(2) In 355 B.C., before the case of Leptines was tried, Demosthenes composed his speech against Androtion for a client, Diodorus, to

<sup>1</sup> This appears in the title of the speech of Demosthenes, *πρὸς Λεπτίνην*, not *κατὰ Λεπτίνου*. See Meier and Schömann, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of this point see Sandys's *Leptines*, pp. xxiv., xxviii. Cf. Dion. Hal. ad Amm. I. 4, p. 724, *ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς διέθετο*.

<sup>3</sup> I confine myself to the chief legal arguments.

<sup>4</sup> On the last argument see Sandys's note on § 156, with the quotations from Westermann and Dareste. Arguments (c) and (d) probably relate to the same law with (b).

deliver. Euctemon and Diodorus indicted as illegal a decree of the people proposed by Androtion, by which the usual complimentary crown was given to the Senate of the previous year. This speech also is a *δευτερολογία*. The legal arguments are these:—

(a) The law allows the people to give the crown to the Senate only when the Senate has voted to build a certain number of triremes during the year; this has not been done by the Senate of the previous year.

(b) The decree of Androtion is *ἀπροβούλευτον*, i.e. it has not passed the Senate. To the natural reply, that the law permits the crown to be given directly by the people without an express vote of the Senate, it is rejoined, that the law in question permits the people to confer the crown only on one condition, which has not been complied with; therefore the decree of the people is doubly illegal.

(c) Androtion is declared to be one of the class known to the law as *οἱ αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκότες*, who are forbidden to speak in the Assembly; therefore his decree is illegal.

(d) The father of Androtion is said to have died in debt to the state, and therefore to have been *ἄτιμος*. This *ἀτιμία* descends to his son, who, as the debt is not yet paid, has no right to speak in the Assembly.

(3) In the first Assembly of 353—352 B.C., when the regular *ἐπιχειροτονία τῶν νόμων* took place, it was voted that a special board of *νομοθέται* should meet the next day to devise means for celebrating the coming Panathenaic festival. Timocrates appeared before this board and proposed a new law, enacting that if any public debtor *has been* or shall hereafter be condemned to imprisonment as an additional punishment (*προστίμημα*), he shall be released on giving security satisfactory to the people for the payment of his debt. (The object of this was to release Androtion and other friends from arrest.) The *νομοθέται* approved this law, which was soon indicted by Diodorus, the former opponent of Androtion, who delivered the speech written for him by Demosthenes (xxiv., against Timocrates). The law was charged with illegality, chiefly on the following grounds:—

(a) It was passed in defiance of all the prescribed forms.

(b) It was an *ex post facto* law, including persons already condemned by the courts.

(c) It violated a law which forbade any one even to propose to relieve a public debtor or other *ἄτιμος* from his disabilities unless he had permission granted him by at least 6000 affirmative votes in the Assembly.

(d) The law forbids any one to petition the Senate or the Assembly to take action on any case which a court has decided; but Timocrates proposes to require the Assembly to act in such cases even without a petition.

(e) The law of Timocrates creates a *privilegium*, as it grants privileges to some but excludes others, which the Solonic law forbids.

(4) In 352 B.C. Demosthenes wrote a speech for Euthycles, who indicted a decree of Aristocrates, providing that any one who killed the general of mercenaries and freebooter, Charidemus, should be outlawed (*ἀγώγιμος*) in all the dominions of Athens. The legal argument here (18—94) is especially important. The orator quotes the greater part of the Draconic law of homicide, expounding it carefully, and showing how the bill of Aristocrates violates it in almost every particular. We learn from this argument that the Draconic law dealt chiefly with provisions for protecting the homicide from the earlier outlawry, which Aristocrates now proposed to re-establish legally, and for bringing him under the jurisdiction of courts and the protection of the law.

When we come from these legal arguments to the speech of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, we are struck at once, in the greater part of it, by the almost total absence of all that makes the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* worthy of its name. Aeschines devotes less than a tenth of his speech to a strictly legal argument, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as a magistrate; this is the strongest (though also the smallest) point in his argument, and he elaborates it with great skill and cogent reasoning. He also speaks more briefly of another legal point, the question of the place of proclamation; but this concerns a law of which we have little knowledge. The greater part of the speech is taken up with a most absurd attempt to connect his general account of the public life and the character of Demosthenes with his legal argument. He charges the references to Demosthenes in Ctesiphon's decree, in which he is said to seek the best interests of Athens in all that he says and does, with violating the law *forbidding the falsification of the public records!* This is his most elaborate argument, the one on which he most depends. It is absurd to suppose that the law in question had any reference to a case like this: this would have exposed every personal compliment in a laudatory decree to public prosecution at any one's will. It clearly related to malicious and fraudulent falsification of the public records in the Metroum by adding, erasing, or changing. And yet this is brought forward soberly and earnestly by Aeschines as a legal argument in support of his indictment. Of course Demosthenes, as the defendant's



advocate, was bound to reply to the plaintiff's argument, so that we cannot fairly compare his later with his earlier treatment of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. But the case against Ctesiphon, as Aeschines presents it, is in striking contrast to the cases against Leptines and others as Demosthenes presents them.

13. Finally, there was a law providing that any one who was thrice condemned in the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* should forfeit the right to propose measures in the Senate or Assembly.

### III.

#### *The Suit against Ctesiphon.*

1. Late in the month Thargelion of the year of Chaerondas (June, 337 B.C.) Demosthenes proposed and carried a measure for permanent repairs of the walls of Athens. The hasty work done under the excitement of the defeat at Chaeronea earlier in the year had been only temporary<sup>1</sup>. A commission of ten *τειχοποιοί*, one to be appointed by each tribe, was now established, to hold office during the following year, that of Phrynichus, 337—336 B.C. Demosthenes was chosen by his own tribe, the Pandionis, to be one of this commission. The fortifications of the Piraeus were assigned him as his special charge, and he is said to have received ten talents from the state to be used in the work. He added to this sum a substantial amount on his own account, usually stated as a hundred minas (1 $\frac{2}{3}$  talents)<sup>2</sup>. He also held the important office of superintendent of the Theoric Fund, which Aeschines says at that time included "nearly the whole administration of the state."

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 27: this shows that the ten *τειχοποιοί* were to be chosen in the last month of Chaerondas (338—337), to serve during the following year. As Ctesiphon's bill proposed to crown Demosthenes during his year of office, and as the bill was indicted shortly after it passed the Senate, the bill and the indictment belong to the year of Phrynichus (337—336). This agrees with the statement of Aeschines (219) that he brought the indictment before Philip's death (summer of 336), and with other data. See note 2, p. 329. The spurious indictment and decree (Dem. Cor. 54, 118) give two wrong names for the archon.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. III. 17, 23, 31; Dem. Cor. 113, 300 (*τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς*); Vit. X. Orat. 845 F; and 851 A (decree), *ὄνο τάφρους περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ταφρούσας*, but stating the amount given as three talents. See a decree for repairing the walls, passed a few years later, in C. I. Att. II. no. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 25, 26.

It was gratitude for his great public services in these offices and for his generous gift, together with the increasing confidence in his statesmanship and patriotism, which had recently been expressed in his appointment to deliver the funeral oration on those who fell at Chaeronea<sup>1</sup>, that caused his political friends to propose to crown him in the theatre at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 336, as a mark of the public approbation of his whole political life<sup>2</sup>.

2. Ctesiphon accordingly proposed a bill in the Senate to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown for his services and generosity as commissioner on the walls and for his life devoted to the interests of Athens in speech and action. The bill passed the Senate at once, and there can be little doubt that it would have passed the Assembly with equal alacrity if it could have been brought to a vote there. Before it could be presented to the people, Aeschines brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon, charging his bill with illegality. This made it impossible to carry the measure further until the lawsuit was settled<sup>3</sup>. For reasons of which we are not directly informed, but in which both Aeschines and Ctesiphon as well as Demosthenes must have acquiesced the trial was postponed more than six years, until August 330. We can easily conjecture reasons for this long delay. Soon after the suit was brought, Philip was assassinated, and Alexander came to the throne. Uncertainty as to the effect of this sudden change, and unwillingness to discuss publicly the relations between Philip and Athens, probably made both parties not averse to remaining quiet. The destruction of Thebes in the following year and the subsequent harsh action of Alexander, especially his demand for the Athenian orators, while they emboldened the Macedonian party at Athens, yet made Demosthenes safer against an adverse judgment of his fellow citizens than ever before. Aeschines doubtless felt that he had gained a great point in preventing Demosthenes from being publicly crowned before the assembled Greeks, and was willing to wait.

3. A year later Alexander began his invasion of the Persian Empire. The absence from Greece of the man whom one party feared and the other was eager to conciliate might seem favourable to a

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 285.

<sup>2</sup> As the bill of Ctesiphon was proposed in 337—336, we may assume that Demosthenes was to be crowned at the Great Dionysia of that year.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. [XXVI.] 8: *ὅταν τις ψήφισματος ἢ νόμου γραφὴν ἀπενέγκῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, ὁ μὲν νόμος ἢ τὸ ψήφισμα ἄκυρόν ἐστιν.* See Poll. VIII. 56. This applies even more strongly to a *προβούλευμα*.

renewal of the contest; but a case already postponed two years needed some special occasion to revive it. Such an occasion came, as Aeschines probably thought, with the destruction of the Persian Empire after the battle of Arbela (Oct. 1, 331 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>, when Darius was a fugitive and Alexander was at the summit of his glory. He must have felt that no time could be more favourable for a judgment against Demosthenes; while Demosthenes naturally felt that shrinking from the trial would imply want of confidence in the good-will of his fellow citizens, of which he was constantly receiving most flattering tokens. For these or other reasons, this famous case came before the Heliastic court, under the presidency of the six Thesmothetae, in the late summer, probably in August, 330 B.C.<sup>2</sup> We do not know the number of the judges. A *δικαστήριον* commonly consisted of 501; but we hear of 1001, 1501, and 2001, and in so important a case one of the larger courts would be likely to be impanelled.

4. The *προβούλευμα* of the Senate concerning the crown had legally expired at the end of the year 337—336<sup>3</sup>. This was probably not renewed until after the trial. The offence for which Ctesiphon was indicted was committed when he proposed his bill in 336, and this offence was in no way mitigated by the subsequent expiration of the act of the Senate. A renewal of the *same* decree would probably have been illegal while it was suspended under indictment: the proposal of a new decree in a different form would have required a new indictment

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (Alex. 31) says that the battle of Arbela was fought eleven days after an eclipse of the moon: this occurred Sept. 20, 331 B.C. See Boeckh, *Mondcyclen*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>2</sup> We have several independent data which fix this time. (1) See Dion. Hal. ad Amm. I. 12 (p. 746): *οὗτος* (the speech on the Crown) *γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον* (the campaign of Chaeronea). *ἐπ' Ἀριστοφάντος ἀρχαί τοις* (330—329), *ὀγδόῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην* (338), *ἔκτω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν* (336), *καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκα μάχην*. This places the date after midsummer 330 B.C. (See Schaefer III. p. 224, note.) (2) The year 330—329 began June 28 (Boeckh, *Mondcyclen*, p. 42). The death of Darius occurred in Hecatombaeon (i.e. July) of this year: Arrian III. 22<sup>2</sup>. The news of this had not come to Athens before the trial, as Aeschines (132) speaks of him as a fugitive. This would not allow the trial to be later than August. (3) Again, Aeschines (254) says, *ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι*. The Pythian games came in the third year of each Olympiad near the end of the Delphic month *Βουκάπιος*, which corresponds to the second month of the Attic year (*Μεταγεῖτνιον*). This would place the trial near the middle of August. See Unger, *Sitzungsberichte der Munich Academy*, 1879, II. p. 177; Köhler's remarks on C. I. Att. II. nos. 545, 551.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XXIII. 92: *ὁ νόμος δ' ἐπέτεια κελεύει τὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι ψήφισματα*.



to prevent it from being carried to the Assembly and passed like any other *προβούλευμα*. The long-delayed trial brought to Athens great numbers of visitors from all parts of Greece, who were eager to witness this final contest between the rival orators<sup>1</sup>. The audience of citizens and strangers which surrounded the court probably differed little from that which would have greeted Demosthenes in the Dionysiac theatre if his crown had then been proclaimed. It can hardly be doubted that the crowd of listeners were as deeply moved by the earnest eloquence of Demosthenes as the judges, and that they would gladly have followed the court in giving him more than four-fifths of their votes.

5. The day was divided into three parts, as was usual on the trial of a *γραφή παρανόμων*, an equal amount of water being poured into the clepsydra for the plaintiff and the defendant, and a third (a smaller amount) in case of the conviction of the defendant, for the assessment of the penalty (*τίμησις*)<sup>2</sup>. The largest amount of water which is mentioned is that assigned to each plea in the *γραφή παραπρεσβείας* (*ἰὶ ἀμφορείς*, about 100 gallons), and this is probably the maximum<sup>3</sup>. The speech of Demosthenes against Aeschines in this suit (XIX.) is the longest that we have. That on the Crown is much shorter, but longer than any of the others delivered in a *γραφή παρανόμων*: we may presume that the orator here used all of his time. Aeschines, as plaintiff, spoke first; after his argument, the court called on Ctesiphon, as defendant, to reply. He probably repeated a short speech composed for him by Demosthenes, and then asked leave of the court to call on Demosthenes, as his advocate, to finish his defence<sup>4</sup>. Strictly, each party to the suit was required to plead his own cause; or, if he called in advocates, as Aeschines summoned Eubulus, Phocion, and others to support him in the suit for false legation, to do this at the end of an elaborate argument of his own<sup>5</sup>. But here, as Demosthenes was the real defendant, it would have been absurd to object to his arguing the case in full. That the procedure was unusual is shown by the audacious attempt of Aeschines to induce the court to refuse Demosthenes a hearing<sup>6</sup>; and his argument

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 56: ἐναντίον τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ... ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 197; Harpocration under *διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα*.

<sup>3</sup> Id. II. 126: πρὸς ἕνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι.

<sup>4</sup> Id. III. 201: ἐπειδὴν προελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλεθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον.

<sup>5</sup> Id. II. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Id. III. 202—205.

on this point shows that the court had a legal right to refuse to hear any except the parties to the suit. But the great audience had not come to hear Ctesiphon, and we hear of no further attempt to interfere with the argument of Demosthenes. The orator probably delivered his famous speech substantially in the form in which it has come down to us<sup>1</sup>.

6. When the arguments were finished, the judges voted on the question of convicting Ctesiphon; and the result was a triumphant acquittal by more than four-fifths of the votes<sup>2</sup>. This subjected Aeschines to the two penalties of malicious prosecution, a fine of a thousand drachmas, and partial *ἀτιμία*, which deprived him of the right to bring a similar suit hereafter<sup>3</sup>. This result mortified him so deeply that he withdrew from Athens and spent the rest of his life chiefly in

<sup>1</sup> The speech of Demosthenes is universally praised as a consummate work of art. When we think of the tremendous stake which he had at risk in the case, and remember that he had six years' warning of the crisis which was sure to come sooner or later, it seems incredible that he should have left the elaboration of his speech to any extent to future revision. In the speech of Aeschines there are such definite allusions to passages in the reply of Demosthenes, that we cannot escape the conclusion that they are later additions. There is nothing in the speech of Demosthenes which is impossible or even strange in a reply. I have tried to show that what has sometimes been mistaken for confusion in the narrative part of his speech is really the result of the highest art in the arrangement of his argument (see Essay I. § 4. p. 310).

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Dem. 24: οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. Cf. Dem. Cor. 82, 266.

<sup>3</sup> Harpocr. under *εἰάν τις*: εἰάν τις γραψάμενος μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὀφλισκάνει χιλίας καὶ πρόσεστιν ἀτιμία τις. Theophrastus (in Schol. to Dem. p. 593, 24 R.) adds to this (explaining *ἀτιμία*) οἷον τὸ ἐξεῖναι μήτε γράψασθαι παρανόμων μήτε φαίνειν μήτε ἐφηγεῖσθαι. Cf. Poll. VIII. 53. Philostr. Vit. Soph. I. 18, 3: Ἀθηνῶν δ' ὑπεξῆλθεν (Αἰσχίνης) οὐχὶ φείγειν προσταχθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμίᾳ ἐξοστάνεος, ἣ ὑπήγετο ὑπὸ Δημοσθένει καὶ Κτησιφῶντι ἐκπεσῶν τῶν ψήφων. The precise nature of the partial *ἀτιμία* here mentioned is uncertain. The above quotation from Theophrastus would seem to imply that it consisted in the loss of the right to bring the special form of *γραφὴ* in which he was defeated, as *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, *γραφὴ παραπροσβείας*, or any of the peculiar forms (like *φάσις*, *εἰσαγγελία*, *ἐνδείξις*, etc.) which are classed with *γραφαί* (see Poll. VIII. 40, 41). But see Andoc. I. 76, *ἐτέροις οὐκ ἦν γράψασθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐνδείξει*, where *γράψασθαι* would seem to include all *γραφαί*. The same view is supported by [Dem.] XXVI. 9, *ὅταν τις ἐπεξιῶν μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ γράφεσθαι μηδ' ἀπάγειν μηδ' ἐφηγεῖσθαι*. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Theophrastus is more exact in his expression *γράψασθαι παρανόμων*, and that a similar qualification is implied in the other passages, so that the *ἀτιμος* would forfeit his right to bring the same form of *γραφὴ* in which he was defeated. Otherwise a plaintiff who failed to receive a fifth of the votes in the smallest kind of *γραφὴ* would lose the right to bring all *γραφαί*, while one who lost an *ἐνδείξις* or an *εἰσαγγελία* would lose only the right to bring this unusual form of public suit.

Rhodes, where he is said to have been a teacher of rhetoric in his later years<sup>1</sup>. After such a decisive vindication of Demosthenes, there can be no doubt that his friends renewed in the Senate the bill for crowning him, and that this was promptly passed in both Senate and Assembly in time for the orator to receive his golden crown with enthusiastic applause at the Great Dionysia of 329.

## IV.

*The trials of Aeschines and Philocrates for misconduct in making the Peace of 346 B.C.*

1. The trial of Aeschines in 343 B.C.<sup>2</sup> for his conduct on the Second Embassy, which negotiated the peace with Philip in 346, and the speech of Demosthenes as his accuser, have an important bearing on the discussions of the peace in the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes thirteen years later. The suit against Aeschines was technically called *εὔθυναί*, i.e. a process arising from the *εὔθυναί* or scrutiny which Aeschines, like every other officer of state, was required to pass before he could be relieved of his responsibility as an ambassador<sup>3</sup>. Within

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Dem. 24: *εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾤχετ' ἀπιῶν, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε*. Vit. X. Orat. 840 D: *ἀπάρas εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν*. While teaching at Rhodes, Aeschines is said to have read his speech against Ctesiphon to a Rhodian audience; and when all were astonished that he was defeated after so eloquent a plea, he replied, *οὐκ ἂν ἐθαυμάσετε, Ῥόδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἠκούσατε*. Vit. X. Orat. *ibid.* Other versions of the story give his answer, *εἰ ἠκούσατε τοῦ θηρίου ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἠπύρητο*. See Phot. Bibl. No. 61. Roman writers, as Cicero (*de Orat.* III. 56), relate that the Rhodians, after hearing the speech of Aeschines, asked to hear the reply of Demosthenes: *quam cum suavissima et maxima voce legisset, admirantibus omnibus, "Quanto," inquit, "magis miraremini si audissetis ipsum!"*

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. ad Amm. I. 10 (p. 737), under the archonship of Pythodotus (343—342): *καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους*. Hypoth. 2, § 11, to Dem. XIX.: *μαθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τῶν Φωκῶν ἀπώλειαν, ... μετὰ τρία ἔτη εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσων Αἰσχίνου*. See Schaefer II. 383. It has often been doubted whether the case ever came to trial, chiefly because of a doubt of Plutarch (Dem. 15), *ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἀδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν*. For Plutarch's objection, that neither orator mentions the trial in the speeches on the Crown, see note on Cor. 142<sup>5</sup>. See also note 6, § 7, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> For *εὔθυναί*, as a form of legal process, see Meier and Schömann, pp. 257—269.



thirty days after the return of the second embassy to Athens (13 Scirophorion, 7 July, 346), Aeschines must have presented himself for his *εὔθυναί*<sup>1</sup>. Before this, when Demosthenes offered himself for his *εὔθυναί*, Aeschines had objected to the process, on the ground that the second embassy was merely a continuation of the first, for which all the envoys had already passed the scrutiny. Of course this was a mere trick to escape passing his own *εὔθυναί* for the second embassy, which he had good reason to dread. This objection was overruled by the presiding Logistae; and as Demosthenes was admitted to his *εὔθυναί*, Aeschines also was compelled to appear for his own<sup>2</sup>.

2. Demosthenes and Timarchus, with perhaps others, appeared against Aeschines at his *εὔθυναί* with a *γραφὴ παραπροσβείας*, an *indictment for misconduct on an embassy*<sup>3</sup>. This was received by the presiding Logistae, who had the presidency also in this suit; and the case would naturally have been brought by them before a Heliastic court. But before this could be done, Aeschines met the accusation by a most effective *ἀντιγραφὴ*, in which he challenged the right of Timarchus to appear as an accuser in the courts, on the ground that he had once led a shameless life (*αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκέναι*). When next he saw Timarchus in the Assembly, he served upon him publicly an *ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας*, i.e. a summons to appear at a *δοκιμασία ῥητόρων*, an investigation of his right to appear as a *ῥήτωρ*<sup>4</sup>. He charged him with *ἐταίρησις* and also with squandering his paternal estate, both of which disqualified a man from appearing as a speaker in either the Assembly or the courts of law. This case came to trial early in 345 B.C.<sup>5</sup>, and the evidence against

Any suit which arose from charges made at the *εὔθυναί* was called *εὔθυναί*: see Dem. XIX. 17, *ἐκ τῆς προσβείας ταύτης, ἥσπερ εἰσὶν αἱ νῦν εὔθυναί*, and 82, 132, 256. See note on Cor. 249<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Harpocr. under *λογισταί*.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 211, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Hypoth. 2, § 10, to Dem. XIX.: *ἐπέστη Τιμαρχος καὶ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσοντες τούτου*. For the *γραφὴ παραπροσβείας*, which was regularly brought only at the *εὔθυναί*, see Meier and Schömann, pp. 459—461.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. I. 19, 20, 28—32: *τίνας δ' οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν; τοὺς αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκότας· τούτους οὐκ ἔῃ δημηγορεῖν...δοκιμασία ῥητόρων, εἴαν τις λέγῃ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸν πατέρα τύπτων ἢ τὴν μητέρα...ἢ πεπορνευμένος ἢ ἡταιρηκῶς, ...ἢ τὰ πατρῶα κατεδηδοκῶς*. Cf. 154. For the *ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας* see Meier and Schömann, pp. 249—252. There were two kinds of *δοκιμασία* which might lead to a judicial process, which was itself called *δοκιμασία* (cf. the parallel case of *εὔθυναί* in note 3, p. 332): these were the *δοκιμασία ἀρχόντων* (M. and S. pp. 236—246), and the *δοκιμασία ῥητόρων*, to which Timarchus was subjected.

<sup>5</sup> See Schaefer II. 336, n. 5.

Timarchus was ample for his conviction. Aeschines then delivered the first of his three orations, and it is doubtful whether any serious defence was made. This had the result desired by him. It suspended the case against himself for a time: and by disgracefully disqualifying one of his accusers, discredited the case in the eyes of the people, who would finally decide it in the popular court. It is hard to see why such a man as Timarchus was allowed to be associated with Demosthenes in so important a political case, and it soon appeared that this was a most fatal mistake<sup>1</sup>.

3. This mortifying rebuff put off the trial more than two years. It is easy to see why Demosthenes hesitated to renew the prosecution, and Aeschines probably felt that time would be on his side. In the meantime Demosthenes lost no opportunity of discrediting the peace in the Assembly and of declaring that Philip had deceived Athens by bribing certain men who were well known in the city. The etiquette of the Assembly forbade the mention of names; but no names could have designated more clearly both Aeschines and Philocrates<sup>2</sup>. Such constant reminders, confirmed by the later acts of Philip, must have gradually brought the Athenians to a correct understanding of the conduct of Aeschines. The friends of Demosthenes prepared the way for a renewal of his suit against Aeschines, by a state prosecution of Philocrates for treasonable conduct in negotiating the peace which bore his name.

4. Early in 343 B.C. Hyperides brought before the Senate of Five

<sup>1</sup> The insignificance of Timarchus will hardly account for his appearance as prosecutor in this case; for Demosthenes would represent the suit publicly, whoever were his associates. Timarchus had been a strong and active opponent of Philip. As Senator in 347—346, he proposed a decree that any one who should be convicted of carrying arms or naval implements to Philip should be punished by death (Dem. XIX. 286). It must also be remembered that the charges against Timarchus related to his youth and were probably forgotten by most people. He was a Senator in 361, and therefore at least thirty years old then, so that in 345 he was at least forty-six. It is to be noticed that Aeschines makes the venality of the offence his sole ground for his accusation of Timarchus: he even confesses that apart from this he has no objection to the relation in question. See I. 137, τὸ μὲν ἀδιαφθόρως ἐρᾶσθαι φημι καλὸν εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπαρθέντα μισθῷ πεπορνεῦσθαι αἰσχρὸν (cf. 136). The whole passage I. 132—165 gives a striking view of what it was safe for an orator to say in public, even in attacking a man like Timarchus. See Schaefer II. 338—340, and Dem. XIX. 286.

<sup>2</sup> See Dem. VI. 28—37, IX. 36—40; even in his speech on the Peace, V. 9, 10, he shows plainly who are responsible for the present necessity of submitting to Philip's demands. See also XIX. 134—136, 207.

Hundred an *εἰσαγγελία* against Philocrates, charging him with serving Philip for bribes to the detriment of Athens. The Senate accepted the *εἰσαγγελία*, thus making the suit a public one. It went for trial to a Heliastic court, and the state appointed advocates, among them Demosthenes, to assist Hyperides in managing the case<sup>1</sup>. In his indictment (called *εἰσαγγελία*) Hyperides quoted verbatim five or six decrees of Philocrates in support of his charge<sup>2</sup>. There was no lack of decisive evidence. Philocrates had made an open show of his newly acquired wealth after the peace, by building houses, selling wheat, transporting timber, changing foreign gold openly at the bankers' counters in Athens; and (according to Demosthenes) he had even confessed that he received money from Philip<sup>3</sup>. He gave up his defence, and left the court and Athens before the judgment was declared; and in his absence he was condemned to death, the penalty which Hyperides proposed in his *εἰσαγγελία*. He passed the rest of his life in exile<sup>4</sup>. This result shows how public opinion about the peace had changed in three years, so that Philocrates, whose word was law when the peace was made, was now left to his fate, friendless and helpless. No man of influence, like Eubulus, attempted to save him; and we hear of no

<sup>1</sup> For the state process called *εἰσαγγελία*, see Meier and Schömann, pp. 312—332, and for the νόμος *εἰσαγγελτικός*, p. 316. This process was provided for the special trial of (1) those charged with conspiracy against the democracy of Athens, (2) those charged with betraying towns or military or naval forces to public enemies, or with holding treasonable communication with these, (3) orators (*ρήτορας*) charged with being bribed by public enemies to give evil advice to the people. See Hyper. Eux. §§ 7, 8 (coll. 22, 23). It will be seen that *εἰσαγγελία*, so far from being applicable chiefly (or only) to crimes which were not provided for in the laws (as was once believed), is definitely restricted to certain high offences, all of which, moreover, might be dealt with by other processes, as is seen in the similar cases of Philocrates and Aeschines.

<sup>2</sup> Hyper. Eux. §§ 29, 30 (coll. 39, 40): τοῦτον (Φιλοκράτη) εἰσαγγείλας ἐγὼ (ἐπὶ τῶν Φιλίππῳ ὑπηρετεῖ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, εἶλον ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἐγραψα δικαίαν καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ῥήτορα ὄντα λέγειν μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων χρήματα λαμβάνοντα καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τάναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ (quoting the law). καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ἀπέχρησέ μοι τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' ὑποκάτω παρέγραψα, τὰ δ' εἶπεν οὐ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ, χρήματα λαβών· εἶτα τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτοῦ ὑπέγραψα· καὶ πάλιν τὰ δ' εἶπεν οὐ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ, χρήματα λαβών, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρέγραφον. καὶ ἔστι μοι πεντάκις ἢ ἑξάκις τοῦτο γεγραμμένον. This will give some idea of the formalities observed in the *εἰσαγγελία*.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 114: εἰ μὴ μόνον ὠμολόγει παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδείκνυεν ὑμῖν, πυροπωλῶν, οἰκοδομῶν, ... ἐλληγῶν, τὸ χρυσίον καταλλαττομένου φανερῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις. Gold coins in Athens were generally foreign.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. II. 6, III. 79, 81; Dinarch. I. 28.



anxiety lest his condemnation should cause enmity with Philip. Demosthenes, as prosecuting attorney for the state, complained that Philocrates alone was selected for prosecution while others equally guilty were left untouched. He then formally called on "any of the other ambassadors," who would declare before the court that he was not implicated in the acts of Philocrates, to come forward and do so; and he promised to absolve him from accusation. No one responded<sup>1</sup>. This was of course an offer to Aeschines to abandon the suit against him if he would make this declaration. Such challenges were very frequent in the courts of Athens, chiefly because they were never meant to be accepted.

5. This triumphant success inspired Demosthenes with new hopes for his suit against Aeschines. This came to trial after midsummer in 343 B.C. when Demosthenes and Aeschines delivered their speeches *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*. The court probably consisted of 1501 judges; and the Logistae presided, as the case still belonged to the *εὐθυναί* of the second embassy, for which Aeschines was still *ὑπεύθυνος*. Demosthenes brings his accusation under five heads, covering the five points on which an ambassador should be called to account at his *εὐθυναί*. These are (1) *ὧν ἀπήγγειλε*, (2) *ὧν ἔπεισε*, (3) *ὧν προσετάξετε αὐτῷ*, (4) *τῶν χρόνων*, (5) *εἰ ἀδωροδοκίῳς ἢ μὴ* (or *τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ*). In his elaborate argument he strives to prove that Aeschines (1) made a false report, (2) advocated pernicious measures on the ground of his report, (3) disobeyed his instructions, (4) wasted his time, (5) acted corruptly, being bribed by Philip<sup>2</sup>. The argument on these five heads occupies §§ 17-178, the remainder of the oration being chiefly given to general arguments tending to show the corruption of Aeschines and his collusion with Philip. One of the strongest general arguments is this. Events have proved that the account given by Aeschines of Philip's intentions, especially his report that Philip would save the Phocians and attack the Thebans, was absolutely false, and Athens has been disgraced by following his bad advice. Now, if he thus reported and thus advised honestly, he must feel that he was grossly betrayed by Philip. No words could express his indignation at such base treatment. On the contrary, he still remains a firm friend of Philip. His report and advice were therefore dishonest and corrupt<sup>3</sup>. Aeschines makes no attempt to answer this argument and many others equally cogent.

6. The reply of Aeschines, though eloquent and effective in certain

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 116—118.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4-8, 177—179.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 106—110.

passages, is weak and trifling as an answer to the powerful argument of Demosthenes. Though he denies some of the special statements of his opponent, perhaps successfully, he says nothing which breaks the force of the main argument against himself. His long account of the first embassy has nothing to do with the question before the court; many of his strongest arguments relate to matters on which we have no other knowledge; while, in cases in which we have other evidence, we sometimes find his most solemn assertions false or misleading<sup>1</sup>. His replies to the gravest charges are sometimes mere trifling. Thus he answers the grave charge of falsely reporting Philip's intentions by saying that he "only made a report and promised nothing<sup>2</sup>." He replies to the charge of joining Philip in the paeans and other rejoicings over the destruction of the Phocians by saying that, though he was present, he was only one of two hundred, and that Demosthenes (who was not present) has no evidence whether he sang or not! He then says that the paean was sung in honour of Apollo, not to the dishonour of Athens; and seems to imply that, if he only sang with the rest of the company, he did merely an act of piety<sup>3</sup>!

7. He brought before the court his aged father, his two little children, and his two brothers, to excite pity<sup>4</sup>; and he finally called on Eubulus, Phocion, and other influential men to come forward as his supporters<sup>5</sup>. Eubulus addressed the court in his behalf, and probably urged prudential reasons for acquitting Aeschines. It might easily be thought by cautious men that the recent sacrifice of Philocrates was as much as it was safe to demand under the circumstances: and this, added to the presence of men like Eubulus and Phocion on the defendant's platform, probably saved Aeschines from conviction. We are told only that he was acquitted by thirty votes<sup>6</sup>; and this was no triumph—indeed, no justification—for a man in his position.

<sup>1</sup> See Hist. §§ 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 119. The best that Aeschines could say on this subject thirteen years later is seen in III. 79—83.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 162, 163: e.g. καὶ τῷ γε δηλὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ γε ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς προῆδον;

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 179, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Vit. x. Orat. 840 C: ἐφ' ἧ (πρεσβείᾳ) κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ...συνειπόντος αὐτῷ Εὐβούλου, ...τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν, and 841 A: κυράσας ὄρκους τὴν εἰρήνην, κριθεὶς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προείρηται. See p. 332, note 2.

## V.

*The Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council.*

1. Aeschines (ii. 116) gives eleven of the twelve tribes which formed the Amphictyonic Council, as follows: Thessalians, Boeotians ("not merely Thebans"), Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magnesians, Locrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians (i.e. the Achaeans of Phthiotis), Malians, Phocians. He professes to give twelve names: *κατηριθμησάμην ἕθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. It is generally assumed that the Dolopians are accidentally omitted in the text, and many editions insert these. An important inscription recently discovered at Delphi by the French explorers seems to me to show clearly that the Delphians are the omitted people. See Bourguet, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1896, p. 241, who gives from this inscription a list of the members of the Council at the time of Alexander the Great. This contains the Thessalians, "King Alexander," Delphians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians (with Dolopians), Boeotians, Locrians, Achaeans (i.e. of Phthiotis), Magnesians, Aenianians, and Malians, each with two delegates. Comparing this with the list of Aeschines, we find King Alexander holding the two Phocian votes; the Aenianians represent the Oetaeans, of whom they were an important tribe; the Dolopians are included with the Perrhaebians; and the Delphians, who are constantly mentioned in the Delphic inscriptions relating to the Council, are added. If we add the Delphians to the list of Aeschines, the two lists substantially agree<sup>1</sup>.

2. Each of the twelve tribes had two votes in the Council, given by delegates called *ἱερομνήμονες*, two of whom were sent by each Amphictyonic tribe. But the Dorians, Ionians, and Locrians were geographically divided, so that each of two divisions had a single Hieromnemon with a single vote. Thus the two Dorian votes might be divided between the Spartans (with other Dorians of Peloponnesus) and the ancient Dorian Tetrapolis, near Parnassus; the Ionian votes between

<sup>1</sup> On the Delphians see Foucart's note in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.*, 1883, p. 437. Theopompus (frag. 80) gives the Dolopians and Achaeans, as independent of Perrhaebians and Phthiotians (who are also given); and he omits the Thessalians and Locrians. Pausanias (x. 8, 2) gives only ten names, omitting the Delphians and Boeotians: he gives the Phocians (and no Macedonians), otherwise agreeing essentially with the Delphic inscription.



the Athenians and the other Ionians (in Euboea and Asia Minor); the Locrian votes between the Eastern and Western Locrians. Aeschines explains that each people had the same representation with two equal votes, for example, τὸν ἤκοντα ἐκ Δωρίων καὶ Κυτινίων ἴσον διυάμενον Λακεδαιμονίοις, δύο γὰρ ψήφους ἕκαστον φέρει ἔθνος· πάλιν ἐκ τῶν Ἰωίων τὸν Ἐρετριᾶ καὶ Πριηνεᾶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. This means that the whole Dorian Tetrapolis might have one of the two Dorian votes (which could be in the hands of a delegate from any one of the four towns), and this was as good as the Spartan vote. We do not, however, find that the Tetrapolis had one of the votes every year, but sometimes both delegates came from Peloponnesus. So likewise one of the Ionian votes, which might be given by a delegate from Euboea or one from Priene (in different years), was as good as the other, which was always given by Athens. The Hieromnemon of Athens was chosen each year by lot: see Arist. Nub. 623, λαχὼν Ὑπέρβολος τῆτες ἱερομνημονεῖν. How this officer was chosen when he represented several disconnected towns is not known.

3. Besides the twenty-four Hieromnemones, certain towns sent another class of delegates, called *πυλάγοροι* (later *πυλαγόραι*) or *ἀγορατροί*, who appear to have had the right to speak, but not to vote, in certain meetings of the Council. Photius defines *πυλάγορος* as ὁ πεμπόμενος εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν (?) εἰς τὴν Ἀμφικτυονίαν ῥήτωρ, ὥστε ἐκεῖ ἀγορεύσαι. They represented the towns which sent them, not the tribe as a whole. Athens sent three, chosen by the people apparently for each Amphictyonic meeting, while the Hieromnemon held his membership for a year. We do not know the number or the manner of appointment or the distribution of those sent by other towns. See Hermann's Staatsalt. § 14. The meeting at which Aeschines made his inflammatory harangue, which stirred up the Amphissian War, appears to have been one of the *ἱερομνήμονες* exclusively, which Aeschines, as a *πυλάγορος*, attended only by special invitation of the Hieromnemon and as his representative, but with all his rights. See Hist. § 72.

## VI.

### *The Hero Physician and the Hero Καλαμίτης.*

1. In Demosthenes XIX. 249 the father of Aeschines is said to have kept a school near the shrine of the Hero Physician (πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἰατροῦ); and in Cor. 129 his mother is said to have lived a shameful life

near the shrine of the Hero Καλαμίτης (πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι), while his father is said to have been the slave of a schoolmaster near the Theseum (πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα). There is great doubt about all these localities: the position of the real Theseum is not exactly known; that of the shrine of the Hero Physician is unknown, except that it was ἐν ἄστει; and the hero Καλαμίτης is not mentioned elsewhere. Many scholars identify the two school-houses; others identify the two shrines, making καλαμίτης equivalent to ἰατρός.

2. Reiske<sup>1</sup> recognized in the Hero Physician the Scythian Toxaris, of whom Lucian gives a pleasant account in his Σκύθης ἢ Πρόξενος. Toxaris, according to Lucian, came to Athens in the time of Solon, by whom he was kindly received. He was a physician and a man of general cultivation, though not of high rank at home. When his countryman, Anacharsis, came to Athens, he was recognized and welcomed by Toxaris, who introduced him to Solon. Toxaris died and was buried in Athens. When the plague was raging in the Peloponnesian War, the wife of an Areopagite reported that Toxaris came forth from his tomb and told her that the plague would cease if the narrow streets of the city were freely sprinkled with wine. This was done, and the plague disappeared. The lady pointed out the tomb from which the Scythian came forth. This was examined, and the remains of Toxaris were found within, which were identified by a mutilated inscription, and also by the figure of a Scythian sculptured on the gravestone, having in his left hand a strung bow and in his right what appeared to be a book (βιβλίον, ὡς ἐδόκει). Lucian says that more than half of the figure was to be seen in his time, with the bow and the book entire. The upper part of the stone with the face was gone. The monument, he says, was not far from the gate Dipylum, on the left of the road leading to the Academy: the stone was lying flat on the ground. On account of his wonderful skill in stopping the horrors of the plague, Toxaris was made a hero and worshipped as the "Hero Physician." He had a shrine within the city walls; and his tomb was always decked with wreaths, and miraculous cures were wrought there<sup>2</sup>.

3. It happens that in the excavations outside the Dipylum gate

<sup>1</sup> See note on Demosth. F. Legat. p. 419, 22, with references to Lucian and to Corsini, Fasti Att. (Florence 1742), II. p. 372, under Τοξαρίδεια. Corsini refers to Lucian's Σκύθης, and to the residence and death of Toxaris in Athens and his deification; but he makes no allusion to Demosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, Scyth. 2. See C. I. Att. II. nos. 403, 404, two inscriptions, probably of the third and second centuries B.C., which show an active interest in the worship of the Hero Physician, whose shrine is said to be ἐν ἄστει.

at Athens a figure was found which in many respects agrees wonderfully with Lucian's description. It represents a headless crouching Scythian, in his native dress, who had once held a bow in his left hand (the opening through which the bow passed still remaining), while under the left arm and held by the right hand is what, when viewed in front, appears to be a writing tablet, but from the side is seen to be a pointed quiver. The



From the *Revue Archéologique*  
for 1864.

chief point in which this figure fails to agree with Lucian's description is that Lucian calls the monument a *στήλη*, while this is a statue, entirely free on all sides. This might be explained by the figure lying flat on the ground, as Lucian describes it; and it must have been flat on its back, or the pointed quiver could never have been mistaken for a book. If it was so covered by earth that only the front and the two hands, with the bow and the apparent book, were visible, it would have been a natural mistake to call it a *στήλη*. Indeed, any further exposure of the figure would at once have made the quiver visible.

4. I therefore think there is sufficient evidence to identify this figure with the one seen by Lucian or his informant. Beyond a suggestion of Salinas, in the *Revue Archéol.* for 1864, that the figure is a late



substitute for Lucian's *στήλη*, I have not seen any notice of their identity. The words *βιβλίον, ὡς ἐδόκει*, which describe the quiver, seem to be nearly decisive. The little figure stood for many years outside of the Dipylum, near the spot where it was found; and it may be seen there in Curtius and Kaupert's *Atlas von Athen*, Map IV., No. 7, called "Torso eines kauernnden Skythen, der nach seinem Köcher fasst." It now stands in the great Museum of Athens; but the catalogues have no suggestion of its connection with Toxaris.

5. We have no means of judging whether Toxaris is an historic character, or whether Lucian's account of his life is as fabulous as his story of the plague. It is equally hard to decide whether Demosthenes referred to the same places in his different stories of the parents of Aeschines; and this is of slight consequence, as probably the only historic fact in them all is that Atrometus kept a school in Athens near the Theseum. Apollonius, in his life of Aeschines (§ 2), says of his father, *πέδας ἔχοντα (φασὶ) διδάσκειν γράμματα πρὸς τῷ Θησειῷ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἰατροῦ ἡρώφ*, and of his mother, *φασὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν ἡταιρηκέναι καθεζομένην ἐν οἰκίῳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρώφ*. This may be merely borrowed from the tales of Demosthenes; but Apollonius seems to identify the two school-houses, and to make the shrine of *Καλαμίτης* a distinct place. Photius seems to identify the two heroes (under *ἡρως*), *ἡρως ἰατρὸς, οὗ μέμνηται Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου*, unless he carelessly refers to the wrong oration. In the note on Cor. § 129<sup>5</sup> I have given my own suggestion as to the meaning of *καλαμίτης* (*arrowsman*, equivalent to *τοξότης, bowman*), on the supposition that the two names refer to one hero. But there is little evidence of this identity, though Westermann thinks it is "ohne Zweifel." It would have been a strange coincidence (to say the least) if Glaucos had led a disreputable life near the school-house of Atrometus before her marriage; and still stranger or rather impossible for her to do this after her marriage. G. H. Schaefer (on Cor. p. 270, 10) explains *καλαμίτης* as *the man of the splints* (or *surgeon*). Westermann explains it as *ὁ ἐν καλάμοις*, supposing that the hero's statue or shrine stood in a moist place surrounded with *reeds*; others suppose a malicious reference to a statue of Ἄφροδίτη ἐν καλάμοις, erected at Samos in 440 B.C. by Athenian courtezans who had followed Pericles thither. See the quotation from Alexis the Samian in Athenaeus XIII. p. 572 F: *τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἄφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔλει, Ἀττικαὶ ἑταῖραι ἰδρύσαντο αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Σάμον, ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας*. Cf. Thuc. II. 15, *τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου*. See Dissen's note on Cor. 129.

## VII.

*The Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown.*

The critical notes of this edition are, with a very few exceptions, based on ten manuscripts, which represent different classes and show different conditions of the text. Perhaps the chief use of giving the readings of some even of these selected mss. is to show how little is to be gained from the inferior mss. now that Σ is supported by its comrade L. Vömel bases his critical edition of the oration on fifty mss., from most of which he derives little or nothing of real value. I have made no new collation of any manuscripts, except that I have constantly used the facsimile of Σ, from which some useful gleanings were still to be made. I have also some notes of my own, taken from the manuscript itself in Paris before Vömel's collation was made. For the readings of the other mss. I am indebted chiefly to Vömel's notes, supplemented by those of Lipsius and Blass.

1. Σ or S, of the tenth century, written on parchment, the chief of all the mss. of Demosthenes, is No. 2934 of the Greek mss. of the National Library of Paris. On its last leaf is written, in a hand of a later period, Βιβλίον μονῆς τῶν Σωσάνδρων, showing that it once belonged to a society of monks named after Sosander, who is not otherwise known. Dindorf states decidedly that it belonged to a monastery on Mount Athos; but he gives no authority for this, and no trace of a Sosandrian monastery has yet been found on the Holy Mountain or elsewhere. The manuscript first appears in Europe in the possession of Janos Lascaris, a learned Greek, who left Constantinople after the Turkish capture and was in high favour with Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. Lascaris was twice sent by Lorenzo to Greece and the neighbouring lands in search of manuscripts for the Medicean library. On his second journey, begun in 1490 or 1491, he visited Constantinople, Thessalonica, Corfu, Arta, Crete, several monasteries on Mount Athos, and many other places. How rich a store he brought back to Florence may be seen from the curious manuscript (or rather collection of manuscripts) now in the Vatican library, which was published by K. K. Müller in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* for 1884. This contains a catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lorenzo; and a wonderful list of 300 or 400 books which were "bought" for Lorenzo

by Lascaris, according to the later title, *πίναξ βιβλίων ἡγορασμένων ὑπὸ Λασκάρως ἐν διαφόροις πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ Λαυρεντίου τῶν Μεδίκων*. Probably many are here included which Lascaris saw on his Greek journey but did not or could not buy. We doubtless have the truth in the preface of Lascaris to the editio princeps of the Anthology (Florence 1494), where he says of Lorenzo, “ducenta nuperrime antiquorum volumina e Graecia et finitimis regionibus collecta in hanc praeclarissimam civitatem magna diligentia et sumptibus transferenda curaverat.” In the same Vatican manuscript is also a *πίναξ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρως, ἅπερ ἔχει παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ*. Among these we find *Δημοσθένης, περιγαμηγόν* (p. 407). The same volume probably appears in a list of the books of Lascaris (*lista de’ libri che furon del Sr Lascheri*), made by another learned Greek, Devaris, after the death of Lascaris at Rome in 1535, and now in the Vatican library. Here we find *Δημοσθένης, παλαιός*, No. 34 (corrected to 35). Devaris was then employed by Cardinal Ridolfi, nephew of Leo X., in collecting and arranging his library, and Ridolfi is said to have acquired the books of Lascaris after the latter’s death. In Ridolfi’s catalogue we find “35. *Δημοσθένους λόγοι ξβ’*,” evidently the same book which was in the list of Lascaris.

The Greek table of contents still prefixed to  $\Sigma$  is said to be in the writing of Lascaris. Over the Latin table of contents on the next leaf of  $\Sigma$  is written, “Hic videtur esse codex indicatus in catalogo codicum Graecorum Nicolai Rodulphi Cardinalis, classis oratoriae Nro. 35, *Δημοσθένους λόγοι ξβ’*, quamquam hic continet lviii. orationes, epistolas, et prooemia.” The Cardinal’s manuscripts after his death came into the possession of Queen Catherine de’ Medici. The title “Demos-thenis Orationes” etc. appears in a catalogue of the Queen’s library, in the inventory of her goods after her death in 1589, and again in 1597 in the list of her books which had passed into the Royal library. The Codex  $\Sigma$  still has a splendid binding of red leather, bearing the united arms of France and Navarre and monograms of Henry IV. with the date 1602. From this time it appears in the various inventories and catalogues of the Royal library, until it was entered in the catalogue of 1740 with its present number 2934<sup>1</sup>. We are therefore safe in assuming that  $\Sigma$  is one of the manuscripts which Lascaris, as the envoy of the Medici, brought to Florence from Greek lands at about the time of

<sup>1</sup> After all the entries of this famous ms., from its first appearance as *Δημοσθένης, περιγαμηγόν*, it is described as “chartaceus” in the catalogue of 1740, which was recently still in use. This remained uncorrected until 1854, when I was permitted to change “chartaceus” to “membranaceus.”



Lorenzo's death in 1492<sup>1</sup>; and it may have come from Mount Athos, as Dindorf asserted.

The manuscript is written with great care, in large square upright minuscules, which mark the transition from the uncial to the cursive text<sup>2</sup>. Occasionally a page or a passage is written in a similar but smaller hand: compare fol. 22<sup>a</sup> (*κα'*) with the preceding and following pages. It is unquestionably by far the best manuscript of Demosthenes, and with its recently discovered companion L (or Laur. S) it forms a distinct class, which preserves a purer and older text than any others. It is generally believed, and with good reason, to represent to a great extent the celebrated manuscripts known as "Atticiana," copied and revised under the direction of Atticus, whom Usener<sup>3</sup> identifies with T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, though he is generally thought to have been a professional maker and vender of books of a later date. It must be confessed, the positive testimony connecting Σ with the text of Atticus is not wholly consistent. Harpocration quotes four readings of the Ἀττικιανὰ,—(1) under ἐκπολεμῶσαι, ἐκπολεμῆσαι for ἐκπολεμῶται, in I. 7 and III. 7, found only in Σ<sup>1</sup>; (2) under ἀνελοῦσα, two readings in XXII. 20, αὐτήν and αὐτῆ (where we have only αὐτήν or αὐτῆ), with (3) another variant, λαβοῦσα ἐκείνον before αὐτῆ (which is not in any MS.); and (4), under ναυκραρικά (which he gives as the common reading), Ναυκρατιτικά in XXIV. 11, which is the only reading in our MSS. Further, the scholia on XXI. 147 (p. 562, 16) quote the ἀρχαία (sc. ἔκδοσις) as having ἱερά for ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα, while the scholia on XXI. 133 (p. 558, 16) quote the δημόδης as having ἐξ Ἀργοῦρας τῆς Εὐβοίας for the better reading ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ἐκ Εὐβοίας. We find ἱερά (corrected to ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα) in Σ<sup>1</sup> alone; and ἀργυρᾶς only in Σ and *k* (*γρ*). It is hardly to be doubted that the ἀρχαία (ἔκδοσις) and the Ἀττικιανὰ represent essentially the same purer text, which was believed by scholars to have the higher ancient authority, while the δημόδης (*vulgata*) represented the more common text, which was less carefully guarded against corruptions and interpolations. The latter is supposed to be represented by such MSS. as A 1, F, and B; while the position of higher and more ancient authority is conceded to Σ by the almost unanimous judgment of scholars. The passages are few in which Σ, supported by L<sup>1</sup>, is not decisive against all other MSS.: of such there are perhaps twenty in

<sup>1</sup> For the authorities for this pedigree see the Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1884, pp. 333—412, and Omont's valuable preface to the facsimile of Σ (Paris, 1892), pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Vömel, Contiones, p. 219; Sandys, *Introd. to Lept.*, p. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Unser Platontext, in Götting. Nachrichten, 1892, pp. 197—199.

this edition of De Corona. Of course there are errors in  $\Sigma$ , as there are in most printed books; and occasionally a careless mistake in copying has remained uncorrected, as in Cor. § 257<sup>9</sup> *ὀγκαλλαγῆναι* for *οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἄ* (corrected in the margin), and in § 312<sup>1</sup> *ὄ ταν* for *ὦ τᾶν* (uncorrected).

The publication of a photographic facsimile<sup>1</sup> of  $\Sigma$  has brought this precious document within the reach of scholars in all parts of the world. This, with the facsimile reproductions of the Medicean Aeschylus, the Laurentian Sophocles, and the Bodleian Plato, is a special boon to American scholars. I have been constantly indebted to the facsimile of  $\Sigma$  in the library of Harvard University: it has supplied what no apparatus criticus could have given.

This manuscript was first carefully collated by Bekker for his *Oratores Attici*, 1823; but it needed the study of the results of this collation to convince even the editor of the great importance of his work. This appears in Bekker's stereotype edition of Demosthenes in 1855 (Berlin), which is based chiefly on the text of  $\Sigma$ . Vömel devoted three months to the study of the ms.; and the result of his labours and those of other scholars was a most accurate collation, which has appeared in his three volumes, *Demosthenis Contiones* (1857)<sup>2</sup>, *De Corona et De Falsa Legatione* (1862)<sup>3</sup>, and *Oratio adversus Leptinem* (1866).

Besides the original text, the manuscript contains various corrections and additions within the columns, some made by the original hand or by one of the same period, others by later correctors. Some changes are merely corrections of slips of the pen, not "various readings." Other alterations and additions are made in the margin by the same

<sup>1</sup> Œuvres complètes de Démosthène. Fac-simile du manuscrit grec 2934 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, publié par Henri Omont. 2 vols. Paris, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> See the elaborate account of  $\Sigma$ , with a discussion of its virtues and its faults, in Vömel's Introduction to the Contiones, pp. 219—243. This is reprinted in full in Omont's preface to the facsimile edition.

<sup>3</sup> In the following places I have noted errors or omissions in Vömel's citations of  $\Sigma$  for the oration on the Crown. None of these, so far as I know, have been corrected by later editors. I give only the readings of  $\Sigma$ .

§ 12<sup>4</sup>,  $\Sigma$  has *ὁμοῦ* (not *ἐμοῦ*). § 23<sup>2</sup>, *τὸ* (not *τω*) *κωλύσαι*  $\Sigma$ . § 44<sup>6</sup>, *ὀ* is erased in  $\Sigma$ . § 46<sup>5</sup>, *ἀίσθησθαι* (*η* over *ἀι*)  $\Sigma$ . § 52<sup>5</sup>, *μισθωτος* (changed from *-τὸς*)  $\Sigma$ . § 68<sup>9</sup>, *εθελοντας*  $\Sigma$ . § 93<sup>6</sup>, *ὀ μὲν γε φίλος*  $\Sigma$  (*γρ*). § 174<sup>6</sup>, *ποιήσητε* (*αι* over *ε*)  $\Sigma$ . § 200<sup>7</sup>, *άν σου*  $\Sigma$ . § 225<sup>5</sup>, *δοκεῖ τι* (*υ* over *τ*)  $\Sigma$ . § 246<sup>4</sup>, *προαίσθησθαι*  $\Sigma$ . § 256<sup>9</sup>, *μετριώτατα* (not *-ητα*)  $\Sigma$ . § 259<sup>2</sup>, *συνεσκευῶρου*  $\Sigma$ . § 260<sup>8</sup>, *τίς*  $\Sigma$ . § 266<sup>7</sup>, *συμβεβηκῶς* (*η* changed to *ω* or *ιω*)  $\Sigma$ . § 322<sup>2</sup>, *οὐκ ἀπειλούντων*, om. in  $\Sigma^1$ , added above the line. Further examination would probably disclose other cases.

variety of hands. One of the latest of these correctors (probably of the fifteenth century) used ink which has turned green, and his suggestions are generally of little value. Besides these there are many various readings marked  $\gamma\rho$  (for  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  or  $\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ ), which were evidently copied from other manuscripts by revisers of different periods. I have designated these last, in  $\Sigma$  as well as in other MSS., by  $\gamma\rho$  in the critical notes, and other marginal readings by mg. Other corrections or additions are generally cited as  $\Sigma^2$ . I have not given the reputed age of the corrections, unless they are of real importance. It is generally believed that all the accents and breathings in  $\Sigma$  are later additions. I have often noted these, especially when there is any doubt concerning them, but with the understanding that they are no authority for the original text. The absence of a breathing in  $\Sigma$  is often of some negative value.

2. L (Vömel's Laur. S), the new companion of  $\Sigma$ , is in the Laurentian Library at Florence (LVI. 9, No. 136), and was first examined by F. Schultz, who published a careful account of it in the *Jahresbericht* of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium of Berlin in 1860<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript is written by various hands. It contains orations VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XXII., XXIV., all written in the 13th century (with some parts of IX. and X. wanting), followed by XX., XVIII., XIX., in another hand of the same century, and further by XXIII. in another of the same age, and by XII. in a later hand. Orations I., II., and III., and the missing parts of IX. and X., are added by a much later hand. The older parts, as originally written, generally have the same purer form of the text which is in  $\Sigma$ ; but, though the two MSS. have a common archetype, L was not copied from  $\Sigma$  or descended from it. Another hand (L<sup>2</sup>), apparently of the same period, wrote various readings, chiefly of the vulgar text, in the margin or above the lines. "ut uno conspectu et textum illum breviorum atque correctiorum et vulgatum intueri liceat, cum secunda manus primam non deleverit<sup>2</sup>." The second hand of L generally agrees with the class represented by F and B. One interesting bond of union between the first hands of  $\Sigma$  and L is that both omit the same disputed passages in the Third Philippic (e.g. §§ 6, 7).

L was carefully collated by Rehdanz for Vömel's edition of XVIII. and XIX. (1862), and I have used Vömel's citations in this edition.

3. A 1, Augustanus primus, formerly at Augsburg (whence its name), now No. 485 in the Royal Library at Munich, on parchment, of

<sup>1</sup> De codicibus quibusdam Demosthenicis ad orationem Phil. III. nondum adhibitis.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 16.



the 11th century, is generally reckoned as next in rank to the two leading mss., Σ and L. It is the chief basis of the text current before Bekker's study of Σ, the text as established by Reiske. It represents a text far below that of Σ and L in purity, and much corrected by grammarians<sup>1</sup>.

4. A 2, Augustanus secundus, formerly at Augsburg, now No. 441 in the Munich Library, is a paper manuscript of the 15th century. It has little distinctive character of its own; in the earlier part of the oration on the Crown it agrees with Σ, and it very often agrees with A 1. Reiske says of it: "Est notae neque optimae neque pessimae, me certe non poenituit eum contulisse."

5. V 6 (Vömel's V 1) is one of the three parts (Vind. 1, Vind. 2, Vind. 6) which are bound together and make No. 70 of the Greek mss. in the library at Vienna. All three are on paper, and of the 15th century. Each part is written by a different hand. V 6, which contains the oration on the Crown, is chiefly remarkable for its constant agreement with A 1 in the earlier part of this oration, though in the latter part it often has peculiar readings of its own<sup>2</sup>.

6, 7. F (or M) and Φ (or Q) are parchment mss. of the 11th century, Nos. 416 and 418 in St Mark's library in Venice. They form, with B, a class of mss. which originally represented the vulgate text but were emended by the use of mss. of the better class. See under B (8).

8. B (or Bav.), Bavaricus, is a paper ms. of the 13th century, No. 85 in the Munich library. It has often been thought to be a direct copy of F, and its readings are often omitted by editors as being identical with those of F. It is now known to be from the same source as F, though not a copy or a descendant, the two mss. being related as Σ and L. This manuscript has been brought into notice recently by Christ's stichometric studies, of which it is the chief foundation<sup>3</sup>. B and F are also remarkable for a memorandum which is found in each at the end of Oration XI., which appears plainly in F, διώρθ[ωται] ἐγ δύο Ἀττικιανῶν, and in B with ἀγ for ἐγ (both = ἐκ). In two later places Δ is found, referring to the same διόρθωσις<sup>4</sup>. These notes show that the archetype of F and B was revised and corrected by the help of two mss. called Ἀττικιανά, which professed to represent the

<sup>1</sup> See Vömel, *Contiones*, p. 194; Usener, *Unser Platontext*, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> I have cited V 6, when it agrees with A 1, only in §§ 1—25; after this only when it differs from A 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Essay VIII*.

<sup>4</sup> See table L at the end of Vömel's *Contiones*, and the table at the end of Christ's *Atticusausgabe*; Usener's *Platontext*, p. 196, with n. 31.

purser and older text. These little notes are the most important result of this revision: as Usener says, "die Berichtigung ist nicht ernst zu nehmen." The use of two Ἀπτικιανὰ indicates what we know from the two readings ascribed to Ἀπτικιανὰ in Harpocration, under ἀπελοῦσαι (see p. 345, l. 18), that these mss. had a variety of various readings, and did not represent an absolutely fixed form of the text.

9, 10. Y and O, according to Vömel, are the leaders (duces) of a "familia media et mixta," and cannot be classified with any of the mss. already mentioned. Usener makes Y the best representative of a class which has the purser vulgar text, not yet revised and emended by grammarians into the ordinary δημῳδης<sup>1</sup>. It therefore stands nearer than mss. like A 1 to the text of Σ and L.

Y is a parchment ms. of about the eleventh century (Dobree), No. 2935 in the National Library of Paris.

O, a paper ms. of the fourteenth century, was formerly in Antwerp, afterwards in Paris (where Bekker collated it), and was later discovered by Vömel in Brussels. It has much in common with Y; but in the oration on the Crown it is noted chiefly for strange or careless readings, as τελευτηκόσι (§ 285<sup>4</sup>), τελευτηκότων (§ 288<sup>2</sup>), τετελευκότων (§ 288<sup>4</sup>), τελευτηκότος (§ 314<sup>3</sup>).

The readings of these ten mss. (except those of V 6 mentioned in note 2, p. 348) are given whenever they can be ascertained. Besides these, the readings of six other mss. are cited, each in a single case in which it has some special interest.

At the last moment the Oxyrhynchus papyri give us three fragments of the oration on the Crown: (1) §§ 40<sup>2</sup>—47<sup>3</sup>, of the 2nd cent. A.D.; (2) §§ 227<sup>6</sup>—229<sup>7</sup>, of the 1st or 2nd cent.; (3) § 244<sup>1-4</sup>, probably of the 3rd cent. The last has no variations from Σ worth noting; the variations of (1) and (2) are given in the critical notes. It is worth noting that the papyrus agrees with Σ alone in omitting ἄσμενοι καὶ in § 43<sup>b</sup>, on which authority I have bracketed these words: it agrees with Σ and L<sup>1</sup> alone in omitting καὶ δωροδοκῆματα in § 43<sup>c</sup>, and with Σ and L alone in ἡμᾶς (vulg. ὑμᾶς) in § 228<sup>2</sup>, and with Σ and A 1 in omitting μόνοι after ἐποιεῖτε in § 43<sup>b</sup>. It has also several unique read-

<sup>1</sup> This appears in XXI. 133, where the scholia give the reading of the δημῳδης, ἐξ Ἀργούρας τῆς Εὐβοίας (A 1, B, etc.), as opposed to the better reading ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας (Σ). Here Y has the unintelligible reading Ἀργούρας τῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας, with ἀργυρᾶς corrupted to Ἀργούρας, but not yet emended by grammarians. Again, in Cor. 87, Y has a reading ὑφ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἐξηλάθη τοῖς ὄπλοις, intermediate between ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις (Σ) and ἐξηλάθη τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν (the emended δημῳδης of A 1 etc.). See Usener, Unser Platontext, pp. 188, 189.

ings : ἐκείνω for the troublesome τῶ Φιλίππῳ (Σ, L, vulg.) after εἰαυτοῦς in § 42<sup>6</sup>; καί τινας τῶν Ἑλλήνων (for τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλ.) in § 44<sup>1,2</sup>; καί τινες ἐκ (for καί τινες τῶν ἐκ) in § 44<sup>3</sup>; μὴ τοιαύτης ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως (for μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως) in § 228<sup>4</sup>. These last are all worth considering.

## VIII.

*Stichometry in the Manuscripts of Demosthenes.*

1. It has long been known that several manuscripts of Demosthenes have numerical statements in Greek appended to many of the speeches, which have naturally been supposed to give the number of the lines according to some accepted standard. For example, at the end of the oration on the Crown in Σ we have this statement,

ΔΗ	ΥΠΕΡ	ΠΕΡΙ
ΜΟ	ΚΤΗΣΙ	ΤΟΥ
ΣΘΕ	ΦΩΝ	ΣΤΕ
ΝΟΥ	ΤΟΣ	ΦΑΝ
Σ	---	---
---	---	---
⊃	⊃	⊃
	ΧΧϞΗΗϞΔΠΙΙΙ	
	(i.e. 2768).	

A similar one follows almost all the speeches in Σ, the greater part in Bav. and F, and some in A 1. The same notices have been found in manuscripts of other authors; and we have the well-known statement of Diogenes Laertius (v. 1, 27) that the writings of Aristotle, of which he gives a catalogue, contain 445,270 στίχοι. None of these numbers agree with the number of lines in the manuscripts in which they stand; for example, the oration on the Crown fills 4963 lines of Σ.

2. The true explanation of these numbers was first given by W. Christ<sup>1</sup>, who discovered in Codex Bav. in Munich, in the left margin of various columns, a series of letters running from Α to Ω, and some-

<sup>1</sup> Christ, Die Atticusausgabe des Demosthenes, Munich, 1882; also in Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. XVI. 3, p. 155.



times beginning the alphabet again. Similar letters had been found in the margin of the Cratylus and the Symposium of Plato in the Bodleian ms. and in Ven. II by Schanz, who had come to the conclusion that they marked intervals of 100 lines according to some standard of measurement, though no total number of lines was given at the end of the dialogue<sup>1</sup>. Christ found that these letters of Cod. Bav. of Demosthenes, on the assumption that they marked intervals of 100 lines, explained the total numbers at the end of the various orations. Thus the letters in the margin of the oration on the Crown, which (with several omissions) run through the alphabet (A—Ω) with the addition of A, B, Γ, mark 2700 lines, ending at the line beginning ἡ παῖσιν ὄσοι in § 316<sup>4</sup>. This agrees in general with the total of 2768 given in Σ (slightly corrupted in Bav. and Γ by a mistake of ΔHIII at the end for ΔHIII). Further investigation soon showed that there were similar numbers at similar intervals in the margin of several orations in Σ, among them the oration on the Crown. But while in Bav. we have for this oration all the letters of the Ionic alphabet from A to Ω, except Z and I, with A and B added, in Σ we find only Γ, Δ, E, Θ, I, Λ, M, Π, B, Γ. It is evident that the letters of the alphabet designate the numbers 1—24, as in numbering the books of Homer; and it is made perfectly certain by Christ that they mark 100 lines of text according to some generally accepted standard, which can hardly have been any other than a standard text of the Alexandrian Library. But his careful investigations show conclusively that the standard copies of different orations of Demosthenes to which the numbers refer had lines of different length<sup>2</sup>, as will be seen below in comparing the standard lines of the Third Philippic with those of the orations on the Crown and against Aristocrates.

3. These investigations have supplied a new and most unexpected argument against the authenticity of the public documents which are found in our texts of the oration on the Crown and of some other orations of Demosthenes. It is now universally admitted, on internal evidence, that the documents in the speech on the Crown are most transparent forgeries. As early as 1843, Ritschl announced, on Sauppe's authority, that the numbers subscribed to the orations in Σ (i.e. the totals) show that the documents were wanting in the manuscript which was the authority for these numbers<sup>3</sup>. This general conclusion has been most

<sup>1</sup> Schanz in *Hermes*, 1881, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Christ, *Atticusausgabe*, etc., and Usener, *Unser Platontext*, in the *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1892, pp. 191, 192.

<sup>3</sup> See Ritschl in the *New Rhein. Mus.* II. p. 453, n. 8; and Sauppe in the *Abhandl. d. xxv. Philologenversammlung*, 1867, pp. 81, 82.

completely confirmed by the calculations of Christ, Blass, and others, who have made a comparison based on the proportion of the lines in the Teubner text of Demosthenes to the *στίχοι* of the "standard" manuscripts, both with and without the documents. This proportion in the oration on the Crown is 103 to 100 with the documents included, and 89·1 to 100 without the documents<sup>1</sup>. The comparison with Teubner pages cannot be perfectly exact, as the documents are printed in smaller type than the text of the orations. I have now made a comparison between the actual lines of the Codex  $\Sigma$  and the standard divisions (as marked by the letters in the ms.), both with and without the documents, these being written in  $\Sigma$  in the same hand as the text itself. I give only the intervals actually marked in  $\Sigma$ ; for example, A—Γ contains 300 standard lines, P—B 900. The words added to the numbers of the ordinary sections in column 2 are those with which (or within which) the lines of  $\Sigma$  marked by the letters begin.

Standard Divisions	Modern Sections	Lines of $\Sigma$	Lines of Doc.	Lines of text of $\Sigma$	Av. lines of text of $\Sigma$ in Div.
3. A—Γ	1 — 32 <sup>6</sup> , ἡμῶν ὅτι	494	28	466	155
1. Γ—Δ	32 <sup>6</sup> — 45 <sup>6</sup> , ῥα στῶνῃ	210	52	158	158
1. Δ—E	45 <sup>6</sup> — 59 <sup>7</sup> , τῆς πολιτείας	190	39	151	151
3. E—Θ	59 <sup>7</sup> — 99 <sup>6</sup> , Εὔβοι αν	646	180	466	155
1. Θ—Γ <sup>2</sup>	99 <sup>6</sup> —110 <sup>4</sup> , τὰ μέγιστα	181	32	149	149
2. I—Λ	110 <sup>4</sup> —134 <sup>3</sup> , ὑπὲρ τοῦ	387	72	315	158
1. Λ—M	134 <sup>3</sup> —143 <sup>5</sup> , διαμαρτυρομέ νον	174	24	150	150
5. M—P	143 <sup>5</sup> —208 <sup>8</sup> , ἀξιῶ σασα	1027	272	755	151
9. P—B	208 <sup>8</sup> —304 <sup>5</sup> , οὔτε τῶν	1374		1374	153
1. B—Γ	304 <sup>5</sup> —316 <sup>5</sup> , ἡ πᾶσιν	166		166	166
$\frac{7}{100}$ Γ—end		114		114	
$\frac{2774}{100}$ standard lines		4963	699	4264	153·7

<sup>1</sup> Christ, Atticusausgabe, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> I add the interval marked by I, which I find in  $\Sigma$ , to the nine given by Christ from Bav.

4. It thus appears that the standard 100 lines correspond to a great variety of lines in  $\Sigma$  (215—165) with the documents included, while they correspond to numbers varying little from the average of 153·7 if we exclude the documents. The large number 166 in the last division (B— $\Gamma$ ) is strange, and it depends solely on  $\Sigma$ , this  $\Gamma$  being omitted<sup>1</sup> in Bav. : but a reduction of it would increase the number of 74 standard lines which now represent the balance of 114 lines of  $\Sigma$ , and this would increase the total of standard lines. Possibly there may be an unsuspected interpolation in §§ 304—316 of the oration. The total of 2774 standard lines  $\left(\frac{4264}{153\cdot7} \times 100\right)$ , which we obtain by combining the partial items and allowing the average proportion for the balance of 114 lines of  $\Sigma$  which follow § 316<sup>5</sup>, exceeds the subscribed total of 2768 by only six lines : and this is easily accounted for by supposing that the titles of the documents (NOMO $\Sigma$  etc.) sometimes occupied a separate line in the standard text and sometimes were added to the previous line or above a full column, all of which varieties are found in  $\Sigma$ .

5. A similar study of the oration against Aristocrates leads to quite different results. As the laws cited in this speech, chiefly Draconic, are repeated in great part in the text in the orator's comments, their genuineness, so far as substance goes, is well assured. It might, however, be doubted whether the documents which we now find were a constituent part of the speech as it was originally published, or were made up from the orator's remarks or taken from some authentic copies at a later date. The total number of lines in this speech is not given either in Bav. or in  $\Sigma$  ; but Bav. has 16 marginal letters, B— $\Delta$ ,  $\Theta$ — $\Xi$ ,  $\Pi$ — $\Phi$ , which carry us to § 208<sup>5</sup>, within  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pages of the end.  $\Sigma$  has A, B,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ , including §§ 1—45<sup>1</sup>. The whole passage §§ 1—208<sup>5</sup> includes 2100 lines (A— $\Phi$ ) of the standard text, and 3242 lines of  $\Sigma$ . This would give an average of  $154\frac{5}{21}$  lines of  $\Sigma$  to 100 standard lines. As the documents fill about 55 lines of  $\Sigma$ , the omission of these would reduce the average to  $151\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{21}$  lines. The following table will show that this is not the correct method, and also that it is equally impossible to suppose *all* the documents to have been included in the standard text. I have given the standard pages marked A, B,  $\Gamma$ , and  $\Delta$  as they stand in  $\Sigma$  ; for the later divisions I follow Christ's account of Bav.

<sup>1</sup> See Christ, *Atticusaussgabe d. Demosthenes*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.



1.	A,	§§ 1 — 12 <sup>3</sup> = 154	lines of $\Sigma$ (no documents).....	154
1.	B,	12 <sup>3</sup> — 26 <sup>3</sup> = 159	„ „ — 6 (doc.).....	153
1.	$\Gamma$ ,	26 <sup>3</sup> — 35 <sup>1</sup> = 161	„ „ — 9 ( „ ).....	152
1.	$\Delta$ ,	35 <sup>1</sup> — 45 <sup>1</sup> = 159	„ „ — 12 ( „ ).....	147
5.	$\Delta$ —I,	45 <sup>1</sup> — 90 <sup>4</sup> = 763 (av. 152 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>5</sub> )	„ — 28 ( „ ) = 735.....av.	147
12.	I— $\Phi$ ,	90 <sup>4</sup> — 208 <sup>5</sup> = 1846	„ „ (no documents) .....	av. 153 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub>

6. It thus appears that the two passages (A and I— $\Phi$ ), which have no documents, agree essentially in the number of lines of  $\Sigma$  which make the standard 100 lines, and this agrees also with B and  $\Gamma$  if the documents are left out. This also agrees essentially with the average number of lines (153·7) of  $\Sigma$  in the oration on the Crown which correspond to the standard 100 lines. But B and  $\Gamma$  with the documents exceed these numbers. On the other hand,  $\Delta$  is reduced from 159 to 147 by omitting the two laws in §§ 37 and 44; and  $\Delta$ —I, which with the 28 lines of documents in  $\Sigma$  give an average of 152<sup>3</sup>/<sub>5</sub>, by the omission of these are reduced also to 147. Can it be that one of the laws in  $\Delta$  and all of those in  $\Delta$ —I were in the standard text?

The law in § 37 is believed by Köhler on strong grounds to have formed part of the decree of 412 B.C. in C. I. Att. I. No. 61, which contains another law of Draco. It is true, only twelve letters are legible in the three lines occupied by the law in question; but these letters stand on the stone in precisely the places to which they would belong if the law were inscribed there. Thus we have OPI· $\Sigma$  where *ἐφορίας* would stand, and ETA· at the end of a line for *ἐφέτας*. If we add the seven lines occupied by this law in  $\Sigma$ , we raise 147 to 154 in division  $\Delta$ , which agrees with the two divisions which have no documents. If we may further assume that all the laws in division  $\Delta$ —I (which are known to be essentially genuine) were included in the standard text, we raise 147 here to 152<sup>3</sup>/<sub>5</sub>. We should thus have for the six divisions, 154, 153, 152, 154, 152<sup>3</sup>/<sub>5</sub>, 153<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, in substantial agreement, considering the slight uncertainty as to the beginning of the divisions.

7. The stichometry of the Third Philippic, to which we naturally turn with interest, is strange and inconsistent. The total number of standard lines is 580, and  $\Sigma$  has 842, giving an average of 145<sup>10</sup>/<sub>8</sub> to the standard 100. Five divisions are marked, but only in Bav. (so far as is known); and these are as follows:

A to 12 <sup>5</sup> = 141	lines of $\Sigma$	$\Delta$ to 52 <sup>3</sup> = 145	lines of $\Sigma$
B „ 24 <sup>5</sup> = 141	„ „	E „ 65 <sup>3</sup> = 150	„ „
$\Gamma$ „ 36 <sup>8</sup> = 147	„ „		

If A and B alone were noted, we should have an irresistible argument against the genuineness of the doubtful passages, which are

omitted in  $\Sigma^1$  and  $I^1$  alone. About twenty-five  $\Sigma$ -lines of these are in A, and only four or five in B; and yet both divisions were of the same length in the standard text, and both now have 141 in  $\Sigma$ . Codex Bav., which includes these passages, must have about twenty more lines in A than in B. About 12 lines of  $\Gamma$  and about 25 of  $\Delta$  are omitted in  $\Sigma$ , which nevertheless has 147 and 145 lines in these divisions. In E there are 150 lines in  $\Sigma$ , with only 4 or 5 omitted. It is obvious that the standard lines were shorter in the Third Philippic than in the Crown<sup>1</sup>; but it is also obvious that stichometry does little to settle the question of interpolations, unless we assume either that there are interpolated passages, amounting to about 19 lines, in divisions  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ , and E, which are not omitted in  $\Sigma^1$  or  $I^1$ . On any other supposition, especially on that of retaining all the suspected passages as they stand in the vulgate, the stichometry of the speech on the basis of Codex Bav. is impossible<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 351, note 2. The Second Philippic has about 148 lines of  $\Sigma$  to the standard 100, the First Philippic about 154, and the oration on the Chersonese about 152 (all without documents).

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of the documents in the text of Demosthenes, see E. Drerup, *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, 24th Suppl. Band, 1898, pp. 221—366.





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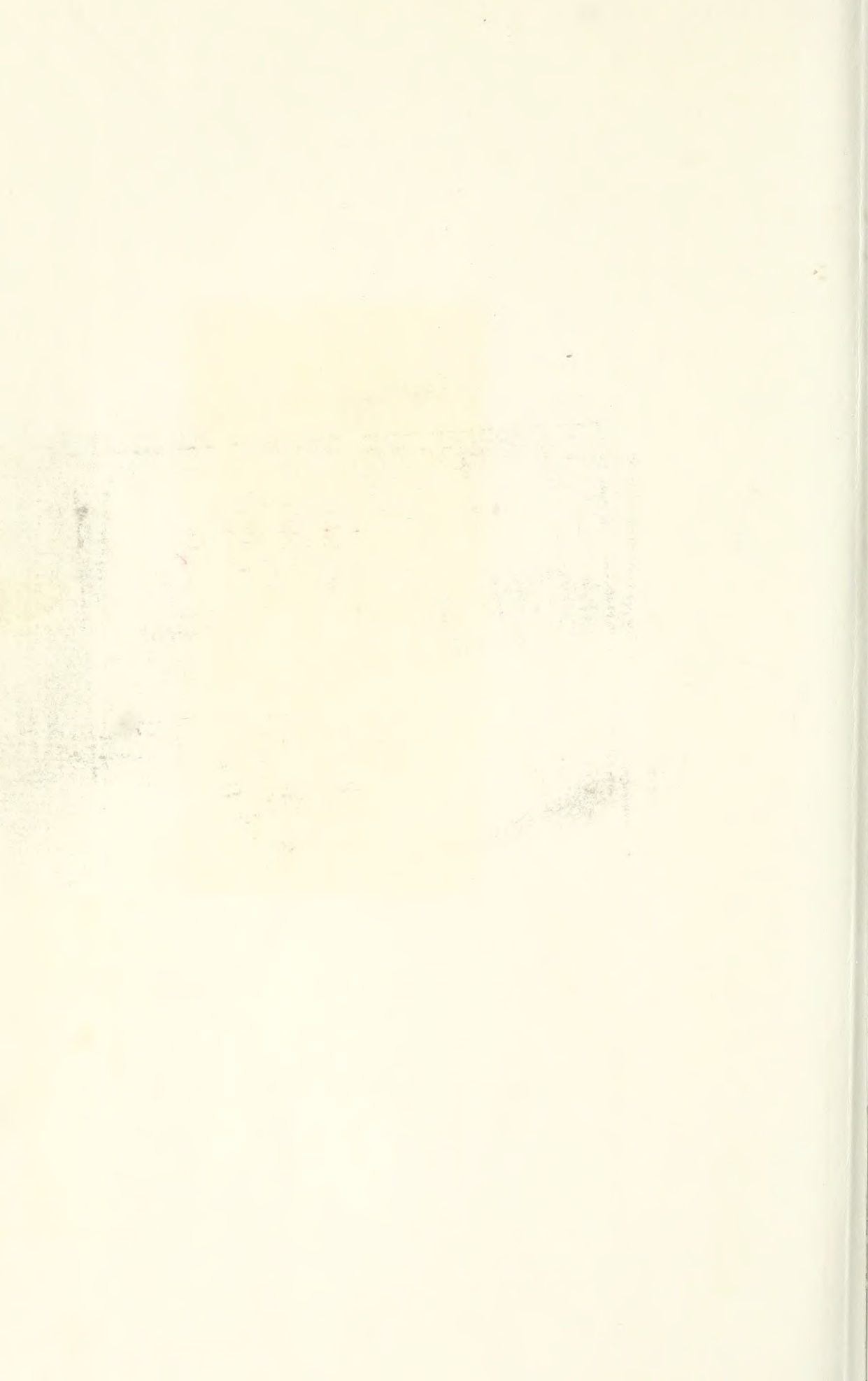












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